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MARTIN BERNAL

Black Athena

The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization

VOLUME II
The Archaeological and Documentary
Evidence

Martin Bernal

'an association in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all'



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Preface and Acknowledgements

The Publication of Volume I of Black Athera transformed my life. Before then, I was working in isolation or, to be accurate, with a few close friends and colleagues, with whom I had many fruitful discussions and correspondences. Nevertheless, my ideas were essentially figments of my imagination, remaining in my head as private possessions. With the appearance of the book they took on a social substance. I was both delighted and disconcerted to hear other people discuss and dispute them; they have become public property over which I have little control or even influence. This is, of course, quite proper, because the ways in which ideas are received are much more important than their author's original and often convoluted intentions.

Thanks to Robert Young and all at Free Association Books, Black Athena got off to a remarkably successful start. I had expected a low key and generally hostile response, but within days of its publication in March 1987, the book had received a double-page feature in the Guardian. Soon after that, came the start of a string of reviews, which were either friendly or mixed. For the first two years, there were none of the outright denunciations or frontal attacks on my competence to write such a work that I had expected. The mixed reviews usually accepted the historiographical portion of my work, but suspended judgement on the archaeological aspects and expressed scepticism about my linguistic claims.

These reviews attracted the interest of a number of American uni-

versity presses and some who had previously rejected the manuscript now wanted to reopen the issue. Once again, however, the professional reviewers turned the project down, although in much friendlier and more respectful terms than before. Kenneth Arnold, the director of Rutgers University Press, decided - with the enthusiastic backing of Leslie Mitchner, the humanities editor - to use his right to publish three books a year without going through the normal professional reviewing process in order to accept Black Athena unconditionally. This bypassing of the usual channels in both England and the US answers the criticism made by at least one reviewer that the appearance of my book itself disproves my claim that the normal operation of university presses restricts the range of ideas that can be published. Anyhow, I now have two editors, Robert Young and Kenneth Arnold, to thank for sticking out their necks by publishing my books Free Association Books did, however, receive generous financial backing from the Hull Fund which lends publishers money to help with the publication of books written by members of Cornell faculty.

There were interesting similarities and differences in the reception of the book in Britain and in the United States. The most striking difference was political. In Britain, the reaction fell into very neat categories. There was one hostile review in the Trotskyist Socialist Worker – I do not know whether this reflected merely the views of the individual critic or the Eurocentrism of Trotskyism as a whole. In general, however, the left and liberals liked the book, but from the Independent

rightwards it was ignored.

The pattern was more complicated in the US. From the start, Black Athena was welcomed by the left, but, interestingly, it received scrupulously fair treatment in a feature in Insight Magazine, a journal whose editors see it 'as a right-wing version of Time'! The gap in US response was from the liberal establishment; although Black Athena has become increasingly newsworthy, it has not been reviewed or discussed in Time or Newsweek and for a long time it was completely ignored by the New York Times.

The similarities between the British and American responses, however, outweigh the differences. In both countries there was an immediate and positive response from the Black and other non-European communities. Intellectuals from these communities have reviewed the book favourably and have actively promoted its sale and given memany chances to express my ideas at meetings and in interviews with the media.

There has also been a remarkable degree of interest by visual artists

and designers and many of the most perceptive reviews of *Black Athena* have been published in journals concerned with the arts. I think this comes in part from the general radicalism and refusal to accept orthodoxies among those concerned with the arts, but even more because *Black Athena* provided a historical framework which explained the close relationships between Egyptian and Greek art they had long sensed.

Even more to my surprise, I found that in both countries there was a significant number of ancient historians and classicists who were sympathetic to my views and had in fact begun to articulate similar ones. Although delightful, this discovery revealed a major flaw in my sociology of knowledge. Despite my friendship with the distinguished classicist Fred Ahl, who has given me an immense amount of help and encouragement for many years, I had retained a hopelessly oversimplified image of classics as a monolithic discipline. Taking classics as a single adversary, I believed that it could be overcome only by outflanking it, that is, by convincing the cultivated lay public, especially scholars in other disciplines. I was wrong in both respects. In fact, classicists know better than anyone what the Greeks and Romans wrote about their distant past and that, whatever the truth of the marter, I was thinking along the same lines as the people they were studying. Furthermore, there had already been unpublished rumblings of resistance to the Arvan Model and its positivist historiography, of which I was unaware. For these and other reasons, a significant number of classicists have been more ready to accept my arguments than the lay public, who knew little or nothing about the field.

The most startling example of this openness among professionals came from Molly Myerewitz Levine, a classicist who has taught at Bar Ilan University in Israel and now teaches at Howard, one of the leading black universities in the United States. She read *Black Athena* and was sensitive to her students' interest in it. Although she generally liked the book, she felt unsure of the extent she could trust or use it for teaching. Therefore, she organized a panel to discuss it, which she proposed to the American Philological Society for a meeting at their annual conference.

When she asked me whether I would be willing to attend such a session. I agreed readily, though I was convinced that the proposal would never be accepted or, if, by some extraordinary chance it were, it would be marginalized by being put in a back room at an obscure hour I was completely wrong. In the event, the session was named as the 'Presidential Panel' and was held in a ballroom at prime time,

I found the criticisms and the meeting as a whole fascinating, but the thing that impressed me most was the patience of the audience sitting for three straight hours in a hot room. I have no idea whether anyone was converted to my ideas. On the other hand, there was no doubt that there was intense interest in the issues being discussed. This was also reflected by the fact that three professional journals asked to publish the proceedings and they have now appeared in a

special issue of Arethusa, the liveliest classical journal.

After the meeting had been announced but before it took place, I happened to meet the historian and philosopher of science. Thomas Kuhn. His reaction was that the meeting was being held far too soon and that disciplines did not usually respond so quickly to fundamental challenges. My first response was to say that we were all living in a 'post-Kuhnian age' in which the possibility of fundamental or 'paradigmatic' shifts was now seen in all disciplines. My second answer, at another level, was to point out that the classicists might dismember me to their satisfaction. Kuhn's reply to this was that what actually happened at the meeting 'was totally uninteresting'. What was important was the legitimacy given by the holding of the meeting.

There is no doubt that he was right. Since January 1989 when the meeting was held, while the ideas that I put forward are far from being accepted by classicists as 'the orthodoxy', they are now widely considered to be a respectable variant of it. This is not to say that there is no opposition; there has always been, but up until the summer of 1989 it was almost entirely volto voce. The passionate depths of this hostility can be seen from the response of one Indo-European linguist who compares my work - in private conversation to that of the 'revisionists' who deny that the Holocaust ever took place. The comparison is fascinating on at least two counts. Firstly, as an emotional response to my case for setting the Aryan Model and the Holocaust in the same general movement and, secondly, as an example of the way in which the members of a discipline can believe that their reconstructions of distant linguistic relationships have the same veracity as a massive and massively attested historical event that took place within living memory. This, however, like attacks on my competence, is the subject of dinner-party conversations and not of public utterances or published articles.

Since the summer of 1989 some resistance has come out into the open and there have been a number of fierce public attacks on the book, provoked partly by the meeting at the American Philological Association and partly by the uses being made of the book by Ameri-

can Blacks, both of which made it clear that the ideas in Black Athena

were not simply going to fade away into decent obscurity.

Two journals of the far right, the New Criterion and the National Review, have launched an attack on my politics. In the first, the reviewer, who had clearly read and thought about Black Athena, admitted that it might contain some interesting arguments. However, he maintained that these were vitiated by the essential evil of the project. He saw this as inspired by the Marxism of my father—a crystalographer and historian of science, who was a well-known Communist. Although the reviewer somewhat contradicted his case by his accurate perception that Marxism was perfectly compatible with the Arvan Model and that there have been many distinguished Marxist classicists working within it.

I think there is something in his argument, in that I have been heavily influenced by my father. However, this has been more by the general features of his thought, his broadness of bistorical vision and sympathy for the underdog, than by the specifics of his Marxism.

The attack in the National Review was far less interesting and informed. It initially claimed such absurd irrelevancies as that I was black and that Herodotos had written that the Greeks were blond. But a letter published soon after from an ex-student of mine accused me of being a 'pasty-faced' English Maoist. Nevertheless, I was pleasantly surprised that my letter in response to this was printed in full

Conservative classicists, whose academic attitudes have no necessary correlation with political conservatism, have taken the tack I had initially expected. They often say or at least imply that I am an incompetent 'crackpot'. This charge, which might well have been shattering to the book's academic reputation in 1987 or 1988, has come far too late.

This is because, if we are to use institutional or social criteria to judge who is or is not a 'crank' or 'crackpot'—as I think we must, if we are to avoid complete subjectivity – I can no longer qualify for the epithets. It stretches the meanings of the terms 'cranky' or 'cracked to breaking-point if they are applied to ideas that have had special sessions devoted to them in the annual conferences of the leading American professional organizations of the two most relevant disciplines, classics and Egyptology, and then author has been asked to address an international congress of archaeometry. There have also been two special numbers of professional journals.

My other mistaken prediction was that the cultivated lay public in Britain and America would rally to my cause. This is because, by and large, they know nothing about Black Athena. As I mentioned above, readers of the Independent, The Times, the Sunday Times and the Times

Literary Supplement have seen no mention of it. In the US there has been no review of the book in the New York Times. This omission is so important and interesting that it is worth considering in some detail. It is difficult for me to reconstruct the whole story. However, as I understand it, when Black Athena hist came to the book review committee in 1988, it was refused peremptorily. Later that year, Henry Louis (Skip) Gates, the most influential Black academic in the United States, asked me to compile a dossier of reviews and news items, which he kindly forwarded to the paper with his strong endorsement. Nothing happened. At the end of the year a Black correspondent on the New York Tones, seeing me on the New York television talk show 'Like It Is', checked back for his paper's review of Black Athena and, not finding it, asked me to send a copy for review. Nothing happened, even though, when someone from Rutgers University Press asked about it, she was assured that it was just about to come out. In the autumn of 1089, after the publication of the Arethusa special issue on the APA meeting, Rutgers tried again. This time the New York Times agreed to plan a feature article on the book and the response to it. This seemed to me the best thing to do as it would not oblige a reviewer to take a stand on the book one way or the other. I was interviewed at some length and a photographer was sent up to take pictures of me in my academic habitat. At this point, I was telephoned by another Times correspondent, who was working on a feature on Black claims that Egypt was Black. She too interviewed me for over an hour and her article appeared. As Black Athena is only peripherally concerned with this issue, it rightly did not feature largely in the piece, but the tone was hostile and dismissive, clearly aimed at discouraging readers from looking at the book. After that there has been no trace of the feature article.

What are the forces blocking any discussion of the ideas behind the book in this crucial newspaper? I suspect that it was following sequence: initially the work was thought to be absurd; then, when it was believed to be worth refuting, there was difficulty in finding experts who were willing or able to do this. As time went on, it became increasingly embarrassing to admit the slowness of their response. Finally a new factor entered, the fear that, even if they were able to do an effective hatchet job on *Black Athena*, there would be a barrage of angry letters from my Black supporters. Underlying this sequence, I suspect that there is a fundamental discomfort with the ideas that a tespectable academic discipline could have racist roots and that racism has permeated liberal thought as well as that of obvious bigots.

The lack of a review in the New York Times means that Black Athena

has not reached the liberal, cultivated white public in America that is so dependent on the *Times*. Information about the book has been spreading by word of mouth from its two centres, academia and the Black community. This means that its sales pattern in the US has been very unusual. Instead of rising to a peak and falling off, sales have risen steadily for over two years.

It is now simply too late to crush the ideas I have been proposing They have become an established academic discourse. As Nixon's henchman John Haldemann put it so well after the Watergate revelations, 'you can't put toothpaste back in the tube'. Bluck Athena has also reinforced many long-standing beliefs in the American Black community. Some of my classicist friends have asked me whether I am not disturbed by the uses made of Black Athena by Black racists. My answer to this is that I am disturbed because I hate racism of any kind. I would prefer to be in my position than thens, however, as I am infinitely less concerned by black racism than I am by white racism, and white racists, directly or indirectly, make constant use of orthodox views of the classical world and the Aryan Model. In any event, regardless of the politics of the situation, the reason why I am devoting the second half of my life to this project is not simply as an attack on white racism but because I believe the Revised Ancient Model to be a less inaccurate representation of the history with which it is concerned and I know that untangling its ramifications is fascinating.

I should like to thank again everyone I acknowledged in the preface to Volume 1. This includes the Government Department at Cornell, which has not merely tolerated my irregular activities but has encouraged and rewarded them. Once again, I should like to express my especial gratitude to Frederick Ahl, Gregory Blue, Saul Levin and David Owen, to whose number I should like to add Eric Cline, Susan Hollis, Edward Meltzer, Gary Rendsburg, Anthony Snodgrass and James Weinstein, all of whom have provided me with much important information and have shown enormous patience in answering my importunate questions.

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and Jack Winkler.

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I want to thank Bob Young, Ann Scott and all those who were working at Free Association Books during the winter of 1986/1987 for their extraordinary efforts and the splendid and attractive volume they produced. This time, I should like to thank the women and men working there now I am especially grateful to my editor Selina O'Grady for the tireless work she has put into rescuing my disorganized text as well as to Dr. Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Adaya Henis, the proofreader, and Jane Dieckmann, the indexer, all of whom have saved me from some of what remain a multitude of errors. Naturally, I want to take full responsibility for the many mistakes of fact and interpretation that remain.

As well as thanking my publishers in England, I should also like to express my gratitude to those in America, particularly Leslie Mitchner, Marilyn Campbell and Ken Arnold, who have consistently given meencouragement, support and good advice. I am also very grateful to Jenny Jardine for the splendid maps she has drawn on the basis of my

very rough sketches and even vaguer directions

As before, I cannot imagine having completed this volume without the love and support of my family, my wife Leslie and my children Sophie, William, Paul, Adam and Patrick, my son in-law Mark and my mother Margaret. They have kept and will always keep me in touch with a reality, without which all scholarly achievement is meaningless.

TRANSCRIPTION AND PHONETICS

EGYPTIAN

THE ORTHOGRAPHY USED in Egyptian words is the standard one accepted by modern Egyptologists, the only exception being the 3 used to represent the 'vulture or double 'aleph',

which is often printed as two commas on top of each other.

Whatever the exact sound of the 3 m Old Egyptian it was transcribed into Semitic scripts as 1, 1, or even n. This consonantal value was retained at least until the 2nd Intermediate Period in the 17th century BC. In Late Egyptian it appears to have become an 'aleph and later, like the Southern English r, it merely modified adjacent vowels. The 3 is the first sign of the alphabetical order used by Egyptologists, and I shall continue with other letters with obscure or difficult sound values.

The Egyptian i corresponds to both the Semitic 'aleph and yod, 'Aleph is found in many languages, and nearly all Afroasiatic ones. It is a glottal stop before vowels, as in the Cockney 'bo'le' or 'bu'e' ('bottle' and 'butter').

The Egyptian 'ayın, which also occurs in most Semitic languages, is a voiced or spoken 'aleph. The Egyptian form seems to have been associated with the 'back' vowels o and u.

In early Egyptian the sign w, written as a quail chick, may have had purely consonantal value. In Late Egyptian, the form of the language which had the most impact on Greek, it seems to have been frequently pronounced as a vowel, either o or u.

The Egyptian sign written as r was more usually transcribed as I in

Semitic and Greek. In later Egyptian it seems, as with the 3, to have weakened into becoming merely a modifier of vowels.

The Egyptian and Semitic letters Romanized as h appear to have been pronounced as an emphatic h.

The Egyptian and Semitic h represents a sound similar to the ch in 'loch'. In later times it became thoroughly confused with the letter §.

The Egyptian letter h appears to have represented the sound hy. It too became confused with §.

The letter written here as s was transcribed as either s or z.

§ was pronounced as sh or skh. In later times it became very confused with h and h.

k represents an emphatic k. Inconsistently, I have followed the common practice of Semitists and have employed q to represent the same sound in Semitic.

The letter t was probably originally pronounced as t'. However, even in Middle Egyptian it was being confused with t

Similarly, the d was frequently alternated with d

EGYPTIAN NAMES

Egyptian divine names are vocalized according to the commonest Greek transcription—for example, Amon for 'hmn.

Royal names generally follow Gardmer's (1961) version of the Greek names for well-known pharaohs, for mstance, Ramesses.

Corric

Most of the letters in the Coptic alphabet come from Greek and the same transcriptions are used. Six extra letters derived from Demotic are transcribed as follows:

W	Š	爲	h	噻	þ
9	f	8	h	ď	ğ

SEMILIC

The Semitic consonants are transcribed relatively conventionally. Several of the complications have been mentioned above in connection with Egyptian. Apart from these, one encounters the following:

In Canaanite the sound h merged with h. Franscriptions here sometimes reflect the etymological h rather than the later h t is an emphatic t.

The Arabic sound usually transcribed as th is written here as t^* . The same is true of the dh/d^{γ} .

The letter found in Ugaritic which corresponds to the Arabic gham

is transcribed g.

The Semitic emphatic k is written q, rather than k as in Egyptian. The Semitic letter *tsade*, almost certainly pronounced ts, is written s. In Hebrew from the ist millennium BC the letter *shm* is written as § Elsewhere, however, it is transcribed simply as s, not as §, because I question the antiquity and the range of the latter pronunciation (Bernal, 1988). This, however, causes confusion with Samekh, which is also transcribed as s. Sin is trunscribed as §.

Neither dagesh nor begadkephat is indicated in the transcription. This is for reasons of simplicity as well as doubts about their range and occurrence in Antiquity.

VOCALIZATION

The Masoretic vocalization of the Bible, completed in the 9th and 10th centuries an but reflecting much older pronunciation, is transcribed as follows:

Name of sign	Plain	with 1 y	with 1 w	with 7 h
Patah	⊉ ba	_	_	
Qåmes	a bå	bâ מֵי	_	កង្ båh
Hîreq	⊉ bi	ום בי bî	-	
Sêrê	∌ bē	bė בי	***	កង្គ bēh
S*göl	⊉ be	bê בֵּי	_	beh בה
Hölem	à bō		1⊒ bô	a bōh
Qıbûş	a bu		a⊒ bû	

The reduced vowels are rendered:

ph' thả thể thờ.

Accentuation and cantillation are not normally marked.

GREEK

The transcription of the consonants is orthodox

 ν is transcribed as y.

The long vowels η and ω are written as \hat{e} and \hat{o} , and where it is significant the long α is rendered \hat{a} .

Accentuation is not normally marked.

GREEK NAMES

It is impossible to be consistent in transliterating these, because certain names are so well known that they have to be given in their Latin forms – Thucydides or Plato—as opposed to the Greek. I houkydides or Platon. On the other hand, it would be absurd to make Latin forms for little-known people or places. Thus the commoner names are given in their Latin forms and the rest simply transliterated from Greek. Thave tried wherever possible to follow Peter Levi's translation of Pausamias, where the balance is to my taste well struck. This, however, means that many long yowels are not marked in the transcription of names.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

Chart 1 Egyptian chronologies

Dynasty	Breasted	Meyer	CAH	Helck	Mellaart	Bernal
lst	3400	3315±100	3100	2955	3400	3400
2nd			2900	2780	3200	3200
3rd	2980	2895 ± 100	2730	2635	2950	3000
4th	2900	2840 + 100	2613	2570	2850	2920
5th	2750	2680 + 100	2494	2450	2725	2800
6th	2625	2540 * 100	2345	2290	2570	2630
7th	2475	_	2181	2155	2388	2470
8th	2475	_	-	_	2388	2470
9th	2445	2360 ± 100	2160	_	_	2440
10th			2130	_	_	_
11th	2160	2160	2133	2134	2287	2140
12th	2000	2000/1997	199 E	1991	2155	1979
13th	1788	1778	1786	?	1946	1801
14th		_	-			_
15th	_	_	1674	1655	1791	1750
16th	_	_	1684	_	49-00-0	
17th						
18th	1580	1580/75	1567	1552	1567	1567
19th	13.15	1320	1320	1306	1320	1320
20th	1200	1200	1200	1196-86	1200	1200

Source: Breasted (1906, 1-pp. 40-5). Mescr (1907b, pp. 68 and 178). Combindge Ancient History (charts at the end of vols LzB, H) and H 2). Helck (1973-chart-1979, pp. 146-8). Mellian (1979, pp. 9 and 19).

Chart 2 Mesopotamian and Syrian chronologies

	Lagash Umma Kish	Akkad	Assur	Mari	Ebla
2600	and the same of th				
2550			/ Tudia	Eblut-li	Igris-Kalam Irkab-Damu
2500			LUCIA	Iku-Šar	Ar-Ennum Ebrium
2450	Fannatum			Śuru-Damu	lbbi\$\$ipi\$
2100	Lugalzaggizi	Sargon (2380–2325)			
2350					
2300		Naram-Sm (2300–2238)			
2250					
2200		Šu-Durul (2214–2199)			

CHAR1S

	Erišum 1 (1997–71)	
	1kunum Šarum-kin Puzzur-Aššur 11 Navam-Sin	
	Erišum II	
Hammurahi	Šamši-Adad (1869–36)	
(1848-1806)		Zimri-La (1831–1
Šamšuiluna (1805—1767)		
	t followed	
by Kassite rule		
	Tukulti-Ninurta 1 (1244–1208)	
	Šamšuiluna (1805—1767) Ammisaduqa (1701—1683) Šamšuiditana (1681—51)	(1997–71) Ikunum Šarum-kin Puzzur-Aššur 11 Naram-Sin Erišum 11 Šamši-Adad (1869–36) Hammurabi (1848–1806) Šamšuiluna (1805–1767) Ammisaduqa (1701–1683) Šamšuiditana (1681–51) Hittite Conquest followed by Kassite rule Tukulti-Ninurta 1

Babylon	Assur	Marı
	Erišum I (1906–1867)	
	Ikunum Šarum-kin Puzzur-Aššur II Naram-Sin Erišum II	
	\$amši-Adad (1813–1781)	Takhtun-Lin
Hammurabi (1792–50)		Zimri-Lam (1775–62)
Šamšuiluna (1749–12)		
Ammisaduqa (1646–26)		
	Tukulti-Ninurta (1244–1208)	I
	Hammurabi (1792–50) Šamšuiluna (1749–12) Ammisaduqa (1646–26) Šamšuiditana (1625–1595) Hittite Conqu	Erišum I (1906–1867) Ikunum Šarum-kin Puzzur-Aššur II Naram-Sin Erišum II Šamši-Adad (1813–1781) Hammurabi (1792–50) Šamšuiluna (1749–12) Ammisaduqa (1646–26) Šamšuiditana (1625–1595) Hittite Conquest followed by Kassite rule

Dendrochronological Range	Babylon	Assur	Marı
1900		Erišum 1 (1885–4?)	
1850		Ikunum Šarum-kin Puzzur-Aššur II Naram-Sin	
1800		Erišum II Šamši-Adad (1749–16)	Takhtun-Lim
1750	Hammurabi (1728–1684)		Zimri-Lim (1711–1698
1700 Kassites	Šamšuiluna (1675–47)		
1650			
1600	Ammisaduqa (1584–63) Šamšuiditatia (1561–31) Hittite Conqu		
1600	by Kassite rule		
1250	abylon 1235.	Tukulti-Ninurta (1244–1208)	1

Chart 3 Aegean chronology

Ceramic Period	CAH	$K \otimes M$	Bet	Bernal I	Bernal 2
EMI	3000?				3300
EMII	2500?				3000
HIME	2200				2400
MMIA	1900				2050
MMIB		2000	1		1950
MMH	1800				1820
MMIII	1700	1775 - 50		1730	1730
LMIA	1600	1675-50		1650	1675
LHI	1550				
LMIB/LHIIA	1500	1600 - 1575	1610	1550	1600
LMII	1450	1500 - 1475	1550	1450	1520
LHIIB	1430	1550			1520
LHHIAI	1400		1490		1470
LMIIIA	1380		1490		1470
LMIIIA2/					
LHIIIA2			1430 - 10		1420
LMIIIB/					
LHIIIB	1275	1375-50	1365		1370
LMHIC					B dade in
LHIIIC	1180		1200		1220

CAH = Cambridge Ancient History, 3rd edition.

K & M Kemp and Merculees (1980) Minoan Potters in Second Milleronium Egspt

Bet : Betamcourt (1985). High chronology and low chronology. Thera archieological evidence.

Bernal 1 Black Athena Volume 1 Bernal 2 Black Athena Volume 2

Introduction

OTUME 1 OF THIS SERIES WAS CONCERNED WITH TWO THE ANCIENT GREECE In the first of these, which I called the Ancient Model, it was maintained that Greece had originally been inhabited by Pelasgian and other primitive tribes. These had been civilized by Egyptian and Phoenician settlers who had ruled many parts of the country during the 'heroic age'. According to the second view, the Arvan Model, Greek civilization was the result of cultural mixture following a conquest from the north by Indo-European—speaking Greeks of the earlier 'Pre-Hellenic' peoples. In Volume 1 I tried to trace the processes by which the Ancient Model current in 5th-century. Greece survived until the end of the 18th century and was overthrown in the early 19th century to be replaced by the Arvan Model in the 1840s.

The introduction to Volume 1 contained an outline of the project as a whole. In this I announced my belief that the Arvan Model should be superseded by what I call the Revised Ancient Model. This model accepts, on the one hand, that Egyptians and Phoenicians settled in and had a massive influence on Ancient Greece. On the other hand, it takes into account the undoubted fact that Greek is fundamentally an Indo-European language. It also makes various chronological adjustments suggested by recent archaeology. At the end of Volume 1, I wrote that the

conception in sin, or even error [of the Arvan Model] does not necessarily invalidate it. Darwinism, which was created at very much

the same time and for many of the same 'disreputable' motives, has remained a very useful heuristic scheme. One could perfectly well argue that Niebuhi, Muller, Curtius and the others were 'sleep-walking' in the sense in which Arthur Koestler used the term—to describe useful 'scientific' discoveries made for extraneous reasons and purposes which are not accepted in later times. All that I claim for this volume is that it has provided a case to be answered. That is, if the dubious origin of the Arvan Model does not make it false, it does call into question its inherent superiority over the Ancient Model.'

In the many reviews of the first volume, there has been some scepticism about the utility of 'truth' of the Revised Ancient Model I propose. On the other hand, there has been a general acceptance of my historiographical scheme and of my contention that most of the men who established the Arvan Model were—to put it bluntly—racists and anti-Semites. There has also been a recognition that these attitudes could have affected their writing of history. I take this reception as a licence to continue my project.

The form of the continuation of the project has changed fundamentally. Many critics of the first volume wrote or hinted that I would have great difficulty in producing convincing work in the way I had set it out in the introduction. They were quite right. In the event, I have had to alter my project in three important respects. In the first place, where I had originally planned to cover the evidence from archaeology and Bronze Age documents in two chapters. I have now found it necessary to devote a whole volume to these two sources of information.

Secondly, my intention to keep the different kinds of evidence neatly apart has broken down completely as I have found it impossible to indicate the significance of one type without reference to others. For instance, I claim that the establishment of palaces in Crete in the 21st century is was heavily influenced by the contemporary restoration of central power in Egypt at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. I believe that this argument can be made convincingly only if one links it to the contemporary introduction of a bull cult to Crete and the latter's Egyptian precedents and parallels. Similarly, in examining the significance of the Mit Rahma inscription, I have felt obliged to look quite extensively at Classical and Hellemstic sources and at the archaeological evidence. Thus, I abandoned the attempt to apply disciplinary rigour to the material in favour of 'thick description' involving many different types of information simultaneously.

This leads to the third and most important change to my original

plan. I have given up the mask of impartiality between the two models. Given my commitment to the Revised Ancient Model, I had always known that this would be difficult. In the event, I have found it impossible. Now, instead of judging their competitive heuristic utility in a 'neutral' way, I shall try to show how much more completely and convincingly the Revised Ancient Model can describe and explain the development and nature of Ancient Greek civilization than can the Aryan Model.

INTRINSIC REASONS FOR PREFERRING THE REVISED ANCIENT MODEL TO THE ARYAN ONE

In a fasemating, though to my mind fundamentally misleading, article, published in 1972, the classicist R. A. McNeal argued that the 'prehistoric' Aegean could be approached in four ways: '(1) archaeological artifacts, (2) language, (3) skeletal material, if he wants to use it, and (4) Greek myth and legend. Apart from minor objections such as the fact that archaeologists today are extremely interested in buildings, settlement patterns and traces of agricultural and industrial activity, which are not restricted to artifacts, and that the fact that the extraordinarily ambiguous skeletal evidence can easily be subsumed under archaeology, the chief problem with this scheme is its omission of contemporary documents. The Aegean Bronze Age was not as 'prehistoric' as McNeal supposes. There are many references to the Aegean in Egyptian, Levantine and Mesopotamian texts and what is more, there are the tablets written in the Aegean syllabaries Linears A and B. Therefore, I think documentary information is of primary importance. It was for this reason that I had originally intended to begin this volume with a chapter on 'Contemporary Documents'. However, because archaeology can reach back to the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age, from which there is yntually no documentary evidence on the Aegean, I have altered the scheme so that in this volume the documentary evidence on contacts between the Near East and the Aegean comes only in the tenth chapter.

McNeal argues forcefully against any attempts to synthesize evidence from his four categories of archaeology, language, physical anthropology and legend, claiming sensibly that one can never be certain of correlations between them and, less convincingly, that scholars should not poach in their neighbours' fields because they cannot hope to understand the others professional mysteries. My objections to the last argument should be evident to readers of the first volume.

Furthermore, I cannot accept his requirement of certainty. I have

based my case in this whole project on the principle of competitive plausibility rather than certainty, simply because the latter is impossible to achieve in these areas. Thus, I believe that the most one can do is to achieve plausibility and this is best done by combining evidence from all sources, even while aware of the dangers involved. In this volume, therefore, although I attempt to distinguish the different approaches, I am not distressed when I fail to keep them apart.

Before examining the value of the Revised Ancient Model in the light of the different sources of evidence, I should like to consider its relative inherent plausibility in the face of the Arvan Model. The Ancient Model has the advantage of having existed nearer the period concerned. It could be argued that there is a gap of twelve hundred years between the 5th century, when the Ancient Model is first attested, and the 18th century 8c, when I believe there to have been Near Eastern settlements in Greece, which is more than the time that separates us from Charlemagne, and also that this temporal divide between Mycenaean and Classical Greece is not qualitatively shorter than the thirty-five hundred years between us and the hypothetical settlements by Phoenicians and Egyptians.

There are several good reasons for denying this contention. Firstly, as Ruth Edwards has shown in her book Kadmov the Phoenician. A Study in Greek Legends and the Mycenaean Age, there is a mass of literary and artistic circumstantial evidence suggesting that the Ancient Model existed in Archaic (776–500 BC) and even Geometric times (950–776 BC). This shortens the historical gap by some centuries 'Furthermore, evidence from Linear B tablets, reinforced by an increasing amount of information from archaeology, has confirmed that, in religion at least, there was considerable continuity from Mycenaean to Classical Greece.⁴

I have argued elsewhere that the West Semitic alphabet was introduced into the Aegean before 1,400 BC and, in any event, recent epigraphical discoveries and interpretations make it extremely unlikely that the Greek alphabet was borrowed or adapted after the 11th century.' Even if the introduction were as late as the 9th century, the survival of the Cypriot syllabary – until recently – without attestation for more than five centuries, and apparently that of I mear A in Fastern Crete for over a thousand years, makes it extremely unlikely that all knowledge of I mear B disappeared immediately with the collapse of Mycenaean palatial society in the 12th century.' Thus, there is every reason to suppose that some documents survived from the Late Bronze into the Farly Iron Age. On the other hand, while there is no doubt that there was considerable cultural regression between the 12th and the 8th centuries and that during this period much factual informa-

tion was lost and much myth, legend and folktale accreted, nevertheless, it is certain that the Linear scripts and the alphabet overlapped in time, probably for several centuries. It is now impossible to maintain that the Greek Bronze and Iron Ages were separated from each other by imperimeable centuries of illiteracy.

For instance, the second book of the *Hud* contains an extensive descriptive list of Mycenaean cities, many of which appear to have disappeared by the time Homer wrote in the 6th century. Thus, it would seem very likely to have been based on Bronze Age written material. Furthermore, as well as possessing written and oral traditions. Classical and Hellenistic writers were able to visit some well-preserved. Mycenaean ruins and we know that some sort of archaeology was carried out.⁷

On the other side of the Mediterranean, substantial records from the Bronze. Age were available in the Classical period to Egyptian priests as well as to Phoenicians and Mesopotamians. In Hellenistic times some of these ancient texts were translated into Greek or summarized by priests and scholars like the Egyptian Manetho, the Phoenician Philo of Byblos and Berossos from Mesopotamia. These and other sources were available to Greek writers, Hekataios of Abdera, Menander of Ephesos and others. Well before this, in the 6th century, Pherekydes of Syros is supposed to have based his work on Egyptian and Chaldaean works.9

By contrast, Herodotos, Diodoros Sikehotes and other ancient writers had garbled views of Egyptian history that were, in many respects, inferior to those of modern Egyptologists with their access to original sources. 'However, the discovery of the Mit Rahma inscription describing previously inknown extensive expeditions and voyages to Syria and beyond in the 12th Dynasty—shows us that we should not let the undoubted triumphs of Egyptology lead us to overestimate the completeness of modern knowledge. In this case, it is striking to note that Herodotos, as well as other Greek writers, seem to have referred to these activities in their descriptions of the conquests of Sesostris (see Chapters V and VI below). Thus, it is quite possible that Greeks knew things about Egypts relations with the Aegean that are unknown to modern scholars.

On a more general level it is important to note that Egyptologists rely on the Egyptian tradition transmitted by Manetho for mains points and still use the traditional dynastic framework as he transmitted it. They also refer frequently to Herodotos, Plutarch and Diodoros whose direct contact gave them a feel for ancient Egypt that can never be equalled by modern scholars.

The relative superiority of modern Egyptologists over the Classical

and Hellenistic Greeks is not paralleled with the Levant. The tablets from Ugarit have provided a fascinating and detailed picture of a major Syrian port for over a century in the Late Bronze Age as well as important, if scrappy, evidence on West Semitic religion and myth. The cuneiform letters found at Amarina give us an idea of the political situation in coastal Syria and Palestine for some decades in the 14th century. However, in the Southern Levant the predominant writing material was papyrus and the Phoenician cities were particularly lavish in their use of it. As the Jewish politician and historian Josephus put it in the 1st century AD.

Of the care bestowed by the Egyptians and Babylonians on their chronicles from the remotest ages . . among the nations in touch with the Greeks, it was the Phoenicians who made the largest use of writing both for the ordinary affairs of life and for the commemoration of public events; of this I think I need say nothing, as the facts are universally admitted. ¹¹

Furthermore, despite the many destructions of Phoenician cities in the 1st millennium, some documents appear to have survived right up to Hellemstic and even Roman times. As Josephus wrote,

For many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations . . . Many of the letters which they {Hiram and Solomon in the 10th century} exchanged are preserved to this day.¹²

None of these documents survived into modern times and the only substantial piece of Canaanite literature we possess today is the Old Testament. This has extraordinary historical value but it is largely concerned with Israel, an inland state with very little contact with the Mediterranean, let alone the Aegean. With so very few texts and an extremely ambiguous and scrappy archaeological record, modern scholars' knowledge of the Levantine coast in the Late Bronze Age is minute in comparison to that of Classical and Hellenistic times.

In the Aegean itself, Linear B tablets have provided invaluable linguistic evidence and given important information on the Late Mycenaean palatial economy. They have also dropped some tantalizing hints on the religion of Late Bronze Age Greece. They do not contain, however, any mythological or historical texts.

During the past century there has been more systematic digging in Greece than ever before and much significant evidence has been unearthed. Consecutive ceramic stratigraphies have been established for the Middle and Late Bronze Age. However, the absolute dating has been uncertain and for one of the periods with which we are most concerned, the border between the Middle and Late Bronze Age, has until recently been particularly obscure, and the synchronisms or dating parallels with the Middle East have been fiercely debated. There has also been a tendency to distrust carbon 14 and the other independent methods of dating where they do not fit preconceived chronologies, see, for example, the following statement made by the distinguished archaeologist Paul Astrom.

I should like to emphasize that carbon 14 dates are useless for exact dating of the Aegean Bronze Age. This may be demonstrated by an example. The average corrected carbon 14 dates for a short lived group of seven samples from the time of the destruction of Thera or a little earlier in 1688 * 57 B.C. The results are obviously quite ridiculous, as there is a general agreement on other grounds that the eruption occurred some time in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁴

In this case, so many other independent measures have confirmed the high dates that Astrom considered 'ridiculous' and – as I shall show in Chapter VII—many scholars are now beating a retreat—The point I am trying to make here is that the orthodoxy of the Aryan Model was established long before the new scientific techniques had been applied to Aegean archaeology and the reaction to their results has generally been to squeeze them into the model rather than to adjust or discard it. This aspect of the competition between the two models must thus be judged not on all the information available to their adherents after they were established but on the state of knowledge in the periods in which they were formed. In the case of the Aryan Model, this was the middle of the right century. For instance, at that time there was no archaeological knowledge of chronology whatsoever. This was not established until the 1880s when Elinders Petrie was able to date Minoan and Mycenaean pottery found in Egypt."

Today, even if the pottery is beginning to be dated accurately and it is possible to discover where it was made, it will never be able to tell us the languages spoken by its makers and users, nor can it prove or rule out any invasion or population movement, unless this involved a complete cultural break, and these are fortunately very rare. Thus archaeology, on its own, cannot answer the questions in which we are interested, the type, extent and duration of Egyptian and Phoenician influences on the Aegean during the Bronze Age.

Much of the assessment of the Classical and Hellenistic Greeks'

knowledge of the Bronze Age depends on the extent of the cultural break after the 13th century 8c. In Egypt, as the Egyptian priests were alleged to have told Solon in the first half of the 6th century, there was none 17 It is clear that, although there was some political instability and economic decline in Egypt for the next few centimies. there was virtually no disruption of cultural continuity or knowledge of the past. The invasions of the Near East by the Sea Peoples in the 13th and 12th centuries described in the Appendix to Volume 1 did cause a break on the Levantine coast, which appears to have led to the replacement of the predominantly monarchical, though thoroughly commercial, cities of the Bronze Age by cities of a new type, dominated by a temple not a palace, and the manguration of what we may usefully call 'Slave Society'.18 Despite these fundamental social changes, however, the cities revived decades not centuries after their destructions with strong continuities in their material culture. We even know from the 11th-century Egyptian traveller Wen Amon that, at least in the key city of Byblos, official records had been kept for over a century.19

In Anatolia, the disturbances destroyed the Hittite Empire forever but, as the Hittite specialist James Macqueen has written, 'We cannot now postulate four hundred years of chaos and an almost complete return to nomadic life.' Many of the Empire's traditions survived well into the Iron Age. Greece was no exception, as I have argued above; the break was not as drastic as it has commonly been portrayed. All in all, while the break was catastrophic locally, in the East Mediterranean as a whole, the so-called Dark Ages did not make a

clean break from the past.

'Dark Ages' have, in fact, been given a bad name by the quite exceptional cultural collapse between the 5th and 8th centuries AD. Although Byzantium survived this crisis, it had to be radically reformed to do so. Islam, while it too preserved some Egypto-Greek-Babylonian institutions, science and philosophy, did create a completely new beginning. In Western Europe, the Frankish Empire was nothing like the Roman one it claimed to succeed. All in all, the Bronze Age civilizations of the Middle East had been weakened by the Hellemistic and Roman conquests but they survived until the Gothic and Arab invasions and the triumphs of Christianity and Islam.'

The destruction of civilization accompanying the rise of monothersm included the loss of the great written languages of the early civilization: Sumerian, Akkadian and Egyptian. Hence the drastic cultural break between AD 500 and AD 800 makes the disturbances of the 12th century BC look trivial. Consequently, while the proponents of the An-

cient Model lived when the traditions of the Bronze Age had faded, they were still in the ancient world. By contrast, the champions of the

Aryan Model have lived many centuries after a true coupure

In general, then, it is clear that, as well as having a 'feel' for the topic from their common culture, the writers working in the Ancient Model had more information about the Bronze Age than do supporters of the Aryan one. However, proponents of the Aryan Model base their claim to superiority less on the amount of information available to them than on the contention that they, unlike the 'credulous' Classical and Hellenistic writers, have a 'critical approach, and a scientific viewpoint which more than compensate for any lack of information.

The term Altertumsussenschaft, used in German for the new study, has a less restrictive sense than its English translation 'science of antiquity'. Nevertheless, the sense of being 'scientific', even in the broad meaning of the word, indicates the feelings of excitement and confidence in the early 19th century which enabled scholars to disregard all their 'baroque' predecessors. To be precise, this claim to be 'scientific' was first made in the 1790s under the influence of Kantian terminology and before the technological breakthroughs of steam and electricity in the 1810s and 1820s. Nevertheless, just as railways, steamships and telegraphs surpassed all previous means of transport and communication, the philologists and ancient historians of the 19th century were convinced that their scientific and 'critical' historical approach or 'method' put them on a categorically higher plane than all their predecessors.

For the new scholars, the Ancient Model was a delusion. Just as 'scientific' historians had to discount all Greek references to centains, sizens and other mythical creatures that offended against the laws of natural history, the Ancients' view of Greece as having been civilized by Egyptians and Phoenicians had to be removed because it offended against the laws of 'racial science'. It should be emphasized that, for many of these scholars, this was the supreme science which subsumed all the rest, and the so called 'ethnic principle of history' was widely seen as the new historians' prime contribution to historiography.

The Aryanists' claim to objectivity does not seem convincing in the light of the relationships between classical scholarship and political ideology discussed in some detail in Volume 1.25 To put it simply, while 19th-century scholars might be more reliable than Classical writers on zoology or physics, on the issue of Near Fastern influences on Greece, most of the founders of the Arvan Model were much less 'objective' than the ancient Greeks. The latter were torn between the wish to be attached to the ancient civilizations and the desire not to be

culturally inferior to the Egyptians and Phoenicians, who were still very much around and were generally disliked. In sharp contrast to this—with very few exceptions—19th-century classicists were pushed in a single direction to affirm the persistence of 'racial' characteristics and the essential superiority of Europeans.

As menuoned above, the fact that the Aryan Model arose and was sustained, at least partially, by Eurocentrism and racism does not in itself make it false or heuristically uscless. People who detest Malthusianism can still find Darwin's theories, which were explicitly based on it, extremely useful. Even more directly relevant to our topic is the hypothesis of an Arvan conquest of North India. The undoubted fact that racialist 19th-century Indologists revelled in the hypothesis does not make it unting. Recent criticism from radical scholars has failed to make it redundant 20 It should also be noted that in India, unlike Greece, there was a strong ancient tradition of a northern conquest and a survival of pre-Aryan languages more or less where one would expect to find them. I shall argue in Chapter VIII of this volume that the Victorian and early 20th-century historians were probably right when they saw the Hyksos invasion of Egypt as involving some peoples from Northern Syria, possibly including speakers of Indo-Iranian or even Indo-Aryan. Thus, there are cases where an 'Aryan Model' would seem appropriate. Why should this not be true in the case of Greece? Might it not be that the facist creators of the Aryan Model were 'sleepwalking', to use Koestler's term; that is to say, they could have established a successful and fruitful model for extraneous reasons in very much the same way as their contemporary Darwin.

The fact is, however, that the Aryan Model has not been heuristically successful, at least since the 1880s when the Indo-European aspects of Greek language and culture had been largely worked out. Thus, its triumph over the Ancient Model cannot be taken as an indication of its superiority. There is, in fact, a striking contrast between the long-term fruitfulness of Darwinism for the understanding of natural history and the blatant inadequacies of the Aryan Model for explaining either the origin or the nature of Ancient Greek civilization. Whether or not readers agree with my analyses or etymologies, no one can deny that a huge range of Ancient Greek culture is still mysterious. Thus, as well as the intrinsic reasons for preferring the views of the Ancient Greeks about their own history, there is the massive inadequacy of the Aryan Model and, as I hope to show in this and the following volumes, the far greater explanatory power of the Revised Ancient Model.

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Let us return to the shift from the Ancient to the Arvan Model, looking at it in a more abstract way. Although Kuhn's schema were designed for the history of physical sciences, Lam convinced that they also have heuristic utility for studying revolutionary change in the humanities. I am also less hesitaint than I was in Volume a to view the Ancient and Arvan 'models' as paradigms or disciplinary matrices. The Arvan Model fits Kuhn's requirement that a 'disciplinary matrix' be "disciplinary" because it is the common possession of the practitioners of a professional discipline, "matrix" because it is composed of ordered elements of various sorts, each requiring futher specification.' 'At times Kuhn argues, as the sociologist Barry Barnes puts it, that with a 'paradigm' or 'disciplinary matrix';

it is never possible—to produce any context-independent 'rational justification' for preferring the new to the old, any indeleasible proof of 'advance' or 'progress'. Concepts, theories and procedures are changed, problems are changed; criteria of judgement are changed.

Nothing provides the essential stable anchorage for compara-

tive evaluation. Revolutions separate incommensurable forms of

This is a statement in theoretical terms of the reasons behind my change of project from that of a detached 'neutral' assessment of the heuristic utility of the two models into a demonstration of what can be done working within the new model or paradigm. Kuhn also argues, in terms that are remarkably reminiscent of the Marxist dialectic, of the shift from one mode of production to the next that:

scientists will be reluctant to embrace it [the new paradigm] unless convinced that two all-important conditions are being met. First, the new candidate must seem to resolve some outstanding and generally recognized problem that can be met in no other way. Second, the new paradigm must promise to preserve a relatively large part of the concrete problem-solving ability that has accrued to science through its predecessors.²⁰

This seems in many ways similar to the 'simplus explanatory value' that Lacatos insisted on, in his critique of what scemed to him the arbitrariness of Kuhn's paradigmatic shifts."

The great anomaly that brought down the Ancient Model was the contradiction between its tener that Greece had been civilized by

Egyptians and Phoenicians and the Weltanschauung of the 19th century, in which races were seen as primary determinants of history and then hierarchical descent white > brown > black was axiomatic. The 'Model of Autochthonous Origin', which was made explicit by Colin Rentrew only in the 1970s but was implied by K. O. Muller and George Grote between 1820 and 1840, transcended this problem. However, this gave no advantage for the study of the internal dynamics of early Greek history which, in fact, Grote abandoned entirely.³⁰

The Aryan Model has been able to do more than this, it has provided what Kuhn calls an 'exemplar' in the relating of Greek to the Indo-European languages. However, the new model has not fulfilled. Kuhn's second requirement that 'the new paradigm must promise to preserve a relatively large part of the concrete problem-solving ability that has accrued to science through its predecessors. Ouite the contrary, the men who destroyed the Ancient Model and those who established the Aryan one swept the board clean and began de novo. Why then do 19th-century ancient historians not fit into Kuhn's pattern? The answer would seem to be in what they perceived to be the enormity of the anomaly in the Ancient Model, which made any other model sor no model at all - preferable. The only internal reason for the Aryan Model's success was its power to explain the Indo-European basis of the Greek language. Thus, there was an exchange between this undoubted advantage and the need to deny the Greek tradition on the one hand and the many traces of Near Fastern culture in Greece seen by earlier scholars on the other. In short, the fact that the Augent Model was replaced by the Aryan one does not in itself give the latter. any superiority.

A SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

At this point, I should like to outline the contents of this book, in order to give readers some threads to guide them through the labytinth of facts and opinions they are about to enter. As I mentioned above, this volume concentrates on two sources of information about Bronze Age Greece and its relations to the rest of the Fastern Mediterianean archaeology and contemporary documents. Other sources—language, toponyms, mythology and religion—are also discussed here but they will be the focus of Volumes 3 and 4

Chapter Lis about Crete before 2100 BC. This island, placed in the midst of the three continents, Africa, Europe and Asia, has often been considered as one of the most important 'bridges' between them.

There is a brief survey of the New Stone Age or Neolithic period in Crete, from the introduction of agriculture and pottery there from Anatolia before 6000 BC, and the influences from Egypt and Libya and the Levant as well as from the Cyclades and Mainland Greece to the north that are evident from the archaeological remains from this

long period.

During the Neolithic period, Crete was relatively unimportant as the most prosperous regions around the Aegean were the large wheat-growing plains of Northern Greece. With the beginning of the Bronze Age some time before 3000 BC, these tended to fall back and the coasts and islands of the Southern Aegean became richer and more developed. There is some discussion about the causes of this geographical switch. Some scholars argue that it was the introduction of new 'Mediterranean' crops from the East, notably grapes and olives, but others question the date of their arrival and prefer to emphasize improvements in shipping and increase of trade. In either or both cases the shift from north to south would seem to indicate more contact with the Near East.

New scientific techniques which can purpoint the local origin of pottery and metal objects containing traces of lead have confirmed the theories of the 'Modified Diffusionists' of the early 20th century and go against those of the extreme isolationist revisionists led by Colin Renfrew, a professor of archaeology at Cambridge. It is now clear that the period at the end of the 4th millennium and the beginning of the 3rd was one of wide-ranging trade stretching from the Middle East as far west as Spain and Hungary and as far east as Afghanistan. In this larger sphere, the notion that contacts around the East Mediterranean were limited or restricted has become about d.

In Chapter 1, which is focused on Crete, there is some discussion of the arrival on the island at this time of new metallurgy and a new style of pottery, together with other cultural features that would seem to have their origins in the Levant. The beginning of the Early Bronze Age would seem to be the most probable time for a West Semitic language to have entered Crete to become an important if not the dominant language there until the rise of Greek on the island in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC. At the same time it is clear that Cretan religion of the Early Minoan Period was heavily influenced from Egypt, and Egyptian objects and artistic motifs as well as Levantine ones have been found in the island from the 3rd millennium.

There is also some discussion of the work on this period by the feminist archaeologist Lucy Goodison. Goodison has attacked the notion that Cretans had a chilionic or earthly mother goddess. She has

demonstrated that the iconography indicates rather that the sun was seen as female. There are interesting ideological reasons why the 19th- and 20th-century scholars should prefer the image of the earth mother as a suitable object for worship among non-Arvans. From the beginning of the 19th century, linguists saw the Arvans as a masculine, spiritual people worshipping the sky and those they conquered as essentially female and concerned with the earth and matter. In Egypt, while the sun was masculine, the sky was female and the earth tended to be male. Lucy Goodison rightly sees the religion she reconstructs as specifically Cretan. Nevertheless, she points out striking parallels with Egyptian religion, such as the notion of the sun sailing across the sky in a boat and the representation of two monrining ladies, who seem to resemble the Egyptian goddesses Isis and Nephthys, who lamented the death of Osiris

All in all, it seems clear that there were regional variations of culture within Crete and that all of these contained local elements continuing from the Neolithic, However, they also show heavy influences from neighbouring cultures; from the Cyclades to the north and Anatolia to the northeast but even more from Egypt to the south and the Levant to the southeast. This cautious, common-sense view would have been perfectly acceptable until the 1000s, long after the emergence of the extreme Arvan Model. Until then, acceptance of 'Oriental' influences on Pre-Hellenic culture posed little threat to the Arvan Model The non-Indo-European speaking yet Caucasian and somehow European Pre-Hellenes acted as a filter purifying the African and Semitic influences on Greek culture. Thus, for instance, the distinguished and progressive archaeologist and archaeological theoretician Gordon Childe argued for 'Modified Diffusion' and the crucial influences on early Europe from the Near Fast, although as a young man he was an outspoken champion of Arvan superiority.

Since 1972, the dominant figure in interpreting the Aegean in the grd millennium BC has been the Cambridge archaeologist Colin Renfrew. Renfrew has followed the trend in archaeological and religious studies of Greek civilization which increasingly saw the origins of Greek culture not in that of the Arvans who allegedly swept in from the north but in the indigenous peoples of the Aegean Renfrew, in fact, argues for the Model of Autochthonous Origin, claiming that Indo-European speech arrived with agriculture not only in Greece but in Europe as a whole. According to his scheme, the massive Levantine and Egyptian influence seen in 3rd millennium Greek civiliant for the scholars would have had an unmitigated impact on Greek civiliant for the scholars would have had an unmitigated impact on Greek civiliant for the first for the form of the first form

lization. Therefore, it was necessary for him that Greece should have a pure childhood without eastern influences. As he put it,

Throughout the southern Aegean, for a thousand years, striking changes were taking place in every field. These developments owed very little to Oriental inspiration. Yet it was at this time that the basic features of the subsequent Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation were being determined.⁵¹

Having used the term 'Extreme Arvanist' to describe scholars who denied all Egyptian and Phoenician influences on the Greeks, it is difficult to find a term appropriate for those who go beyond this to deny all Middle Eastern influences on the Pre-Hellenes, while at the same time seeing the first Europeans as Neolithic farmers rather than bronze-using, chariot-riding Arvans, I think 'Ultra-Europeanist' is the least unsatisfactory.

*Chapters II and III are largely concerned with Boiotia. The province of Boiotia in Central Greece is a plain surrounded by mountains. Flowing into the plain are a number of rivers, which tend to form into shallow swampy lakes, the largest and most famous of which was Lake Kopais. These are frequently blocked from the sea, but at some time in the Bronze Age channels were dug and timnels excavated linking caves to give outlets to the sea and drain the lakes. The drainage and irrigation techniques were extremely intricate and sophisticated and, when they broke down at the end of the Bronze Age, they were not replaced until the 19th century xo despite a number of determined attempts.

The sophistication of these dikes and tunnels was at a level only achieved in the Mediterranean basin at that time in Egypt. This, together with the existence of an extremely ancient stepped artificial mound that its latest excavator believed to be an imitation of an Egyptian pyramid, raises the possibility of Egyptian influence if not colonization in Early Bronze Age Boiotia.

Chapter II begins with a survey of the connections seen by Classical and Hellenistic writers between Boiotia and Egypt. These were partly the result of the capitals of both being called 'Thebes' and even more the similarities between the Nile banks and Delta and the matshy shores of Lake Kopais in Boiotia. Most of the chapter, however, is concerned with mythical and cultic parallels between Boiotia and Egypt. In particular, there is the importance of the cult of Athena on the southern shore of Kopais, which I believe can be traced to the cult of Athena's Egyptian counterpart Neit as an organizer of water. One

Egyptian myth portrays Neit as a cow swimming in the Delta to settle at the spot that later became her sacred city Sais. This is strikingly similar to the Greek myth of Kadmos, the founder of Thebes, following a cow until she lay down at the site of his future city.

Kadmos sacrificed the cow there and established a cult of Athena, with the mysterious epiclesis or title of Onga or Onka. The ancient writer Pausamas had no explanation for this name but, while others thought it Egyptian, he thought it Phoenician. The name Onka almost certainly comes from the name of the Egypuan Goddess, rinkt, known to Greeks in the Hellenistic period as Anukis. Anukis was the goddess of the Nile cataracts and the islands set among its various strands. It is therefore fascinating to find that the Greek Thebes was built on the edge of an escarpment over which three streams tumbled The other mythical name parallel to the name Onka, Onkaios in Arkadia in the Peloponnese, was associated with the reach of the fastflowing river Ladon, where it broke up to form islands. It is also clear that there was punning involved with the Semitic 1001 find, meaning 'necklace', as the foundation myths of Thebes, especially those around Kadmos' queen Harmonia, are laced with references to necklaces and other strings.

There is also some consideration of another mythical lady closely associated with the Greek Thebes, Alkinene, who was seduced by Zeus and, as a result, gave birth to Herakles. A long section of Chapter II is devoted to looking at the many Mesopotamian, West Semina and Egyptian strands that went to make up the greatest Greek and specifically Theban hero. These precedents are largely slippery divinities from all three cultures but they also include Egyptian pharaohs, particularly those of the Middle Kingdom, whose conquests and possible impact on Greece will be discussed in later chapters.

This raises two more general issues. The first of these is the possibility that what is generally seen as the peculiarly Greek concept of the semi-divine hero—who was always royal—had its origin in the Egyptian man-god or divine pharaoh. The second is that there may be some substance to the ideas of the Greek writer Fuhemeros, who was a contemporary of the extraordinary conquests of Alexander the Great and the foundation of the Hellenistic godlike monarchies Euhemeros argued that the conception of the gods came from exceptional men. In modern times the word, euhemerism' has been used—and I am guilty of this myself—in exactly the opposite sense, to describe the transforming of mythological beings into historical characters. There is no doubt, in fact, that both processes occur relatively

frequently and it is likely in this case that the Middle Kingdom pharaohs were an important component in the formation of Herakles.

Taken as a whole, Chapter II demonstrates detailed and intricate mythological parallels between Boiotia and the Near East, most of which date back to the Bronze Age and some of which would seem to come from the 3rd millennium. This is essentially to provide a background from which to assess the conflicting claims of modern archaeologists of Boiotia discussed in Chapter III. As mentioned above, there are two main material indications of possible Egyptian influence in the Bronze Age. Fustly, there is the tomb or 'pyraimd' of Amphion and Zethos. It is certain that it is huge and man-made, and that it had a quite extraordinary sancity throughout Classical and Hellemstic times and that Amphion and Zethos were considered as founders of Thebes. There has been controversy since Classical times as to whether they were the first founders of Thebes, that is, whether they came before the much better known Kadmos. The older tradition, that of Homer, claimed that this was so and Pherekydes, who was thought to have used Phoenician sources, added that then city was later destroyed and that Kadmos refounded. Thebes on its ruined site.

There is also little doubt that the mound dates back to the ceramic period Early Helladic II, that is between 3000 and 2400 BC, the period of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Theodore Spyropoulos, who excavated it, believes that the sophisticated step construction resembles that of the earlier Egyptian pyramids. The tomb at the top of the mound was looted and, while Spyropoulos believes them to have come from Egypt, it is difficult to piupoint the origins of the very few remains recovered there. Given the mythological background referred to above and the fact that we know Egyptians to have been making pyramids at this period, it would seem reasonable to suppose that there was at least Egyptian influence if not Egyptian presence involved in the massive construction work required for the erection of the monument.

Recent excavations have shown a high level of prosperity and urbanization in Boiotia in EHII. More striking still are the so-called Rundbauten or 'round buildings' of this period found near Orchomenos on the northern shore of Lake Kopais. The most plausible explanation of these constructions is to see them as granatics. The doven of Greek archaeology until his death in the late 1970s, Spyridon Marinatos, showed that these granatics closely resembled ones found in Egypt and clearly illustrated in Egyptian tomb paintings. Therefore, he argued, they showed Egyptian influence at this very early period.

The existence of such granaries would also indicate large grain surpluses in their districts. Such surpluses could possibly have come naturally from the shores of Lake Kopais or the banks of the river Kephissos that flows into it. It would seem much more plausible, however, to suppose that they were the result of artificial dramage and irrigation.

The idea that the earliest dikes and polders of the Kopais basin date back to EHII is not new. The German engineer and archaeologist Lauffer, who devoted his scholarly life to the hydraulic works, believed them to come from this period. His modern successors have been more cautious, merely maintaining that the earliest works are pre-Mycenaean. Spyropoulos, however, maintains that he has found EHII pottery on a dike, thus confirming Lauffer's position. Thus, there is a convergence of evidence from the 'pyramid', the dikes, the Rundbauten and the general prosperity of the period to indicate that there were massive construction works in Boiotia in the middle of the ard millennium BC. Furthermore, it is not merely the 'pyramid' and the Rundbauten that indicate that these works were connected to Egypt. By this time, there had been sophisticated drainage and irrigation in Mesopotamia for many millenniums. Nevertheless, Egypt was far closer and engaged in massive hydraulic works throughout the Old Kingdom. Thus, it would seem that Egypt was the most likely source of the expertise necessary to tackle the complicated problems \involved in controlling the Kopais.

Boiotia was not the only region of Greece to have been drained and urigated in the Bronze Age. There are several similar dikes and dams in the mountainous region of Arkadia at the centre of the Peloponnese. These have not been dated but archaeologists and engineers who have surveyed them believe that the similarities indicate that they were constructed at the same time as those in Boiotia. Even more remarkable is a huge dam near. Livns in the Argive plain. This is on an even grander scale than the Boiotian and Arkadian dams and no par-

allels have been drawn between it and them

The possibility that the Inviis dam too may have been begun in the Early Bronze. Age is increased by the find of an EHH Rundbau at Tryns of such gigantic proportions that it would seem to have been capable of storing the whole production of the Argive plain. This indicates not only great prosperity but also strong centralized political or at least economic control of a type not envisaged by Renfrew in his model of small-scale farming at this period. This scale of organization is also suggested by the discovery at Lerna of a substantial building of the period, known as the 'House of Tiles'. Whether this was a small

palace or the centre of a council, it confirms the picture suggested by

the Rundbau of a sophisticated centralized administration.

Chapter III also gives particular consideration to the toponyms of floods and irrigation. The name Pheneos or Péneios is a common river or lake name, which occurs throughout Greece and in particular in both. Thessalv to the north of Boiotia and Arkadia. It has no Indo-European etymology and would seem most likely to come from the Egyptian Pt Nw(v) (the flood). In both of these cases there are strong indications that earthquakes could cause blockages leading to floods and strong ancient traditions associating them with floods and heroic irrigation.

One of the most frequent river names in Greece is Kephis(s)os. I believe that this comes from the Egyptian toponym Kbh(w), which appears commonly in Egypt for streams, rivers and other bodies of water. It is clearly linked to the Egyptian roots kbb (cool) and kbb (purify). Kbb was one of the names of the two caverns near Elephantine on the Eirst Cataract from where the Nile was supposed to spring and there seems to have been a general association of the name Kbh(w) with cool pure water springing from the ground. Many if not most of the Greek Kephisorcame or went underground and were used for ritual purification. Kbh(w) was also used as a place name for marshy ponds and lakes with aquatic birds. This would seem an appropriate etymology for Lake Kaphyai in Arkadia as well as Kopais itself, into

which flowed a river called Kephisos

Both Bojotia and Arkadia have cities called Orchomenos sited close to Bronze Age dikes and channels. The toponym clearly dates back to the Bronze Age as it is found on Linear B tablets. An Indo-European etymology for this has been proposed from a root meaning 'close', reconstructed from a Lithuanian verb verin (enclose). However, there would seem to be a more plausible etymology from the Canaamte root 'rk. Its basic meaning is to 'arrange in order' or 'set in rows' or, in the military sense, 'draw up a battle line'. This would seem to be the origin of the rich cluster of Greek words beginning meh, which have no Indo-European etymologies meaning 'go first' or 'command' in a military sense. It would seem likely then that meho and ercho as well as arch- were loans from Semitic 'rk. This would seem to strengthen the hypothesis that Orchomenos, and Erchomenos, means 'regulated' or 'enclosed place' and refers to the nearby dikes and channels. Despite its ultimate Semitic origin, the final menos would seem to be the Greek passive participle, which would make the toponym itself Greek. It may be, however, that there was what linguists interestingly call 'contamination' from the Semitic mayim (waters) 'Regulated waters' would fit the context exactly.

These possible etymologies are to be seen in the context of the actual ancient irrigation works, the probability that the skills needed for them must have come primarily from Egypt, and secondly from the Levant, and traditions associating emigrants from Egypt with early ningation. The great difficulty, however, is to distinguish the period within the Bronze Age in which the names arrived. While it seems clear that the waterworks themselves were begun in the 3rd millennium, they were still being developed in the 2rd and it may be that the vocabulary arrived only in the later period. This would seem virtually certain, in fact, if one dates the arrival of Indo-European speech to Greece to the end of EHH or to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. It is possible, however, that some of the cults and traditions, particularly those concerning the irrigating Neit/Athena and her battles with Seth/Poseidon, the force of the wilderness, do go back to the earlier period.

There are, interestingly, frequent references in Greek tradition to double foundations. One explanation to this may simply be the common theological and mythological practice of doubling to make more mysterious, as with gods with two births, two mothers, two fathers, and so on. Or it may be a Lévi-Straussian mythological structural requirement. In this case it would seem likely that the doubling has a historical basis and it is possible that Greeks of the Iron Age were dimly aware that there had not been only one dark age, that of the Fall of Mycenae and the Return of the Heraklids in the decades after the Irojan War, but there had also been earlier ones: that around Deukalion's Flood, which we would put around 1000 BC, and the still earlier one, which, among other things, had destroyed the 4 hebes of

Amphion and Zethos.

There is no doubt that the society and economy of Greece in the ceramic period EHII were extremely prosperous and sophisticated and that many of their surviving features look very Egyptian, and further that Egyptian influence on Greece at this time would not be surprising as it was the height of the Old Kingdom. While no clearly Egyptian objects of this period have been found in Boiotia or Arkadia, a small number of significant Old Kingdom Egyptian objects have been found elsewhere in the Aegean and not merely in Greece. All in all, I argue in Chapter III that there is a good circumstantial case to be made for significant Egyptian, and to a lesser extent Levantine, influence on Mainland Greece as well as the Aegean in the 31d millennium BC.

Towards the end of the 3rd millennium, developments in Crete

took a very different form from those on the Greek mainland. Before that, the prosperity and the scale of economic operations in the north seem if anything to have been greater than those in Crete. Furthermore, although more Old Kingdom Egyptian and early and mid-grid millennium Levantine objects have been found on the island, as argued above there seems to have been equally great contact between the Central and Northern Aegean and the Middle East. The difference arose after the end of the Greek ceramic period EHH and the Cretan EMH in the 2 pth century. In Greece, there were destructions, after which urbanization and density of settlement declined. In Crete, by contrast, there was the development of what has been called the Proto-Palatial Period, which led on to the great Cretan palaces, which appear to have first been built in the last century of the grid millennium.

There has been considerable debate on the causes of the Cretan devélopment from the cultivated but largely unurbanized Crete of the Early Minoan period to the palatial society made up of reasonably large and bureaucratically run states. While they admit that the shift was of critical significance, Renfrew and the Ultra-Europeanists, not surprisingly, argue that it was essentially indigenous. Modified Diffusionists, including the founder of Cretan archaeology Su Arthur Evans and his most brilliant pupil [D.S. Pendlebury, on the other hand, noted both the significant number of Levantine and Egyptian objects found in FMIII strata and the fact that the changes in metallurgical technology and in the design of stone and pottery jars reflect Levantine and Egyptian influences respectively. They have also noted the essential similarity of the architecture of the Cretan palaces and the palatial systems that were run from them to those of the Midthe East which preceded them by many centuries. Thus, they have lended to associate this transformation with Eastern influences

Interestingly, a number of the vounger Cambridge archaeologists are arriving at a similar conclusion by a very different route. Taught by Ultra-Europeanists, they have been struck by the difficulties in fitting the archaeological evidence into the smooth evolutionary model assumed by Evans and to some extent by Renfrew. Thus, they now use the language of the critics of Darwinian evolution and talk of princtuated equilibria. They also note that the Proto-Palaual Period was marked by a sharp increase of evidence of communications with the Near East, Even so, they, like the older generation of Modified Diffusionists, are very vague as to how and why these developments should have taken place.

The explanation would seem to come from the strong likelihood

that the first Cretan palaces were built when Egypt was ruled by the 11th Dynasty. This dynasty, founded by Black Upper Egyptians from the Theban nome, restored the unity of Egypt, establishing what was later known as the Middle Kingdom. There is no doubt that under this dynasty Egyptian military power grew and there were expeditions into the Levant. We also know from lead isotope analysis that 11th-Dynasty Egypt was importing silver mined from the mines of Laurion in Attica, south of Athens. This and the finds of Egyptian objects of the period in Crete suggests the possibility that the establishment of the Cretain palaces was in some way the result of the contemporary reestablishment of Egyptian power. Nevertheless, the connection still

appears tenuous on archaeological grounds alone.

There is, however, another source of evidence. One of the most striking features of Cretan palatial society was its bull cult, Evidence for this appears from the remains of the Cretari palaces as well as from the Greek traditions of Minos' labyrinth and the Minotaur. Although there are some plains on the island suitable for cattle, its most striking feature is its mountains, which make it essentially country for goats or wild goats, agrini. Thus, geographically it is no surprise that there is no evidence of a bulk cult until the very end of the Early Minoan Period. This absence compounds the difficulty of accepting the most frequently suggested origin for the Cretan bull cult of the 2nd millenmum ac, which is the powerful bull cult in the Catal Huyuk Neolithic culture of the 7th millennium BC. It is probably true that Grete, like Mainland Greece, received much or most of its agricultural techniques from this Anatohan civilization and I have frequently argued against the 'argument from silence'. Nevertheless, a gap of attestation of a bull cult in either Anatoha or the Aegean for four thousand years does present some difficulties. The plausibility of the hypothesis shrinks to nothing as there is another possible place of origin almost equally close geographically and a exactly the same time in the 21st century BC, namely Egypt in the 11th Dynasty.

Bulls as powerful and beautiful animals have been the objects of religious veneration in many different cultures. In Egypt bulls and bulls' horns have been of great cultic significance since Predynastic times. From the beginning of pharaonic times there had been a number of bull cults, the most famous of which was that of the Apis bull, founded by the first ruler and great lawgiver of the 1s. Dynasty, known later to the Greeks as Mênes or Min, near Memphis or Min nfr. It is striking that the legendary lawgiver and ruler of Grete. Minos, was also closely associated with the bull cult and the Minotaur. The last was represented very much in the tradition of Egyptian portraiture of gods with a bulf's head and a human body

There were also other important Egyptian bull cults. At Heliopolis, just northeast of the modern Cairo, there was the cult of Mnevis, whose Egyptian name was written with the literoglyphic sign. A (winding wall). According to Greek tradition, Minos' architect Daidalos built the Cretan labyrinth on an Egyptian model and the first extant Greek mention of a 'labyrinth' did not refer to the building in Knossos but the massive funerary temple of the 12th-Dynasty pharaoh Americanhe III at the mouth of the Eavytin Lake. I believe that the name Labyrinthos probably came from another name of the pharaoh, N mir t Rr., which was rendered by Greeks in Hellenistic times in many ways, including Labares and Labaris.

There is, then, a remarkable triple parallel. In Egypt there were bull cults associated with the name Mn, which was also the title of the founding pharaoh lawgiver and a bull associated with a 'winding wall'. All of these date back to the Old Kingdom, that is, before the foundation of the Cretan palaces. In Crete, there was a bull cult associated with a King Minos and a labvrinth. The parallels become even more intricate as traditions reported that King Minos was not always a dignified lawgiver but was sometimes a lecherous satvi. This resembles yet another Egyptian figure, the god Min, distinguished iconographically by his enormous phallus and in later times seen as the original of the Greek god Pan, the patron of the satyrs. It would also seem that the god Min was at times confused or syncretized with the founder Min/Měněs.

Another Egyptian cult linked to bulls was that of Mntw, an important god of war and conquest especially of the north, who rose to national prominence as the patron of the pharaolis of the rith Dynasty named Menthotpe. 'Mntw is content', after him. I hus, the Gretan bull cult appears to have arisen in the zist century be at precisely the same time as the rith Dynasty reunited Egypt and spread its influence abroad, while promoting a bull cult. It may even be that the name of Mntw in the form *Rdi Mntw, 'Mntw gives' or 'whom Mntw has given', is preserved in the legendary King Rhadamanthys, the brother of King Minos who was a king, conqueror and judge in his own right. In New Kingdom Egypt, Min, founder of the 1st Dynasty, and Menthotpe, founder of the Middle Kingdom, were sometimes worshipped together, which would neatly parallel the relationships between Minos and Rhadamanthys in Greek tradition. As there appears to have been some fusing of god and pharaoh, between Mino Minos and Min and

Mntw and Menthotpe in Egypt, it would seem plausible to suggest that the Cretan Minos and Rhadamanthys drew from both the divine and the royal sources

There are a number of ways in which to explain this pattern of coincidence. The first of these is simply to put it down to chance. This would seem unlikely because of the parallel's elaboration and density.

The second explanation is to attribute it to Classical and Hellenistic concoctions between Egyptian and Greek priests. This is virtually impossible because the names of Minos and Rhadamanthys appear in Hesiod and Homer and their writings make it clear that most of the legends concerning them already existed in the 10th or 9th centuries. Thus, any concoction of parallels would have had to have taken place earlier, perhaps in the 'Dark Ages'. This would seem very unlikely because of the nature of contacts between Egypt and Greece and the disorganized state of Greek religion at that time. If the concoction were any earlier, the most probable period would have been in the 15th and 14th centuries, when there was contact around the Fast Mediterranean and religion was flourishing in both regions. In fact, it may well be that the Greek legends were shaped at this time. As archaeology shows that the Cretan bull cult began precisely when the cult of Mntw was at its most flourishing, however, there would seem every reason to suppose that the basic parallels date back to then.

Another reason for placing this coincidence at the end of the 3rd millennium is that around 2000 BC the Egyptian national cult changed from the bull Mntw to the ram Amon. Thus, while it is true that Mntw remained an important member of the Egyptian pantheon, especially associated with northern conquests, and Amon as the ram Zan of Zeus became extremely important in Cretan religion, Crete preserved the centrality of the bull cult after Egypt had abandoned it. This would seem to fit a general cultural pattern in which peripheral regions preserve aspects of culture abandoned at the centre, in the way for instance Buddhism survives in Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia and Nepal and Tibet but not in its country of origin, India. The same is true of Christianity, which survived in Europe and East Africa but not as the majority religion in Syro-Palestine and Egypt where it was created.

The near certainty that the Cretan bull cult was introduced from Egypt and the architectural and social similarities between the Cretan and Near Eastern palaces, as well as a number of other cultic and iconographic parallels, make it clear that the cultural 'leap' from Pre-Palatial to Proto-Palatial Crete was the result of at least indirect stimulus from the contemporary Middle East and that this was connected to the reassertion of Egyptian primacy in that region. I also believe that the

traditions of Rhadamanthys and archaeological evidence suggest the possibility of some Egyptian suzerainty in the Southern Aegean in

the 21st century.

(6) Chapter V and Chapter VI are concerned with the 'conquests' of the 12th-Dynasty pharaoh Senwoste I or, as the Greeks knew him, Sesôstris. Herodotos and later Greek writers wrote at some length and in considerable detail about his conquests, achieved in campaigns that took him and his army across Asia, Scythia - the South Russian Steppe to the Caucasus, Writers after Alexander the Great's conquests, which had reached India, argued that Sesostris had gone equally far. All of these reports have been discounted since the 18th century by modern scholars, most of whom were for a long time unwilling to identify Senwoste with Sesostris. They have tended to argue that the reports were clearly Egyptian attempts to find a national hero whose conquests could surpass those of their Persian rusers after Cyrus the Great and their Macedonian ones after Alexander, and hence the exaggerations of Diodoros Sikeliotes in the Hellenistic period. The modern scholars' incredulity was also heavily affected by y their difficulties in accepting that a civilized African army could have made significant conquests not metely in Southwest Asia but also in \ Europe Such a scheme flew in the teeth of systematic late 19th- and early goth-century racism.

Until the middle of this century, it was generally agreed, on the basis of inscriptional evidence and archaeology, that there had been an Egyptian 'Empire' or at least a zone of influence in Syro-Palestine during the 12th Dynasty. Since then, however, scepticism had reached such a point that some scholars were doubting its existence. Without a base in the Levant, the conquests of Senwosre Sesostris were com-

pletely out of the question.

Defenders of the 12th-Dynasty 'Empire' in Syro-Palestine have been supported by the discovery and preliminary reading of a large inscription from Memplus of the modern village of Mit Rahma, describing many major expeditions led by Senwosre Land his successor Amenembe II, by both land and sea. Some of these went to Nubic and Kush further south in Africa but more went north into Asia, to Smar Lebanon but also to Str. a country still further to the north, which in later times was equated with the Greek 'Asia'. A number of cities with names unknown from other Egyptian sources—were destroyed. The expeditions sent back considerable booty to Egypt, most notably prisoners and metals, particularly lead and silver.

Georges Posener, a senior scholar who devoted a lifetime to the study of Middle Kingdom Egypt and especially its relations with

Southwest Asia, immediately saw the inscription as powerful evidence to back his strongly held belief in Middle Kingdom suzerainty over Syro-Palestine. He was supported in this by the Israeli archaeologist

Raphael Giveon.

Equally predictably, the American Egyptologist and champion of the Lebanese William Ward, who had opposed ideas of a '12th-Dynasty Empire', claimed that the inscription was much later, belonging to the 19th Dynasty, and therefore could not be used as evidence as it was inscribed seven hundred years after the supposed events. However, Wolfgang Helck, probably the most distinguished living German Egyptologist, who had previously opposed the idea of extensive Middle Kingdom activities in Southwest Asia, has been convinced by Posener's use of the evidence from the inscription, which he too accepts as coming from the 12th Dynasty. He has also argued that the expeditions ranged as far as Cyprus and Southern Anatolia

I go beyond him to argue that the inscription reopens the question of the historicity of the wide-ranging conquests of Sesöstris reported by the Greek writers. In fact, even without the inscription, such a revision could have been begun because, as I have stated above, I believe that where ancient sources converge and are not controverted in An-

tiquity, one should take their schemes as working hypotheses.

Before trying to assess the plausibility of the Greek writers, it is necessary to try and specify their claims as far as possible. It is clear, for instance, that when Herodotos reported that Sesostris had marched across the 'continent' Asia, he did not mean that he had crossed as far as Chukhotka and the Bering Straits. In fact, ancient writers challenged Diodoros' claim that the pharaoh had gone to India. It is clear that, in this context, when Herodotos referred to 'Asia' he meant what we today call Asia Minor or Turkey. In this case, we should see Sesos. tris' campaigns as going through Anatolia and round the north of the Black Sea to the Caucasus, a route of more than three thousand miles, an impressive distance, worth remembering for two thousand years However, it is considerably shorter than the marches of Alexander the Great and in modern times it is comparable to the Chinese Communist Long March, which was also made on foot and, unlike those of Sesöstris and Alexander, did not have the advantages of backing from a stable state and supplies by sea.

Chapter V includes two sections on chronology. The first of these is not directly relevant to the chronology of Sesostris, but it is important because it provides an excellent illustration of some of the difficulties caused by archaeologists' desire to establish a 'scientific' basis for their discipline. It concerns the chronology of Egypt, which until twenty

years ago had to provide the basis for the chronology of the rest of the Middle hast and the Aegean. This was because only Egypt had lists of kings and then reign lengths going back into the 3rd millennium of beyond. These lists were far from complete and sometimes contradicted each other and there were the so-called 'intermediate Periods' between powerful dynasties, when the political confusion in Egypt is reproduced in the historical records and chronologies. Nevertheless, with the help of an astronomical dating from the 12th Dynasty, most scholars accepted that the 1st Dynasty had begun around 3400 BC.

During the mid-20th century AD, there has been a strong urge among Egyptologists and ancient historians to establish a 'scientific' status for their disciplines and themselves. The simplest way to achieve this appeared to be to use scepticism and causion. It became impermissible to use probabilistic arguments and it was absolutely essential not to appear speculative. This scepticism and caution were particularly applied to space and time. There was a strong tendency to restrict the geographical range of ancient activities and an even stronger one to down-date earlier chronologies. Thus, by taking the shortest possible reign lengths and insisting upon long co-regencies, when pharaohs shared the throne with their successors, and uponoverlapping dynasties, the 'new scientific' scholars were able to lower the founding of pharaonic Egypt to the 29th century ac. Although there was later a recoil from such radicalism, the new compromise was established in the gist century BC, two or three hundred years later than the old consensus.

Over the last two decades, 'real' natural scientists have arrived on the scene and with naive open-mindedness they want to solve the problems that are now amenable to solution by their methods. They were as surprised as anyone when many of their dates from radio-carbon and other techniques tended to come out significantly earlier than they were supposed to according to conventional archaeological wisdom. The chronological sections of Chapter V, however, are concerned with battles that are still being fiercely fought.

In 1979, the brilliant but erratic archaeologist James Mellaart, who is generally considered 'unsound' by his colleagues, published an article on chronology in which, in provocative terms, he called for a general revision of Near Eastern chronology upwards to fit with the new data coming from radio-carbon dating. The article was immediately attacked by archaeologists for its partial selection of dates and twisting of data. Although this was successful, the defence of the status quo was only short-lived. For some time radio-carbon laboratories had been making continued 'errors' in their datings, which their had to be

repeated until they 'got it tight', that is until they found dates that fitted the conventional chronologies. The interesting thing is that, although some of these 'errors' involved scattering in both directions, the vast majority of datings for the 3rd and 4th millenniums were simply seen as being 'too high' by from two to five hundred years. In the case of one eminent laboratory this 'error' persisted for several years until it was 'corrected' and archaeologists were discreetly told to lower the previous dates given for their sites by a couple of centuries. However, no explanation was given for the 'error' or for the basis of the correction.

In the late 1980s a group of scientists from Texas and Switzerland collected eighty new carbon samples from a number of the pyramids and then analysis of them has resulted in a series of dates for pharaohs from the Old Kingdom that are, on average, 374 years above those given by conventional wisdom. This is, in fact, even higher than the dating proposed by Mellaurt and provides powerful support for his case.

For these reasons, I now accept Mellaurt's return to the conventional wisdom of the early 20th century that the 1st Dynasty began around 3400 BC rather than around 3100 BC, and that the 3rd Dynasty – the first of the Old Kingdom – was founded around 3000 rather than 2086 BC, which is the date given in the Cambridge Ancient History Because the Aegean ceramic periods have been dated from Egyptian chronology, this involves raising the beginning of the Early Minoan Helladic I period from 3000 to 3300 BC and Early Minoan Helladic II from 2500 to 3000 BC.

Mellaart maintained that the raising of the dates for the Old Kingdom necessarily involved raising those of the Middle Kingdom, which in turn forced the abandonment of the 12th-Dynasty astronomical date upon which all early Egyptian chronology had depended. On the other hand, he accepted the conventional dates for the New Kingdom, which he too saw as beginning in 1567 BC. The way in which he switched from a high chronology for the Old Kingdom to a low or middle chronology for the New Kingdom was by enlarging the 2nd Intermediate Period.

The dating and duration of this period will be discussed at length in Chapter VIII and there is no doubt that there are some problems with the conventional views on these. Nevertheless, I am extremely reluctant to abandon the astronomical date for the 12th Dynasty, which does seem well based. Thus, where Mellaart enlarges the 2nd Intermediate Period between the Middle and New Kingdoms, I prefer to 1e-inflate the 1st Intermediate Period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Over the last seventy years, this period has under-

gone an especially radical compression because, as the 'softest' period, its reduction or elimination provided the easiest way in which to achieve the desired low date for the beginnings of the 1st Dynasty and the Old Kingdom. Thus, while I revise Egyptian dating for the Old Kingdom, I stay within conventional bounds for the dating of the Middle and New Kingdoms.

Mellaart did not restrict his raising of dates to Egypt. He insisted that radio-carbon indicated that Mesopotamian dates of the 4th and 3rd millennium should be raised as well. This allowed for synchronisms of parallel datings between the two regions to be maintained. Here his views have been partially supported by scientific work of another kind, that of the statistician Peter Huber. Huber has studied Mesopotamian reports of sightings of Venus and of lunar eclipses for the beginning of the 2nd millennium be. On the basis of these, he demonstrated that the so-called middle and low chronologies could not be reconciled with this data but that the so-called flong chronology litted it very well indeed. This flong chronology should not be confused with the even higher flight chronology used by scholars early in the 20th century and required by Mellaart.

Take the scientists and technicians working on radio-carbon, Huberhad no apparent axe to grind. He did not care whether his results were high or low, he simply saw the problem as an interesting and soluble puzzle. The same impartiality cannot be attributed to the archaeologists, who had been pushing dates down for decades and who now reject his findings. However, it now appears that they may be reinforced by unpublished and unchecked dates from a palace in Anatolia which tend to support the middle and possibly even the low chronology. Thus, one is forced to be open to the possibility that any of the

chronologies could be right.

If one accepts the 'long' chronology it would seem that in the second half of the 20th and the first half of the 19th centuries BC, there was a striking contrast between the peace and prosperity of Egypt, the Levant and the Southern Aegean, on the one hand, and the frequent destructions in Anatolia, the Balkans and the Caucasus, which, according to modern archaeological convention, marked the end of the Early Bronze Age in this region. These are usually attributed to invasions from the north. However, in Anatolia and the Balkans no specifically 'northern' objects have been found at the destruction levels. On the other hand, there have been a number of small 12th-Dynasty Egyptian finds in the former. Such a scenario would be difficult to reconcile with the middle chronology and out of the question with the short.

The possibility that the 'long' chronology is correct and these

destructions were the result of Egyptian campaigns is strengthened by the discovery of a treasure hoard from the reign of Amenembe II found at the temple of Mntw at Tod just south of Thebes. It contained a number of silver vessels from Anatolia as well as other objects including lapis lazuli cylinder seals, the material for which was mined in Afghanistan but which were carved in Mesopotamia and one possibly in Anatolia. The most likely provenance for all of the objects in fact, is Central Anatolia, as the Mesopotamian seals could very probably have reached. Anatolia as the result of the Assyrian trading colonies we know to have existed there in the 20th and 19th centuries be.

The Tôd Treasure could be the result of trade between Anatolia and Egypt. However, its placing in the temple of Mntw, the god of conquest especially associated with Stt, would make it seem much more likely that the offering was of booty acquired infittarily. This hypothesis is greatly strengthened by a reference in the Mit Rahina inscription to the gift of booty from Stt to the temple of Mntw at Tôd. Thus, archaeology would seem to back the ancient claims that Sesostris made conquests in 'Asia' understood as Asia Minor.

The evidence from the ancient I brace, the modern Bulgaria, is less clear-cut. There are certainly major destructions during the late 20th and early 19th centuries and a number of precious and semi-precious stones available to Egyptians only from the Balkans first appeared in Egypt in the 12th Dynasty. Nevertheless, these could well have been acquired through long distance trade. Thus, this section of the pharaolis 'conquests' is possible but the evidence for it is nowhere near as strong as that for Anatolia. Evidence from Scythia or the South Russian Steppe is even more scanty, though it would be more difficult to establish, as at this time the area was largely inhabited by nomads.

To investigate the claims for conquest in the Caucasus we have to look at another class of evidence that is treated in Chapter VI. This is later tradition. Herodotos believed that the inhabitants of Colchis on the eastern shore of the Black Sea were descendants of troops from Sesostris' army who had settled there. He based this claim on a number of factors, including that this was what the Colchians claimed to be their origin, and that they were Black with tight curly hair, which was how he identified the Egyptians. Whether or not this is the case, we know from models of Middle Kingdom soldiers that they included stereotypical Nubians as well as Egyptians.

Herodotos' view of Colchian origins was accepted and amplified by a number of later writers, the most notable of whom was Apollonios of Rhodes, an extremely erudite librarian of the great library at Alexandria in the 2nd century Br. Apollonios' epic the Argonautika was

about Jason's pursuit of the Golden Fleece to Colchis in his magic ship the Argonaut with its crew of heroes. Much of the information in the epic on the peoples along the southern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea has been confirmed not for Apollonios' own time but for much earlier periods, showing that the poet had access to accurate historical material. It also suggests that Flerodotos was erring on the side of caution when he said that the Egyptians – unlike the Colchians – were unaware of any connections between their two countries. A long passage from the Argonautika attributes the foundation of Colchis to an Egyptian pharaoh who had ruled before there was any Greece. This and a number of reported aspects of Colchian culture all tend to confirm Herodotos' picture, at least to the extent that the Colchians in the 5th century accelered themselves to be descended from soldiers in Sesôstris' army, if not that their tradition was essentially accurate

A still more remarkable fact is that, even today, there is an African Black local population in from the subtropical coast near the resort of Sukhumi. The people, who survived Stalin's attempts to scatter them and to force intermarriage, speak the local Caucasian language of Abkhaz and are fiercely Muslim. There is no doubt that some of their ancestors migrated there in more recent times when the region was under Turkish control. However, the modern Black Sea Black population can be traced back to the 17th century and the ancient one to as recently as the 4th century AD. Thus the temporal gap here is no larger than the one between Herodotos and Sesostris and, as Abkhaz and Georgian scholars admit, the possibility of continuity cannot be ruled out.

Other regions too appear to have traditional indications of the passage of a great Egyptian conqueror. There is no doubt that the 2nd-millennium iconography of the Levantine, Hurrian and Anatohan thunder gods Ba'al, Tessub and Tarkhwin was heavily influenced by images of the striking Egyptian pharaoh as portrayed in the Middle Kingdom. The most striking resemblance is that of the tall hats based on the white crown of Upper Egypt, sometimes complicated by images of the guardian snake winew worn in its front. However, there are also remarkable similarities of stance and posture between the divine and pharaonic images. The possibility that aspects of Herakles may have been influenced by Middle Kingdom pharaohs was raised in Chapter II and the connection between Herakles and these smiting gods is also considered.

Beyond this it would seem likely that the legends of Osiris/Dionysos' civilizing conquest of the Fast that so influenced Alexander were at least partially a enhemerization - in the original sense of great man to god of Sesőstris' triumphs. There was also a direct connection between the two. It seems clear that Egyptians of the time saw Alexander as the new Sesőstris and the Alexander legends, which began soon after his death, appear initially to have been modelled on popular stories and epics on Sesőstris current in the Hellenistic period. In fact, the Egyptian tradition of Sesőstris that Herodotos and the other Greek writers reported was clearly old. The 'conquests of Osiris' are attested from the 18th Dynasty.

Apart from the possible induced survivals of the conquests in the myths of Herakles and Dionysos, two native Greek traditions could well come from them. One of these is the tradition of an Egyptian Kekrops founding Athens. It is possible that Kekrops' name came from the praenomen of Sesöstris, Hpr kire, or that of his great-grandson Sesostris III, He kiw Re. Athens was close to the Laurion mines, which we now know were supplying silver to Egypt by the rith Dynasty. Thus, an Egyptian settlement in Attica would certainly fit the general pattern of the Sesöstris's campaigns, a major motive of which was to acquire metals. This will be discussed further in Volume 3.

The other possible folk memory of the 12th-Dynasty conquests is in the traditions of the activities of the Black hero Memnon: according to the epic tradition, in the Trojan War Memnon was summoned to the aid of King Priam, whom Homer described as 'the most handsome man at Troy'. Traditions of Memnon are in fact most frequent in Northwest Anatolia, where he was seen as both an Osiran deity of fertility mourned by women and birds and as a conquering hero

whom Herodotos equated with Sesostris

There is no doubt that the Greeks saw Memnon as an Ethiopian, that is, as a Black However, there are complications because the Greeks saw two peoples as 'Ethiopians' the Ethiopians to the south of Egypt and the Ethiopians or 'Blacks' who formed the basic population of the ancient kingdom of Elain to the east of Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. Elaintte civilization was as old as that of the Semitic and Sumerian peoples of Mesopotamia. Its language belonged to the Dravidian family, which now survives most strongly in Southern India and, although there were 'negritic' types in the Elamite population, the majority appear to have been Blacks of the South Indian type. There is no doubt that by the Classical period, Elainites, now under Persian rule, saw Memnon as a national hero and there was a strong Greek tradition that he came from the Dawn and the East.

On the other hand, there was an equally strong tradition that Memnon was an African Ethiopian and that he was associated with the Nile Valley. Memnon was the Greek name for the famous colossal figure,

across the Nile from Thebes, of limiting or Amenhotpe III. However, there are also Greek graffiti on it naming the statue as Amenoth and Phamenoth, which would seem to indicate an awareness of the name

of lmnhtp Amenhotpe.

In fact, however, there are clear indications that the name Memnon did not come from imphtp but from imp in hst. Ammenemes, the name both of Sesostris' father and of his son, who was associated with his conquests in the Mit Rahma inscription and other sources. We also know that the royal family of the 12th Dynasty came from southern Upper Egypt and had some Nubian ancestry. Thus, the tradition of a conquering Black hero called Memnon arriving in Northwest Anatolia from the east would fit neatly with a historical Egyptian campaign across Anatoha led by Sesostris' son and hen, imm m hu II. There is no reason why Homer or the traditions he drew from should have felt any more compunction in placing a hero of the 19th century BC in the Trojan War in the 13th than Virgil did in making the oth-century Dido, founder of Carthage, a contemporary of the Fall of Troy It is also clear that factual or fictional Memnon became an archetypal hero, so that seven hundred years after imm in bit H a king of Mycenae still used the name Agamenmón, 'Great Memnon',

Phus, a large number of archaeological, iconographic and legendary phenomena from over a large region, which are at present mexplicable, are field together and make sense if we accept the basic trith of the Greek reports and the Mit Rahma inscription. There is nothing inherently impossible or even implausible about Sesöstris' campaigns if one limits them in the ways suggested. It would, in fact, be more cumbersome to refuse to accept their fundamental historicity.

Although Greek reports and legends have been central to the reconstruction of Sesostris' conquests, there is no reference in the legends – which are clearly distinct from the stories about the Egyptian Kekrops—to the pharaoh's having gone to Greece. It is striking, for instance, that the legends about Memnon are centred in Northwest

Anatolia, not in Greece itself.

The chief concern of Chapter VII is with the re-dating of the huge eruption of the island of Thera seventy miles north of Crete. This is important for a number of reasons but especially because it leads to a heightening of the Aegean ceramic periods, which makes the traces of Near Eastern influence earlier and synchronizes periods when archaeology suggests close contact with those indicated from documentary sources. It also provides another case study showing the ways in which scholars prefer to stick to established theories rather than to confront the implications of new evidence. In Volume 1, I stuck my

neck out and accepted the date of 1628—1626 BC rather than the conventional ones of 1500 or 1450. My reasons for doing so were that the higher date was the one indicated by markings on tree rings in both the Western United States and Ireland and that they fitted better with the evidence from carbon 14. The earlier date also explained the absence of reports from Egypt, about which a good deal is known between 1500 and 1450 whereas the late 17th century BC is a blank there. Above all, I realized that the later dates were merely based on the hunch that the eruption was the cause of the destruction of Minoan title in Crete and the triumph of the Mycenaean Greeks on the island, which we know from Egyptian records took place at around 1450 BC.

Since I published this, more evidence has appeared to support the higher or earlier date. This comes from tree rings in Germany and England, above all from a study of the layers left by winter snowfalls and summer melts on the Greenland receap. These have shown that there was a great increase of acidity of the kind one would expect with eruptions of the Thera type at around 1640 BC. This straw of ice has broken the camel's back and nearly all archaeologists of the Bronze Age Aegean now concede that the 17th-century date is correct.

A section of Chapter VII is an inquest on the debates in an attempt to discover why archaeologists should cling so long to such a flimsy hypothesis in the face of so much apparently objective contrary evidence. Such inquests are generally considered to be in bad taste as it is thought in such circumstances that 'anyone can make a mistake'. My purposes in making it are, firstly, to try to warn against such reification of hypotheses in the future and, secondly, to make conventionality have its costs. At present, academic sins of commission are punished feroclously, while there is a great tolerance towards those of omission which involve uncritical acceptance of the status quo. I want to do what I can to lessen the disparity between the treatments of the two kinds of error.

The second half of the chapter is concerned with three traditions that appear to have preserved folk memories of the eruption. The first of these is that of the Bible. In the Book of Exodus, a number of the phenomena associated with the departure of the Israelites from Egypt have long been seen to have strong suggestions of volcanic activity. These are 'the darkness that could be felt' and the 'pillar of cloud' by day and the 'pillar of fire' by night. Above all, there is the parting of the Red Sea and its rushing back to drown the pharaoh's army, which would seem strikingly similar to the effects of a volcanic tidal wave or tsunami of the type that appears to have taken place on

the Mediterranean coasts of Egypt and Palestine as a result of the Thera eruption.

The tracing back of these legends to 1628 BC rather than to 1450 or 1500 tends to reinforce the already strong and ancient hypothesis that the biblical tradition of an Israelite captivity or sojourn in Egypt is based on a tolk memory of the Hyksos rule in Egypt, in which people living in the later Israel clearly played a prominent part. The correspondence is not precise as the expulsion of the Hyksos took place around 1570 BC that is, over fifty years after the Thera eruption. Thus, the two dramatic events would seem to have been conflated in the legend. Nevertheless, 1628 BC is considerably closer to the Hyksos tetred than the lower dates previously given for the eruption. The notion that these seismic catastrophes were helpful to the Israelites is clearly linked to the fact that then god Yahweh was a god of earthquakes and all kinds of natural disturbances. The Hyksos dedication to Yahweh's Egyptian counterpart Seth shows that this cult aniedates the eruption. Severtheless, there is every reason to suppose that the eruption provided powerful reinforcement of it

The second tradition considered is the Egypto-Greek one reported by Plato in his dialogues the *Timaeus* and the *Kritias*. This is the dramatic story and description of Atlantis allegedly told to the Atlantia statesman Solon when he visited the Egyptian capital of Sais around 600 BC. According to this, Atlantis was a rich and magnificent island in the Atlantic, where a confederation of kings had gathered a huge army to conquer all Africa except for Egypt and all Europe except for Athens, which led a heroic resistance to them. Atlantis was dramatic

cally destroyed by earthquakes and floods

There seem to be two conflations here, one geographical and one historical. For some time scholars have seen a connection between the fiery and watery destruction and the Thera cruption. Nevertheless, Plato is quite explicit that his Atlantis was beyond the Pillars of Hercules—the Straits of Gibraltar—therefore in the Atlantic. Laccept that there is a reference to Thera here and that the confusion comes over the name 'Atlantis'. Largue that the stem Atla found in Atlantis, Atlantic and the mountains and giant called Atlas comes from the Egyptian lities, the name of the Nile and of other large bodies of water, especially the river that was believed to encompass the world. It was, in fact, a close semantic equivalent to Okeanos (ocean), a name which appears to have a Mesoporanian origin. Thus, Atlantis as a sea could well be the setting of Thera in the Mediterranean, though it is possible that this was combined with a vague sense of America beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

The temporal confusion is also linked to this, as itim is a synonym for the late Egyptian borrowing ym from Semitic yām (sea), used to describe the 'Peoples of the Sea' who attacked Egypt in the 12th century BC. Indeed, the passage from Plato portraying the plot against the civilized world in the form of an invasion launched from Atlantis strikingly resembles the inscription written by Ramesses III describing the 'conspitacy [made] in their islands' by the 'Peoples of the Sea'. If one associates the return of the Heraklids or 'Dorian Invasion' with the Aegean tribal movements in the wake of the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea, then Athens did indeed stand up against the northern invaders, although it would be an exaggeration to claim that it led or saved the world by this. There would seem, then, to be a doubling in Solon's story between what modern Egyptologists call the 2nd and the 3rd Intermediate Periods, between the volcanic destruction of Thera and the Hyksos eruption in the 2nd and the political turmoil of the 3rd.

Interestingly, however, the 3rd Intermediate Period also contained a major volcanic event in the third eruption of the biggest Icelandic volcano Heklam 1159 BC. Irish and Scottish archaeologists and palaeochmatologists have recently shown that Northwest Britam was virtually depopulated as a result of Hekla III, although it is also clear that living conditions had been deteriorating for some decades before. Although the situation was less clear-cut and there was no similar overwhelming catastrophe in the sheltered Mediterranean, the climatic pattern may have been similar there—a deterioration leading to migrations and disturbances from the end of the 13th century and a breakdown near the middle of the 13th.

These two eruptions of 1628 and 1159 BC appear to have had an even more dramatic and long-lasting effect on China. Chapter VII contains some excursions there, which focus on the fascinating climatological work of the Chinese American scientist Kevin Pang. Pang and his colleagues have been using Chinese records to help establish meteorological records for the past four thousand years. For the period since the 9th century BC, the descriptions of 'extraordinary' natural phenomena, including many that appear to be the result of volcanic eruptions, can be dated with some accuracy. Before that century, the work is fraught with difficulty because there is considerable controversy over dating. I agree with Pang, however, that it would seem best to date the fall of Xia to the end of the 17th century BC and that of Shang to the end of the 12th.

Pang's chief thesis—based on this chronology—is that the falls of the first two Chinese dynasties, the Xia and the Shang, correlate with the eruptions of Thera and Hekla III. Hence many of the extraordinary phenomena reported in traditional sources in association with dynastic collapse—double suns, pale suns, dry mists, frosts in summer, etc.—should be taken seriously. Until recently, most scholars have understood these reports of unnatural happenings to have been invented or exaggerated with the political purpose of demonstrating that the old dynasty had lost the 'Mandate of Heaven' and therefore deserved to have been overthrown by the new one under whom the reports were written.

Now it would seem that the reports may have contained some truth and that the eruptions and the meteorological 'prodigies' they created, as well as their economic consequences in lost harvests, may indeed have been necessary, though not sufficient – there were of course other social and political factors – causes of the falls of the Xia and Shang.

The probability that the reports are accurate raises the possibility that the basis of the texts describing the fall of the Xia Dynasty and the rise of Shang may come not from around the time of Confucius in the 6th century BC, as is commonly supposed, but from much earlier, in the 12th century after the fall of Shang or even from their purported date the 17th century. In either case, it indicates that Chinese gentlemen were thinking in 'Confucian' terms five hundred years or more before the philosopher's birth. Thus, Confucius should be taken seriously when he claimed that he was a transmitter rather than an

originator.

This re-dating has even wider consequences because it removes one of the 'legs' of the theory of the 'Axial Age'. According to this, by chance or providence something extraordinary happened to the world in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. It was then that true religion, philosophy and science were supposed to have begun in China there were Confucius and Laozi [Laotzu], in India Buddha, in Persia Zoroaster; Judaism was created in Babylonia and most important of all there was the 'Greek Miracle'. Now it seems that Confucius was firmly based in the culture of the Early Zhou in the 12th and 14th centuries and was clearly drawing on still older traditions. Buddha was reacting against Hinduism, which had existed for over a thousand years before his time. Zoroaster himself is now placed in the 2nd millennium ac and much if not most of the Bible was written long before the 6th century. In fact, the only 'revolution' that took place at this time was the Greek one and this, I am convinced, was deeply indebted to much earlier Egyptian and Levantine religious, philosophical and scientific traditions.

It is the relative strength of the Greek case that gives the game away. The concept of the Axial Age' allows Greece, and hence Europeans,

to be in at the beginning of world civilization. Thus, the great Bronze Age cultures of Asia and Africa, upon which not only the techniques but the spirit and reason of Classical civilization depended, were, and had to be, denied.

The role of the eruptions of Thera and Hekla III in the falls of Xia and Shang appears to have had a crucially important long-term effect on Chinese history. I go on beyond Kevin Pang to argue that these two eruptions, roughly five hundred years apart, played a significant role in establishing the historical pattern of the dynastic succession, something that is missing for instance in the other great East Asian empire, Japan. I also believe that the clear signals the cruptions gave indicating that the Mandate of Heaven had been removed were important in establishing the tradition of justified rebellion against 'illegitimate authority' in both China and Vietnam. In these two countries the tradition of the Mandate of Heaven, with its built-in possibility of removal, was accepted and incorporated into a strong peasant tradition of revolt. Thus, whereas peasant millenarian movements have existed in most societies, in China and Vietnam they have been linked to the possibility of political change in this world as opposed to the next.

In the 19th century Ab, when Japanese scholars wanted a translation for the European term 'revolution' they chose kakumei (Removal of the Mandate), and its Chinese form geming maintained the connection between the traditional and the Western concepts. There is no doubt that by the catastropluc late 1940s the Kuomintaing was widely considered to have lost the Mandate of Heaven. Thus, the Communists to whom the Mandate had been given, riding on a wave of social and national revolutionary enthusiasm, had a traditional licence or even a duty to remould society. It was this double authority that allowed Mao and his supporters to carry through a successful collectivization of land at breakneck speed and to launch the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution of unparalleled radicalism. Thus, China today still bears the marks of the Thera eruption over

thirty-five hundred years ago-

Chapter VIII is concerned with the Hyksos, the people from the northeast, who invaded or inhiltrated Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom and who controlled at least Lower Egypt for over a century and a half until they were expelled by the Egypto-Nubian 18th Dynasty at some point near 1570 BC. The first problem considered is that of chronology, which is very uncertain from the Egyptian records. I argue, on the basis of Palestinian ceramic periods, that the Hyksos had arrived in at least the Eastern Delta by 1740 BC. The second problem is that of the ethnicity of the Hyksos. I approach this by consider-

ing the historiography of the Hyksos. The standard classical text on this, written by the Egyptian priest Manetho, described the Hyksos as from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race' who invaded and ruthlessly conquered Egypt. As mentioned above, from at least Hellenistic times writers have associated the Hyksos rule in Egypt with the Israelite captivity or sojourn in Egypt so that, until the end of the 19th century, it appears to have been assumed that the invaders were Israelites or Proto Israelites, in any event Seimitic speakers.

With the systematization of anti-Semitism, however, this picture of northerners sweeping down on prosperous river valleys seemed typically Arvan and not at all Semitic, if—as late right-century scholars did—one discounts the Arabs for the purpose of this argument. This view of the Hyksos had the backing of Manetho's statement that they were of 'obscure race' and of an 18th-Dynasty inscription which was read as stating that the Hyksos' capital contained Gimw, the standard Egyptian term for the Semitic-speakers of Syro-Palestine, with the Smiw, 'wanderers' or 'foreigners in their midst'. This was interpreted as an indication that the Hyksos had a non-Semitic core.

German scholars, struck by apparent similarities with the sudden Mongol and Turkish conquests, suggested that the Hyksos were an 'Inner Asian' nation. This was quickly identified with the newly discovered Hurrians, speakers of a language that was neither Semitic nor Indo-European, who were supposed to have migrated to North ern Mesopotamia at about this time from beyond the Caucasus. We now know that Hurrians were present in Mesopotamia from the 31d millennium and probably much earlier still. Scholarly enthusiasm for the Hurrian kingdom of Mitamir that was contemporaneous with the 18th Dynasty became even greater when it was discovered that some Mitanni royal and divine names and chariot-driving terms were Indo-Iranian if not Indo-Arvan. This strongly suggested to them that the kingdom had been formed by an Arvan 'master race' whose dominance was associated with charlots. Their suggestions were strengthened by the fact that, while there was little or no information on Syro-Palestine from the 17th century, when the region appears again in Egyptian reports in the 15th century there seem to have been many Hurrians and a certain number of warriors with Indo Iranian names in the region.

These suggestions were resisted by a number of Egyptologists, who objected to this poaching on their territory and held the new professional dislike of dramatic or far reaching events. Some of them also disliked the anti-Semitic implications of the introduction of Hurrians and Aryans into the Hyksos. They were able to back their objections

by pointing out that most of the Hyksos names have Semitic etymologies and there were no Indo-European names or, as far as could be told, Hurrian ones.

The debate continued in the 1920s and 1930s along the general lines that Middle Europeans and ancient historians believed in Hurtian and Aryan components of the Hyksos, while Egyptologists of other nationalities stressed then overwhelmingly Semitic nature. Most of these, however, accepted some Hurrian, though usually not Indo-Iranian, presence The revulsion after the Second World War against anti-Semitism and theories of an Aryan 'master race' appears to have had a major impact on attitudes towards the Hyksos

Scholars now tended to dismiss the possibility of Hurrian, let alone Indo-European, elements among the Hyksos. They also challenged the belief that there had been an invasion, preferring to postulate a slow, undramatic Semitic migration or infiltration into Egypt. They were supported by the current low or middle chronologies, according to which the admitted Hurrian expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia took place only in the 17th century, which made it too late to have had any connection with the original Hyksos movement. This meant that the few scholars who persisted with the notion of a Hurrian component now had to make a distinction between two types of Hyksos, the earlier Semitic infiltrators and the later Hurrian-led conquerors.

If one accepts the 'long' chronology for Mesopotamia, the attested Hurrian expansion is now placed in the first half of the 18th century, that is, just before the Hyksos arrival in Egypt. Even if one does not, parallels from the emergences of Islam, the Mongols or the Taiping in China suggest that it is quite possible for powerful forces to emerge quite suddenly in a year or two. Either way, much as I applaud the political inclinations of those who have fried to deny a Hurrian or Indo-Iramian influence on the Hyksos, I think they are wrong, and the evidence does indicate a Hurrian and possibly even an Indo-Iramian element among the Hyksos and, what is more, this element was probably associated with chariotry.

Here, then, we would seem to have a clear case of an 'Aryan Model'. I have never denied that there have from time to time been conquests by northern barbarians, indeed, I believe that this was the case in North India, where there was a strong tradition for it and it fits the later distribution of languages. The argument in *Black Athena* is simply that it is implausible for Greece, which has no such traditions or linguistic distribution.

Having accepted the presence of Hurrians and Indo-Iranian speakers among the Hyksos, there is absolutely no doubt that these con-

querors of Fgypt were overwhelmingly Semitic-speaking. Most of the Hyksos names are Semitic and excavation of the Hyksos capital at Tell el Daba a in the Fast Delta demonstrates that their material culture was Syro-Palestman, or rather a mixture of Egyptian and Levantine Thus, just as Attila's hordes were overwhelmingly made up of the Romans' old neighbours the Germans and it was Germanic not Hunnish culture—or barbarism—that came to dominate most of Western Futope, the net effect of the Hyksos invasions in Egypt was to introduce new Hyksos weaponry but Syro-Palestinian culture and language.

Chapter IX is concerned with what I see as the continuation of the Hyksos drive, this time into the Aegean. I am not the first writer to suggest this, as it was proposed by the powerful German ancient historian Eduard Meyer and some others at the beginning of this century. More recently, the Cambridge archaeologist Frank Stubbings has argued that the Shaft Grayes at Mycenae were the burials of Hyksos princes. In general, however, this view has been out of fashion over the last fifty years.

In this chapter, I try to revive their contentions in the light of discoveries over the past twenty years. The most important development has been the upward re-dating of many ceramic periods because of the new date for the Thera eruption. These new dates put the breaks. in Aegean material culture associated with a very special kind of Near Eastern art and technology in the last quarter of the 18th century BC This means that these breaks and innovations are to be associated with the Hyksos. Therefore, at this point, I cannot follow the Ancient Model, according to which the Phoenician Egyptian Hyksos arrived in Greece after they had been expelled from Fgypt, which was around 1570 BC. Largue that the Near Fastern settlements in the Aegean took place i.e. the beginning of the Hyksos rule in Egypt around 1730 BC rather than at its end. This adjustment is in fact the second revision'of the Revised Ancient Model, the first being the acceptance that the Indo-European basis of Greek speech must have arrived in some way and at some time from the north.

The first section of Chapter IX is concerned with a change that took place in Crete around 1730 BC. At this time, all the palaces of Crete were destroyed and were rapidly rebuilt. Although there was essential cultural continuity, there were sufficient differences to make most historians distinguish between an Old Palace Period and a New Palace Period before and after this break. There is also a general consensus that, although the Old Palaces were themselves heavily inflaenced by the Near East, the influences appear even more strongly in the New Palaces.

Although most scholars see continuity from Cretan metallurgy, most also agree that the weapons of the new period were heavily influenced by Near Fastern and particularly Syrian technology. It was in the ceramic period Middle Minoan III (1730 - 1675 BC) that the sword was introduced to Crete. There is some discussion of the plausible Egyptian and Semitic etymologies for the two chief Greek words for 'sword', xiphos and phasganon, neither of which has Indo-European cognates or related words. At the same time as the sword, the other new 'wonder weapon' of the Late Bronze Age, the chariot, also seems to have arrived in Crete.

In art, one finds a style virtually unknown before in either the Aegean or the Near East. The new style is epitomized by a new convention, the 'flying leap', in which animals give the impression of fast movement by stretching their legs in the air to the front and back. In general there is an emphasis on vitality, flight and speed. This style also appears on some of the few decorated Hyksos objects found in Egypt and Syro-Palestine.

Two important motifs introduced at this time were the winged sphinx and the griffin. Although the sphinx originated in Egypt much earlier, the winged ones appearing in Crete at the end of the 18th century BC were of a Syrian type and have been specifically linked to

the Hyksos.

The griffin, a lion with the head of a hawk or eagle, was also introduced to Crete during the ceramic period Middle Minoan III, in a specifically Syrian form. The griffin was frequently represented for the next five hundred years throughout the Aegean, fighting or hunting in the 'flying style'. This is not simply a matter of art history but one with strong suggestions of political importance as griffins flanked the throne at the greatest Cretan palace at Knossos and the Mycenaean one at Pylos. Thus, like the winged sphinx, it would seem to have been a symbol of Hyksos royalty. This could have been borrowed by local Cretan rulers. Borrowing would also explain the greatly increased quantity and quality of weapons belonging to types current in the Near East. It would seem more likely, however, that they were Hyksos themselves. This is not merely because of the destruction of all the Cretan palaces at this stage and the increase of Levantine influence and Hyksos symbols. It is also because at the laver of destruction of the Old Palace at Knossos a number of sealings have been found showing the new, lively artistic style and two apparently royal. traits, one of a young prince and the other of a bearded man, the only contemporary parallels for which are a striking vase in the shape of a head from a Hyksos grave in Jericho and the masks found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.

All in all, while there is no proof of a Hyksos conquest or conquests of Crete at this time, the number of loose ends such a hypothesis would tie up make it economical to follow Eduard Meyer and the other historians who have postulated it. There is also circumstantial evidence for this from elsewhere in the Aegean

The second section of Chapter IX is concerned with the city now known as Akrothi on. Thera that was covered by the great eruption. Only a small part of the city has been excavated, but what has been revealed is sensational. It was clearly a prosperous Mediterranean town of a basic type still found today. Houses with two storess have been recovered, full of what are normally perishable objects. It is thus a Bronze Age Pompen, but with better preservation. As at Pompen, the most sensational finds have been a number of frescoes, which tell us a great deal about the artistic techniques but even more fascinatingly about society on Thera in the decades before the eruption They portray not merely a rich, sophisticated and stratified society but also one that was extremely cosmopolitan, in which there was knowledge not merely of Crete but also of Africa and the Levant, Experts were surprised at the depth of Egyptian influence, particularly in the ceremonial boats. They were also puzzled by the white robes with borders worn by the upper classes portraved. I believe that good parallels for them can be found from Syria.

The art historians also noted that, although the paintings and the culture they portrayed were heavily indebted to Crete, there was something 'Mycenacan' about them. There were armed men with what were seen as typically Mainland Greek helmets and there were scenes that resembled those portrayed in nuclo—a metal enamelling technique—found in the Shaft Grayes at Mycenae. I believe, however, that both the techniques and the scenes are more usefully seen as belonging to the 'Hyksos international' culture.

The cosmopolitan nature of this society was surprising enough when it was believed that the Thera eruption and hence the date of the city were in the late 16th or 15th centuries. With the re-dating of the eruption, we now know that the frescoes have recorded aspects of society in the 17th century, that is to say, approximately a century after the Hyksos conquest of Crete postulated here. Such a hypothesis would in fact fit very well with many of the previously puzzling aspects of the frescoes, the cosmopolitanism and Egyptian influence, the warfare and 'Mycenaean' influence, as well as the royal symbol of the griffin represented in one of the murals.

In Classical times, there were many traditions that the Cycladic islands, of which Thera is one, had been dominated by Crete. There is no reason to suppose that there was only one period in which this was

the case. Nevertheless, a number of scholars do believe that the end of the Middle and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age was a period of Cretan domination. This would seem plausible. However, if Crete itself was ruled by Hyksos princes at this time, it would suggest Hyksos domination of the Cyclades during the late 18th and 17th centuries BC. Did their activities take them further north?

There is little doubt that the most sensational discoveries of Bronze Age culture ever made in Mainland Greece were those of the German entrepreneur and archaeological genius. Heinrich Schliemann at Mycenae. His digging of the Shaft Graves at the city produced what were the first and remain the most spectacular revelations of the culture that has since become known as 'Mycenaean'. The goods buried with the early rulers of Mycenae are quite extraordinary. The immediate and lasting impression is one of violence and barbatism, huge quantities of weapons, some beautifully decorated with mello and gold-leaf masks of striking bearded warriors.

Closer examination reveals an extraordinary eclecticism. The pottery belongs to the local Middle Helladic tradition but almost everything else is exotic and apparently new to Greece. The greatest influence comes from Grete but some things come from much farther aheld; amber from the Baltic, rock crystal from the Alps, ostrich eggs from Africa. There are also a number of objects showing Syto-Palestinian and Egyptian influence. However, the latter are chiefly of an irregular kind that I believe are best described as 'Off-Egyptian' or 'Hyksos international'. The origins of such a heterogeneous material culture must clearly have been very complicated and any historical scheme that attempts to explain them must be equally so.

The pattern proposed here is rather similar to that of the Norman Conquest of England Vikings from Scandinavia seized Normandy

Conquest of England Vikings from Scandinavia seized Normandy and, after a century or more, 'Normans' invaded and conquered England. The effect of this conquest was not to bring Scandinavian language and culture to England but to introduce the languages and cultures of their French and Italian followers and administrators. There is a difference in that by 1066 the Normans had become culturally French, whereas it would seem that, as the Hyksos expansion was much faster, the chiefs and princes still retained many aspects of their material culture and presumably of their language too. Nevertheless, the great degree of Semitization of the Hyksos in Egypt strongly suggests that, like other rapidly expanding barbarian 'empires', those for instance of the Huns, Mongols and Moghuls, their own culture had very little impact but they introduced that of others. Thus, the Huns helped bring German culture into Western Europe; the Mongols took

East Asian culture to Iran and Europe; and the Turkic Moghuls brought Persian culture into India. In each case they transformed the cultures of the receiving regions.

The hypothesis proposed here is that the royalty buried in the Shaft Graves and the other early Mycenaean tombs were Hyksos invaders from Syria, who probably spoke Hurrian and possibly even Indo-Iranian. However, the majority of the ruling class were Levantine Semitic-speakers together with significant numbers of Egyptians and Cretans, most of whom probably spoke a Semitic language themselves. All three of these ethnic groups were thoroughly permeated by Egyptian culture, especially in the area of religion. Thus, on the one hand, continuity of pottery styles and the fact that Greek is an Indo-European language demonstrate that the local population and culture persisted. On the other hand, the break of material culture and the new exotic influences, combined with Greek traditions of colonization from Egypt and Phoenicia, indicate that there were foreign conquerors from Egypt and the Levant ruling parts or all of Greece up to the arrival of the Pelopids from Anatolia in the 15th or 14th centuries, and in the case of Thebes the original Phoenician Dynasty survived until the fall of that city in the 13th century

According to the historical scheme proposed here, although there were native influences and Anatolian ones after 1400 BC, what we consider to be the 'Mycenaean' artistic style is best seen as a survival of the Hyksos international style that arose in Syria in the 18th century. This style largely – but not completely – disappeared in Egypt and Crete where there were rich and sophisticated native traditions. By contrast, less developed Middle Helladic Mainland Greece provided less cultural opposition, so leaving the Hyksos style to become the characteristic style of the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.

As far as language is concerned, there is little doubt in my mind that Egyptian and Semitic words and names were current in the Aegean in the 31d millennium BC. It is certain that Greek borrowed massively from these languages during the period of Egyptian dominance of the East Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age after 1470 BC as well as in the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods from 950 to 300 BC. Nevertheless, the centuries between 1730 and 1530, which are frequently seen to be the most likely period for the creation of Greek as a language, would seem to be ones when Greece was largely ruled by speakers of West Semitic and Egyptian. There is virtually no doubt that these two languages had high status in the region at that time.

Chapter X is concerned with contemporary documentary evidence,

that is to say, Egyptian and Levantine reports of contacts with the Aegean made during the Bronze Age and Aegean references to contacts with Egypt and Syro-Palestine

The first section is on Egyptian records and, here as elsewhere, it is necessary to determine what the writers meant by various place names they used. For instance, there is the name Mnws used at least since the 12th Dynasty for a foreign country to the northwest, which was once associated with the Enhw, probably the Phoenicians. Mnws has been linked by some modern scholars to Minos and Crete. The situation is not at all straightforward. The derivations of Minos from the Egyptian god Min and the first pharaoh Min Menes are discussed in Chapter IV, and there is the further possibility that many of the place names called Minoa in the Southern Aegean derive from the West Semitic Menushah (resting place). Nevertheless, there is a strong possibility that Mnws does refer to parts of Crete, in which case documentary evidence suggests that princes from Crete accepted the suzerainty of Sesöstris, which is something other evidence discussed in earlier chapters would also seem to indicate.

The name Kftiw or Kaltu is much less problematic. Despite repeated attempts to challenge the location, because the princes of Kftiw portrayed in tomb paintings seem too 'Asiauc', there is no reason to overthrow the conventional wisdom that the name referred to Crete, which has now been confirmed by a statue base of the 18th-Dynasty pharaoh Amenophis III on which Kitiw has been used as the heading of a number of place names in the Aegean. The earliest reference to Kftiw as a distant trading partner comes from the 1st Intermediate Period 2450—2100 BC. The most frequent use of Kftiw comes in the 18th Dynasty, especially after the 1170s when Tuthmosis III conquered much of Syro-Palestine and when princes of Kftiw are shown offering tribute to the pharaohs.

This image has caused some discomfort to modern scholars, who have found a number of arguments to deny the truth of such Egyptian claims. I see no reason to doubt them it only because Egyptian dominance of the Levant would require any sophisticated and or am-

bitious Aegean ruler to come to terms with the pharaoh

There may, however, he more to it than that as Tuthinosis claimed to have 'trussed the Nine Bows, the isles in the Midst of the Wid wr, the Hiw nbwt and the rebel foreign countries'. From this it would seem that Egyptian naval expeditions—and we know that Egypt had a navy by this time—had sailed to the Aegean. The name Wid wi (Great Green) meant 'sea' from early times, but by the New Kingdom it was restricted to the Mediterranean and often to the Aegean specifically

Hiw fibrit (Behind the Islands), which appears in the Pyramid Texts in the 3rd millennium, was seen by the Egyptologist Alan Gardiner as a sufficiently accurate description of the Aegean Sea. This was challenged by another Egyptologist and specialist in Egypto-Aegean relations, Jean Vercoutter. Vercoutter argued that this identification was impossible because it required too sophisticated a knowledge of geography at the time when the Pyramid Texts were largely composed, in the 4th millennium. I have no difficulty with the idea of Predynastic Egyptians' having this general sense of geography. However, it is possible that the term was interpolated nearer the time that the Texts were inscribed towards the end of the Old Kingdom, when it is clear from other evidence, discussed in Chapter III, that Egyptian officials were aware of the Aegean.

In any event, we know that Hiw nbw was used to describe the Aegean and Greece from New Kingdom times. In fact, after the reign of Tuthmosis III, in 1450 BC, Hiw nbw began to replace Kfrlw. This, together with the fact that in Profemac times the name Kfrlw was used for Phoenicians, suggests that Kfrlw was used to describe Crete at a time when a significant, if not dominant, proportion of the island's

population was Semitic-speaking.

Another set of names used to represent Greece' in New Kingdom Egypt was the cluster Linty, or Tanava, Di-lin, Dene or Denyen. I here is no doubt that this is the same as Danaor or Danaan. Homer's most frequent name for the Greeks. There is even a link through the Egyptian sign used with Linty of a decrepit old man. On the Egyptian side, this is linked to the root thi (old, decrepit), on the Greek side, it fits perfectly with the descriptions of Danaos, who, according to tradition, colonized Argos in Greece from Egypt. Danaos was portraved as old and decrepit. His positive attributes as a colonizer and irrigator also lit a pun with the Egyptian did (allocate, irrigate) which in turn is related to the Semitic d(ynitia) (judge). Although ancient writers clearly perceived these connections, the original name cannot simply be derived from these etymologies as the name Dasneh appears with apparent reference to the far west in a Mesopotamian text dating back to 6, 2500 BC.

In the period between 1470 and 1250 Egypt appears to have had both direct dealings with Timy and indirect ones through Levantine princes. Chiefs of Timy are pictured in a tomb painting as having brought tribute to Tuthmosis III and on the statue base of Amenophis III mentioned above Kftiw and Timy are the two headings used for a list of Aegean city names.

Dene or Denven was also the name of one of the Peoples of the Sea

who ravaged Egypt and the Levant in the 12th century BC. This too has been associated with the Homeric Danaans. It has also been linked to the biblical tribe of Dan, who can plausibly be seen as having come originally from the Israelite incorporation of one of the Peoples of the Sea.

There are also references to the Aegean in Mesopotamian and Syrian texts. The use of the name Da-ne⁴⁵ has been mentioned above. In the same position in a parallel list from the Syrian city of Ebla there is the name Am-ni⁴⁶ which could well be linked to Amnissos, the name of the port of Knossos, which is known to be very ancient. An 18th-century list from the city of Mari on the Upper Euphrates refers to Kaptara (Crete) as a trading partner and as a centre of manufacture of luxury goods.

There is a surprising absence of references to Greeks in the considerable 14th- and 13th-century records from the Syrian port of Ugarit. This, I believe, can partly be explained as the result of a blockade against the Mycenaeau kingdoms by the Hittite kings who at the time had suzerainty over Ugarit. Not all trade was blocked, however, and there is a report of an Ugaritic tambarum (officially licensed merchant) who was trading regularly with Crete.

The Ugaritic texts do, however, point to another type of contact between the Levant and Greece. Many of the Ugaritic legends and hymns show striking parallels to early Greek ones and often provide important 'bridges' between Greek and biblical themes. Thus at this level too there would appear to have been a common East Mediterranean culture, at least by the Late Bronze Age.

The Aegean has Bronze Age documents, those surviving in Linear A and Linear B, both of which can now be read. These were the syllabic scripts of Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations, which were used in many places in the Aegean but particularly in Crete. Although there is still considerable debate as to the linguistic family of the language written in Linear A, there is no doubt that it contained a considerable number of Semitic words. These do not cover merely luxury goods, but such staples as grain and grapes and such basic words as 'all' or 'total'. Their presence is either because the language was Semitic, as I am inclined to believe, or because of massive Semitic loans into the unknown Cretan language. In either event they indicate close connections between Crete and the Levant.

Linear B is a very similar script used to write Greek. Before the decipherment of Linear B, it was believed that the few admitted Semutic loan words in Greek, such as *chiton* (a form of dress) and *chrysos* (gold), had been introduced in the 7th century BC. Now it is known that they

were already present in the 14th or 13th centuries. Thus, even if one does not accept the many other loan words from Semitic and Egyptian, which I believe to be present in Linear B texts, the texts provide firm evidence of lexical borrowing, and hence cultural contact, during the Bronze Age.

The economy and society of the Mycenaean palaces revealed by the texts also show considerable and detailed correspondences with those of Near Eastern palaces. Even the measurements and bureaucratic formulae used in the texts demonstrate specific borrowings from Egypt and Southwest Asia. Furthermore, there are dozens of personal names in Linear B texts with plausible Semitic, Hurrian and Egyptian etymologies These include Arkupitio, Argyptos, 'Memphite' or 'Egyptian', Mistrajo, the Semitic Msix, 'Egyptian'; Aradajo, probably 'Man of [the Phoenician city of] Arwad', and Turijajo and Turijo, "Tyrian', Such names confirm the picture provided by an Egyptian papyrus of the 17th century BC on 'How to write the names of Kftlw' which showed a thoroughly heterogeneous population on the island. Similarly the personal name Ps Kftv (the Cretan) appears in Egypt in the 16th century. These scraps of documentary information from Levet, the Levant and the Aegean all point in the same direction and indicate a considerable amount of contact and ethnic mixture around the East Mediterranean in the Bronze Age at least as early as the 17th century BC but probably from long before that

Chapter XI is concerned with the later Mycenaean period in Greece. This civilization lasted a long time, from the 18th century BC to the 12th, according to the chronology used in this book. It is also clear there was considerable cultural continuity. Similar artistic styles and motifs, notably the sphinx and the griffin, continued to be used throughout the whole period. The archaeological evidence is spotty so it is impossible to be sure of economic and social structures in Greece during the earlier centuries. We know from the Shaft Graves and other tombs that the early Mycenaeans were concerned with, if not obsessed by, war. However, the Thera intrals from the 17th century show a considerable peaceful sophistication of society, at least on the Gycladic islands, where there is also archaeological evidence of relatively rich urbanized society.

Probably because of cultural continuity and rebuilding, which leaves fewer traces of the previous building than destruction, there have been no finds of early Mycenaean royal dwellings — as opposed to tombs. However, a considerable number of palaces have been found from the later part of the period. From the end of the Mycenaean age there are tablets written in Linear B, which, as mentioned

above, provide considerable documentary evidence on the economy and social structure of the palaces

The picture emerging from this pattern of evidence might suggest a violent heroic society settling down to civilian bureaucracy. The actual situation was clearly not so simple, however, not only does the evidence from Thera indicate peaceful sophistication in the 17th century but also there is the fact that the latest Mycenacan palaces were normally fortified. Thus it would seem likely that for most of the Mycenacan period Greece was controlled by a number of kingdoms in which the civil bureaucracies of the palaces coexisted with considerable warfare among the kingdoms and a warrior ethos. The nearest parallel I can see to this is in Japan after the 8th century an, where the exquisite cultivation of the court contrasted with the brutality of the feudal or gangsterlike bushado, the cult of military virtue.

Interestingly, despite the later emphasis on the magnificence of the earlier period, Greek tradition retained a far greater concern with the warlike activities of the 'heroic age' than it did with any economic of cultural successes of the Late Bronze Age. This is no doubt partly because bloody deeds of derring-do always make better stories. But it would also seem to be the result of the lack of civilization and the continuation and intensification of warfare, loyalty and treachery after the fall of the palaces in the 12th century, in the Dark Ages when most

of the legends were shaped.

There is no doubt that the three centuries with which Chapter XI is concerned, 1550-1250, are the period in the Bronze Age for which there are most indications of Egyptian and Levantine contacts with the Aegean from both the documentary and the archaeological evidence. However, until recently it has been difficult to correlate the two because the periods in which the Egyptian documents indicate close relations with the Aegean - the later reign of King Luthmosis III (1470-1450 BC) and the reigns of Amenophis III and his son Akhenaton (1419-1364 BC) are not those where conventional wisdom puts the ceramic periods for which the archaeological evidence indicates the greatest contact. These are Late Heliadic IIIA, conventionally seen as 1400-1275 BC, and Late Helladic IIIB from 1275 1180 Now, however, according to chronologies established on the basis of new synchronisms with Egypt and the updating of all Late Bronze Age Aegean ceramic periods required by the re-dating of the Thera eruption, the beginning of LHIHA should be raised to between 1490 and 1470 BC and LHIIIB to from 1370 to 1220 BC. As the chronology of New Kingdom Egypt should stay constant, this means that the historical and archaeological evidence for close contact of

Egypt and the Levant with the Aegean are now synchronized and

present a coherent picture.

The re-dating also requires a change in the periodization of Cretan history. Augent historians have long been struck by a feature from a tomb painting from the end of the reign of Tuthmösis III (1460-1450 BG), in which a Cretan bringing tribute to the pharaoh has had his Minoan kilt over-painted with one of a Mycenaean style. Since the recognition from Linear B tablets that Greek was the dominant language in 14th- or at least 13th-century Crete, the repainting has been used to mark the invasion or some other kind of arrival of Mycenaean Greeks in Crete. According to conventional wisdom, 1 150 marked the beginning of the Late Minoan II ceramic period. This seemed to tally nicely with the fact that at about this time the provincial palaces in Crete were destroyed and administration for the whole island was centraffized at Knossos. Other corroborative arguments which were also used, such as the introduction of Shaft Graves to Crete at this time, have since been abandoned. The arrival of the Mycenaeans c 1450 was also necessary because Sir Arthur Evans had declared that the palace at Knossos itself had been destroyed at the beginning of Late Minoan IIIA, which was seen as at c 1380 BC. Thus time was needed for the establishment of Greek as the official language of the island's capital.

However, for several decades a heretical band of scholars led by the linguist Leonard Palmer has been arguing that the palace at Knossos survived until the end of the 13th century and that the Linear B tablets from it should be dated to the end of that century, not two hundred years earlier. Recent interpretations of the archaeological evidence now seem to back Palmer on this, hence this requirement for the arrival of the Greeks in Crete no longer exists, as they could now

have come at any time before 1300 BC

Nevertheless, the Egyptian evidence for a change of rulers, which is also suggested by the dropping of the name Kftlw and the increased use of Tnl, makes a strong case for the transfer of power on Crete around the middle of the 15th century. The question still remains, however, at what ceramic period did the change take place. LMII pottery develops from its predecessor LMIB and into its successor LMIHA. Thus, pottery cannot be used to mark the transfer of power. In any event, all the other forms of evidence suggest an essential cultural continuity on the island at this stage despite any change of language. The simplest thing to do would seem to be to retain the absolute date or shift it slightly up to c. 1470 but to see this in ceramic terms as the beginning of Late Minoan and Late Helladic IIIA. It is

the pottery of this pan-Aegean style that has been found throughout the Mediterranean and beyond but particularly in the areas known to have been under Egyptian control or influence after the victories of Tuthmôsis III. Cyprus, the Levant, Egypt and Nubia.

It is interesting to note that the one area in which no Mycenaean pottery has been found is the Central Anatolian Plateau, which at this time was dominated by the Hittites. Several sections of Chapter XI are devoted to relations between the Aegean and Anatolia. One section is concerned with Hittite documents dealing with their neighbours to the west. Arzawa and Assuwa (the name Asia derives from the latter). Towards the end of the 15th century BC a new western power emerges in the Hittite documents, that of Ahhiyawa, which a number of scholars since the 1020s have identified with the Achaians. Homer's name for many of the Greeks. The situation is extremely confused but the least implausable picture that can be painted from the Hittite documents and later Greek traditions is that the Althiyawa/Achaians were a mixture of Hellenized West Anatolians and Greeks, living and raiding both on the fringes of the Hittite Empire and in the Aegean. They should be associated with the Greek legendary hero Pelops, after whom the Peloponnese (Pelops' Island) was named and from whom the great Homeric kings Agamemnon and Menelaos claimed descent. I believe that the name Pelops comes from the Egyptian P3 Rpct (Crown Prince). Thus, it is a title not a personal name. It is difficult to date the point at which his chief prototype seized the region of Elis in the Northwestern Peloponnese, which seems to have been the first base of Achaian or Pelopid power. It could be at any point between 1425 and 1300 BC. The difficulty is that it is impossible to detect any differences in material culture between Danaans and Achaians. Documentary and legendary evidence is equally imprecise, just as Homer was not altogether clear in his distinction between the two peoples. The Egyptians seem to have referred to both Inlw and Ikws (Achaians), who were among the Peoples of the Sea who raided Egypt.

The simplest explanation is to see the 'Danaans' as the inhabitants or retainers of the kingdoms established at the end of the 18th century BC by the original 'Hyksos' heroes and the 'Achaians' as those conquered by the new 'Anatolian' dynasties. Just as it is difficult to estimate the date of the establishment of Pelops' kingdom in Elis, it is difficult to say when the other kingdoms such as Mycenae/Argos and Sparta came under Achaian rule. All that does seem clear is that the last of the Hyksos dynasties, that of the Kadmeans at Thebes, survived until the end of the 13th century.

The fact that the Achaians had Anatolian connections does not

mean that they were allied to the Hittites. Quite the contrary, like the Danaans, they seem to have been long-term enemies of the central Anatolians. The Hittite documents indicate constant hostilities with the Alþhiyawa; the absence of Mycenaean pottery from Hittite territory has been mentioned above. A similar pattern can be seen in the foreign objects from this period found at Mycenae. The American archaeologist Eric Cline has pointed out that, while the finds include a considerable number of Egyptian and Levantine objects, there is only one possible Hittite one and that probably came from a part of Anatolia beyond Hittite control.

We know that Mycenaean goods have been found in a very wide distribution and that the Hittues too were active traders in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. Why should the two zones have been mutually exclusive? Even if one dismisses the identification of Ahhiyawa with Akhaia, it is inconcervable that the two regions were unaware of each other. A slightly less improbable explanation is that, occupying similar geographical niches, they had no need for each other's products. Even if this contains some truth, there is every reason to suppose that such economic independence was strengthened by political will. There is both documentary and archaeological evidence to back this hypothesis. The document is a 13th-century treaty between the Histites and a subordinate king in Northern Syria, specifically calling for him to prevent ships from Alihiyawa trading through his territories The archaeological evidence comes from the existence of plentiful Mycenaean pottery from the period LHIIIA in a belt of North Syria. where there is none from LHIIIB. The most plausible explanation for this discrepancy is that it is the result of the known fact that the region came under Hittite overlordship around 1970 BC, which is when LHIIIB began.

Thus, the most probable picture is that from c 1430 to c 1230 BC, there was entity between Greeks and Hittites. The Hittites' great rivals were, of course, the Egyptians and while Futhmosis III may well have sent a punitive expedition to the Aegean around the mid-15th century, both documentary and archaeological evidence indicates that for the next century the leading Greek kingdoms were content to be in the Egyptian sphere and to have 'accepted the breath of life' from

the pharaoh.

There is no doubt that there were intimate and trading and cultural contacts in this period. Apart from the documentary references to such contacts discussed in Chapter X, there is considerable archaeological evidence to back this up. As mentioned above, large quantities of Mycenaean pottery of the periods LHIIIA and LHIIIB (1470–1220 BC)

have been found throughout the areas of Egyptian control and influ-, ence. Similarly, many large Canaanne jars used as containers for all

kinds of goods have been found in the Aegean.

By far the greatest hoard of these Levantine containers has been found on a wreck excavated off the Kaş on the southwestern coast of Turkey, which contained over 120 of them. This wreck can be dated to around 1360 BC, at the end of the period of the greatest Egyptian strength. Nevertheless, the richness of the cargo gives a staggering picture of the extent of trade in the East Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. As well as ivory and ebony, large numbers of copperingots were found, these provide confirmation for an extensive trade in copper, mainly mined at this time in Cyprus and Sardinia. There are also suggestions of a smaller but much more far-reaching trade in tin, which came to the Mediterranean from as far away as Afghanistan, Bohemia and Cornwall.

One of the most interesting discoveries of recent years has been that of a trade in lead and silver containing lead, which can now be traced by lead isotope analysis. We now know that the mines at Laurion in Attica to the south of Athens were major exporters of these metals from at least the beginning of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. During the Late Bronze Age, lead from these mines was found in

both Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Another fascinating recent discovery has come from the analysis of a number of faience Egyptian temple foundation plaques with the royal name Amenophis III found at Mycenae. These are interesting because, if they had been found in Egypt, archaeologists would immediately have begun to search for other signs of the temple built over them. In Mycenae, however, most were found in hoards of precious objects and not in positions that would have marked the four corners of a temple. On the other hand, though ritually of great importance, they have no intrinsic value and are therefore unlikely to have been imported or brought back as souvenirs. Given the other signs of royal contact with Mycenae at this time there would seem to be a reasonable chance that they were intended to mark an Egyptian foundation there, even though such a building could have lasted only a short time or may never have been built at all.

However, it is not merely the symbolism of the plaques that shows the intimacy of contacts between Egypt and Greece at this time. An analysis of the lead in the glaze shows that it came from Laurion. This can be explained in one of two ways either there was an official Egyptian royal factory in Greece at the time capable of making the plaques or the glaze just happened to be made in Egypt with lead from

Greece. The latter would seem much more likely. Even this solution emphasizes the intricate connections between Egypt and the Aegean at this time, c. 1400 BC.

We know that Egypt and the rest of Africa exported ivory, chony and other tropical goods, like myrth and other spices, ostrich eggs and probably feathers and papyrus. It is likely that they also sent some gold, though Greece had its own sources. It would seem likely that the predominant flow of slaves went from north to south. The Levant through which much of this trade passed had products of its own such as cedar and fine manufactured goods. On the other hand, we know that the Aegean exported fine pottery and whatever the Mycenaean vessels contained, almost certainly including olive oil. As well as this there were lead and silver.

Such a pattern of trade is not balanced. Now we know that Greece was a major exporter of metals it would seem necessary to explain the apparent imbalance with some other political or economic factor. One possibility would be to postulate that Egyptian political and naval power allowed it to exploit the Aegean. It would seem more likely, however, that the explanation is fundamentally economic and that Egypt was already exporting wheat throughout the East Mediterranean in the way that we know it to have done in the Archaic and Classical periods, 770 -325 BC. Both documentary and archaeological sources make it clear that there were already ships with capacities big enough to make a large-scale grain trade feasible. It is also known that Egypt provided famine relief to Anatolia and the Levaut by we in the 13th century. It is almost certain that some of the Levantine cities. which later made up Phoenicia also had regular grain deficiencies at this time. Both archaeological and documentary evidence from Southern Greece in the same century show both an extremely high population density and surprisingly low grain production. This would suggest frequent famines and or constant imports of grain. It is possible that some of these already came from the Black Sea region, which also supplied Greece in Classical times, but it would seem much more likely that the bulk of it came from Egypt. Interestingly, a Greek. tradition refers to Egyptian relief of a famine in Attika well before the Irojan War. These pointers, together with plausible Egyptian etymologies for a number of Greek words referring to wheat and its baking into bread, suggest that the pattern of Egyptian wheat-exporting to Greece and the rest of the Mediterranean basin that existed in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times had already been established by the Late Bronze Age.

One of the most bitter scholarly debates of the last two decades has

been on the question of who dominated trade in the East Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Since the triumph of the Extreme Arvan Model the predominant view has been that trade was entirely in the hands of the dynamic Mycenaeans. This was justified by the fact that there was much more Aegean pottery in the Levant and Egypt than vice versa. However, pottery is not always a good indicator of who trades in the pots. For instance, it would be wrong to postulate Chinese vessels trading around Western Europe after the 17th century merely because most pottery in the region is Chinese or inferior local inntations. Furthermore, a number of scholars have pointed out the absence of Greeks from the abundant records of trading from Ugarit. This, I believe, can be explained as a local phenomenon arising from the Hitute blockades against its dependants' trading with Ahhiyawa, Nevertheless, there is little doubt that Ugarit and the other Levantine cities were much more mercantile than the palace economies in the Aegean as revealed by Linear B tablets. There is also the striking picture given in the Homeric epics of all trade being in the hands of Phoenicians.

The first wreck from the end of this period, found off the southern coast of Turkey at Cape Gelidonia, was believed by its excavator George Bass to have been manned by Levantmes. His even greater discovery and excavation of the Kaş ship has yielded much more ambiguous evidence on the 'nationality' of its crew. These were probably mixed but almost certainly included some Greeks. The argument, although significant in the struggle between the Extreme Aryan Model, which demed any creative role to West Semites, and the Broad Aryan Model that allowed one, is ultimately futile. This is because it is now clear that between 1470 and 1220 BC the East Mediterranean was thoroughly cosmopolitan. Thus, both Aegean and Levantine as well as Egyptian and mixed crews were sailing with thoroughly mixed cargoes. Some scholars have proposed that this peace and prosperity was the result of a Pax Mycenaeaca. This would seem to be an Aryanist putting the cart before the horse. There is no doubt that from 1470 to 1370 BC. Egypt was the dominant power in the region and it remained militarily, politically and culturally important until the end of the 13th century. Thus, it would seem better to postulate that the trade and prosperity took place under a Pax Aegyptiaca

The existence during much of the second half of the 2nd millenmum BC of such a cosmopolitan society throughout the East Mediterranean, including the Aegean, makes the idea of cultural isolation absurd. There would seem ample reasons to expect cultural and especially linguistic borrowings from Egyptian and West Semitic into

Greek. There would certainly seem no grounds for denying the inherently plausible evidence for them. However, while the archaeological evidence from this period makes the Arvan Model and the Model of Autochthonous Origin untenable, it could be seen to weaken the Ancient Model in the narrow sense because such a period of prolonged intimate contact can explain substantial religious, linguistic and other cultural borrowings without resorting to the idea of conquests or colonies. Against this, however, is the fact that Late Mycenaean Greece was already Greek-speaking, worshipping gods with their later Greek names. Words and names that I believe to have had Egyptian or West Semitic origins appear to have been well established in Greece by this time. Furthermore, we know from the Thera murals that Cycladic culture at least was already thoroughly cosmopolitan in the 17th century BC. Thus, despite the close contact between 1470 and 1220 BC, there would seem to be little doubt that Greek culture as we know it from Archaic and Classical times was already essentially formed by then. This being the case, we have to look earlier for some of what I believe to be the fundamental Egyptian and Semitic influences on Greek culture. As argued above, some of these can be dated to the 3rd millermum or still earlier.

Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence would seem to indicate that the crucial period was the second quarter of the 2nd millennium and that this influence was associated with Hyksos conquests and colonizations.

The twelfth and last chapter of this book deals with the end of the Mycenaean Age in the century from 1250 to 1150 BC. It focuses on the sieges and destructions of two cities, the Greek Thebes and Troy, Here, too, chronology has been confused by the low settings of the ceramic periods. According to conventional wisdom, the relevant periods, Late Helladic IIIB and LHIIIC, began in 1275 and 1180 BC respectively. Archaeological evidence suggests that Thebes was destroved in LHHIB2, which according to this scheme would be c 1200. There are two candidates for the archaeological city of Troy referred to by Homer. Troy VI appears to have been destroyed near the beginning of LHIIIB, which, according to the conventional chronology, would be around 1275 BC. This would put it eather than the traditional datings for the fall of Troy, which were between 1250 and 1170 BC. More seriously, this date is earlier than that given by conventional Ceramic chronology for the final fall of Thebes, which was universally supposed, in the tradition, to have occurred before the Trojan War. There was, however, another destruction, that of Troy VIIa, which was destroyed by fire in the approved Homeric manner near the

beginning of LHHIC, which according to conventional wisdom would be after 1175 BC. While this just fits at the lower end of the Greek chronologies, it is difficult to reconcile it with the traditional picture of a massive and well-organized Greek expedition, as we know that Mycenaean civilization was already in steep decline by then.

This confusion and the uncertainty as to which 'Troy' had been destroyed allowed sceptics like Moses Emley, the dominant figure in classics at Cambridge in the 1960s and 1970s, to question the historicity of the Trojan Wai in a way that had not been done since Schliemann's sensational discoveries. However, the new updating of ceramic periods clarifies the situation in two ways. Firstly, the collapse of Troy VI should now be set at \$\epsilon\$ 1350 BC, which now allows it over a century of existence before its destruction at \$\epsilon\$ 1210 BC. This later date falls precisely at the middle of the traditional chronological range and the nature of its destruction fits that of the epics. This, together with very suggestive finds on the beach where the Greeks were supposed to have camped, have triumphantly restored.

Sections of this chapter refer to the complicated history of Troy, as it can be established through archaeology and Hittite archives. It is clear that, as an extremely prosperous city, strategically placed at the point where ships had to wait for a fair wind to sail up the Dardanelles to reach the Black Sea, during the Late Bronze Age it swaved between Hittite and Greek power. The complete absence of references to the Hittites in Homer—and for that matter in the whole of Greek tradition—can be explained by the fact that, although the Hittite Empire did not finally collapse until the beginning of the 12th century BC, it appears to have lost power and influence over Western Anatolia by the 1230s. Thus, it would seem that in some ways the Trojan War was a Greek attempt to fill a power vacuum resisted by a league of West and South Anatolian states and Thracians.

of what can be reconstructed of its history since what I believe to have been its second foundation by Hyksos princes represented in tradition by the hero Kadmos. There is some discussion of the arguments over his dating and of the preference among many scholars for the later chronologies proposed in Antiquity. These, I believe, were powerfully motivated by the desire to reconcile the tradition that Kadmos had introduced the alphabet to Grecce with the belief that the very earliest the alphabet could have been introduced was could have argued on epigraphic grounds that the Semitic alphabet was introduced to Greece no later than 1400 BC and probably nearer to 1800 BC. Thus, there would seem to me no reason to doubt the major an-

cient tradition that Kadmos, or the invasion he represented, arrived at approximately the same time as Danaos and his colonization, that is to say around 1730 BC.

Abundant Classical testimony, which tallies well with earlier iconographic evidence, makes it almost certain that Thebans in the 13th century BC believed their rulers to be the descendants of an ancient line of kings descended from Kadinos and coming ultimately from Phoenicia. I see no reason to doubt that this tradition had a genuine historical basis and that by this time the Theban kingdom alone survived from the Hyksos principalities.

It is also clear that Thebes had kept up or had revived contacts with the Near East. In the Kadmeion or city palace a number of Near Eastern treasures have been found, some of which were being worked or re-worked just as the city fell. This has suggested to one scholar that a colony of Eastern craftsmen was working in the palace. The most startling find of all was a collection of Japis Jazuli exhider seals, most of which were official or religious seals made under the Kassite Dynasty in Babylon. In a wonderful piece of detective work, the semoi specialist in West Asian seals Edith Porada has traced these to temples sacked by the Assyrian conqueror of Kassite Babylon, Tukulti Ninurta 1. She argued that he had sent them on to Greece either as tradegoods or for diplomatic reasons. Porada was aware of the Bittite treaty attempting to prevent trade between Greece and Assyria, but she did not know of the confirming evidence from a large lead ingot stamped with the name of Tukulti Nimirta but made of Laurion lead from Attika.

Thus, while there is no doubt that Thebes was in close contact with the Near East at the time of its fall, it is equally clear that it was not unique among Greek states of the time in this respect. Similarly, while there is no reason to doubt the Kadmean and Phoenician ancestry of the Theban kings, these finds do not in themselves prove that Thebes was a Near Eastern foundation.

The date of the Assyrian conquest of Babylon has been plausibly set at c. 1235 BC. This provides a terminus pust quem for the final destruction of Thebes, which should now be set in the 1220s. This, according to Greek tradition, took place shortly before the Trojan War, which can now be put in the 1210s culminating in the Fall of Troy c. 1240 BC.

[In Chapter XII] It also consider the end of the Mycenaean Age and the general destruction of Bronze Age civilization, which took place in the 12th century but of which the falls of Thebes and Troy can be seen as precursors. The beginning of the 12th century saw the 'Invasions of the Sea Peoples' reported in Egyptian documents. These

involved invasions from the north and west of Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt. They brought about the end of the Hittite Empire and the temporary destruction of the Levantine coastal states. Egypt survived but only barely and with much weakened power.

There is no doubt that peoples whom we should now call 'Greek' were involved in these raids and the settlements that followed some of them. On the other hand, it is difficult to tell exactly how these migrations are connected to the turmoil that was taking place in Greece itself at the same time. The major manifestations of this were the raids on and conquests of parts of Southern Greece by the Dorians from Northwest Greece. Whether or not there was any truth in it, the Dorian kings claimed to be 'Heraklids' or descendants of the gods and the earlier Egypto-Phoenician ruling dynasties. In this way, they were able to claim superior legitimacy to the Pelopids they replaced in Argos, Sparta and elsewhere. This Egypto-Phoenician ancestry was also the reason why later Spartan kings believed themselves to be akin to the Jews, whose leaders, like then own real or imagined ancestors, were supposed to have been Hyksos princes expelled by the Egyptians.

The turmoil in Greece appears to have become extreme in the 1 twos and it was only then that Mycenae itself appears to have fallen. There were clearly many reasons for the collapse of Bronze Age civilization at this time. One hypothesis states that the underlying cause was a climatic deterioration affecting the whole northern hemisphere from the last quarter of the 13th century. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter VII. However, scholars working along these lines have found no long-lasting deterioration. Furthermore, while they admit that there probably were droughts, sometimes lasting for several years, they plausibly maintain that there were similar droughts in the 14th century when Southern Greece supported a substantial population. Largue that this enigma can be solved by accepting that, in the period from 1470-1220 BC, Egyptian grain was available in Greece to tide the population over periods of famine. Thus, it was the invasions of the Sea Peoples, which both weakened Lgypt and cut the possibilities of the maritime transport of grain, that forced the Southern Greek economy to shift from being one of manufacture and specialized agriculture in the ceramic periods LHIIIA and B to become, in LHTHC, a subsistence economy with a far lower population capable of surviving relatively frequent droughts.

Although the long-term decline in the late 13th and 12th centuries can be attributed to both climatic and political factors, it would seem that the prior and principal cause was the political breakdown of the Pax Aegyptuca. However, in a number of regions the coup de grâce that

finally overwhelmed the Bronze Age civilization would seem to be the climatic deterioration that took place after the cruption of Hekla III in 1159 BC. It is interesting to note that it was apparently in the following decade that the Prince of Zhou began to overthrow the Shang Dynasty, Northwest Britain was depopulated, the Middle Flamite kingdom in Iran collapsed and palatial society in Greece was destroyed.

While Egypt never succumbed and the Levant quickly regained its wealth and power, the peripheral regions of the Near East took much longer to recover and, when they did, it was in very different social forms. In Greece, the bureaucratic palatial society was replaced by much more primitive tribal society and the recovery in the 9th and 8th centuries was largely along the lines established in Phoenicia in the 11th century of commercial and manufacturing city states, relying on chattel slave labour but with a strong sense of citizens' rights. To put the difference symbolically, where there had been palaces there were now cities dominated by temples to the gods representing corporate identity.

The relationships between this new wave of Near Eastern influence and the indigenous Greek tradition form, however, another story and

are not part of this project.

In the introduction to Volume 1, I boldly announced the contents of the then projected Volumes 2 and 3. It will now be clear how wrong I was. Therefore, this time, I shall not go into the projected details of Volumes 3 and 4. In general, they will cover the areas suggested in the introduction to the first volume for Volumes 2 and 3. Apart from changes to the detail of this scheme, the fundamental difference will be that they will be based on the same lines as this volume in that they will be made up of 'thick' description, in which I shall try to demonstrate the fruitfulness of the Revised Ancient Model. This is in contrast to the impartial competition I mistakenly thought possible when I first set out the scheme of this project.

Crete before the palaces, 7000-2100 BC

HE PLACE TO BEGIN any survey of relations between the Neal East and the Aegean is obviously Crete. The reasons for this are, firstly, the evidence that the island had been in contact with Southwest Asia and North Africa since the Neolithic period and that this continued during the Early Bronze Age. Secondly, there is the fact that, after Cretan palatial civilization grew up in the late 3rd and early 2nd millenniums, it acted as a transmitter and filter to later Egyptian and Levantine influences on Mainland Greece. Thus, Cretan influence was central to the formation and development of Mycenaean civilization in the 2nd millennium.

In this chapter we shall consider the earliest stage of the island's history, the long span of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages from about 7000 to 2100 BC.

Here I am primarily concerned with archaeology. This is not because I believe that archaeology has any inherent superiority as a discipline nor because it is the only way to find out about the Aegean in the 2nd millennium BC (that is from 2000–1000 BC), with which this book is largely concerned. I focus on archaeology for two reasons: histly, because it is always an important method of gaining knowledge even in historical or proto-historical times, secondly, because, although information gained from legendary and linguistic sources can be extremely useful, it is usually very difficult to apply with any chronological precision. When dealing with the 3rd millennium, for instance, there are relatively few contemporary documents, so information

gamed through archaeology is the only type of evidence which we can tie to that period. However, I do not believe that it is desirable or possible to treat the archaeological evidence in isolation even in the very early periods. Therefore, in this chapter I shall try to set it in a context provided by documentary evidence from contemporary cultures, as well as from later legends, mythology, religious cults and sometimes.

language and proper names In addition to these contextual problems there are the difficulties inherent in archaeology as a discipline. I do not intend to go into the complicated philosophical question of whether or not archaeology is an independent science (as opposed to one that uses the scientific methods of others).3 Here, I should simply like to consider its praxis or low-level theory as it affects the specific problems with which we are concerned. There is often no doubt as to the authenticity of an object or in a good excavation, as to where and in what stratum it was found. Nowadays it is possible to discover, by scientific study of its materral, where it came from Sometimes through radio-carbon - the measurement of the proportion of radioactive carbon, which begins to decay when an organism dies and dendrochronology - the counting of tree rings - one can even tell its absolute date. On the other hand, how the object came to be there and what it represents are open only to the archaeologist's or historian's subjective interpretation Similarly, when looking at buildings or traces of agriculture or industry, which are the major preoccupations of modern archaeologists, there is great leeway in their interpretation, particularly in tracing their relationship to those in other places. In short, the data themselves seldom provide definitive answers; the most they can do is establish limits within which the archaeologist may speculate.

THE 'DIFFUSIONIST' AND 'ISOLATIONIST' DEBATE

Naturally, fashion plays an important role in this largely speculative realm. In Volume 1, I briefly discussed the relationship between colonialism and the preference for 'diffusionism' or the behef that 'higher cultures' were spread through conquest and or migration. It should be recalled here that the Ancient, Aryan and Revised Ancient Models for Greece are all diffusionist. Isolationism - or 'evolutionism' as its champions rather confusingly like to call it—with its faith in local creativity and initiative, that is to say indigenous development, was seen as a healthy reaction to this and has dominated archaeology since the 1940s.

The most explicit attack on the colonialist aspect of diffusionism came in an article written by William Adams, the distinguished archaeologist at Nubia, but it has been also a major theme in the work of Colin Renfrew and other isolationists.' They have put forward powerful arguments against the diffusionist interpretation of archaeological evidence. Adams epitomized these with the plea at the end of his article Trivasion, diffusion and evolution which was published in *Antiquity*, one of the central journals in the field:

As long as there is no ultimate proof in archaeology, every existing interpretation has to be subject to reexamination in the light of fresh discoveries. There is unhappily no point at which we can forget the evidence and accept the interpretation. Since every theory is no more than a probability, any building of theory on theory will significantly reduce the probability. Only solid evidence will significantly reduce the probability. Only solid evidence can ultimately serve as the building blocks of history.

Unfortunately, however, the distinction between 'interpretation' and 'solid evidence' is not so conveniently clear-cut. It is clear that tight from the moment archaeologists select their site they must have certain preconceptions and that these preconceptions or their successors remain with the archaeologist in all decisions on where to dig, with what methods, where to stop, what to examine, clean, note and keep. The seeing of significance is mevitably subjective. Adams's conclusion might appear to be impartial, but, like that of McNeal, in the article referred to in my Introduction, it is an attack on diffusionism and what he sees to be its racist overtones.' In denying the validity of all hypotheses based on archaeological or other 'evidence' about prehistory, scholars like Adams and McNeal leave the presumption in favour of local evolution and isolationism.

My position is that, while I fully accept their criticisms of the 'evidence'. I believe that we should make the best of what we have and continue to construct hypotheses, while constantly reminding ourselves of their precariousness. I maintain this because I am convinced that, firstly, research without them produces a meaningless jumble and, secondly, that although they cannot be absolutely 'true' different hypotheses can be more or less heuristically useful and that our job is to concoct and select the least bad. There are also two corollaries to the second point. (i) a prohibition on the establishment of new hypotheses mevitably leaves in place old ones, which are frequently based on much less reliable evidence. (2) the prohibition has a definite isolationist bias in that it is wrongly felt that it is connection rather

than isolation that needs to be proved. I think that this is mistaken because I take what has been called the 'modified diffusionist' position, that is, I believe that cultural change can take place as the result either of outside influences or of internal developments, or most commonly from a complex interplay of both.

The present isolationist intellectual atmosphere should be borne in mind when we look at present attitudes towards the Aegean during the Bronze Age (3300 1100 BC). To put it crudely, archaeologists have, until very recently, been in one of two camps. The first of these, as outlined in Volume 1, contained fundamentally conservative scholars like Frank Stubbings and the late Spyridon Marinatos. These, influenced by remnants of the Ancient Model, have maintained that Greece was invaded from Egypt and the Levant near the beginning of the Late Bronze Age c. 1570 BC, but they argue that this had had no significant or long-lasting impact on Greek culture. The second group contains most of the established, middle-aged archaeologists and historians of Ancient Greece, such as John Bintliff and Peter Warren. These tend to be systematically isolationist. They incline towards Renfrew's Model of Autochthonous Origin, the belief that there has been no culturally significant settlement of Greece from the outside since the beginning of the Neolithic period. In particular, they adamantly oppose the idea of any invasion of - or significant settlements in - the Aegean from the Near East.' Indeed, Renfrew has gone beyond the founders of the Aryan Model by insisting not merely that the Greeks had no significant major contact with the Near East but that the Pre-Hellenes were equally pure and untouched.

At this point, it is necessary to fill in a serious gap left in Volume 1. I argued there that the Extreme Aryan Model reigned supreme at the turn of the century. I also briefly considered the diffusionist ideas of Elhot Smith, who believed that an energetic Asiatic people had spread culture around the world from Egypt? What was not mentioned, however, was that there was a more moderate and much more influential school of archaeologists who maintained that European culture had been ultimately derived from the Near East and were tagged by their enemies as believers in ex oriente lux, 'Light from the Orient'.

The outstanding figure among these 'modified diffusionists' was the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius, but he had many prominent disciples, especially in Britain, of whom the most important were Sit John Myres and the great Australian theoretician of archaeology Gordon Childe.* These scholars maintained that the Aegean population had received much, if not most of its technical skills from the

Near East during the 3rd millennium. However, as 1 mentioned in Volume. 1. Myres and Childe were also thoroughly convinced of Aryan racial superiority and that the ancient Greeks had possessed one of the finest Aryan civilizations. The potential contradictions between these fundamental beliefs were avoided by the presumed presence of the 'Pre-Hellenes' who acted as a filter separating the Aryan Hellenes from the Near Fastern elements.'

Among the opponents of the modified diffusionists were men like Salomon Reinach, discussed in Volume 1, who had attacked what he called the mirage oriental which sought Asian origins for all European developments. There was also Gustav Kossinna, the dominant figure in German archaeology in the early 20th century, who argued that all the master races - the Aryans, the Finns and the Sumerians ultimately come from Schleswig-Holstein and that, while inferior peoples benefited from mixing with superior ones, the greatest civi lizations arose where the master races were pure and uncontaminated as - it just so happened - was the case in North Germany ' While in no way endorsing this kind of racism, the work of Renfrew and Warren has in many ways been an attempt to revive the isolationist or evolutionary opposition to the modified diffusionism of Montelius and Childe and to apply the notion of uncontaminated purity to the Aegean. Thus their ideas, too, have racist overtones in that they see European civilization as the greatest in world history and as having been exclusively created by Indo-European speaking Europeans It is extremely significant that Renfrew's massive book has the extraordinary and provocative title The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C., although it was paradoxically dedicated 'To the memory of V. Gordon Childe' against whose ideas Renfrew is struggling.

Dealing with Crete before about 1450 BC, when Mycenaeans seem to have become dominant there, we find ourselves in the thick of the battle between isolationists and modified diffusionists. Even the latter, however, tend to maintain that 'Minoan' civilization had a certain European 'freedom' and 'virility' lacking in Near Fastern civilizations.

CRETE BEFORE THE 21ST CENTURY BC The Neolithic, 7000-3300 BC

According to the geographer Strabo in the 1st centuries BC and AD. Crete was not in the Aggean but set between Greece and Africa 15 As Keith Branigan, the modern archaeologist and historian of the island, put it, Crete 'sat upon the lines of communication along which the arts

and crafts of the great civilizations of the two continents reached the barbarian people of a third? Archaeological evidence indicates that Crete was influenced by five main regions. Anatolia, the Levant, Egypt, Libya and finally the Cyclades and Greece. There seems little doubt that agriculture came to Crete—as it came to Mainland Greece—from Anatolia, probably in the 8th or 7th millennium BC. During the long Neolithic period that followed, there were both local developments and foreign influences. The American archaeologist Saul Weinberg has argued that the new style of matt-painted pottery found in the Late Cretan Neolithic in the 5th millennium was based on Ubaid ware found in contemporary Mesopotamia and Syria. This could possibly have linguistic significance since, as I tentatively proposed in the introduction to Volume 1, the diffusion of Ubaid pottery in the Middle East could be associated with the spread of Semitic there.¹⁰

Sir Arthur Evans, the founder of Gretan archaeology, saw Libyan influence on Grete in models of men found in Neolithic levels wearing Libyan penis sheaths. The British archaeologist Sinclair Hood points out, however, that these 'codpieces' also existed in Predynastic Egypt and could have come from there. He also makes a general point from the sheaths' later survival in Grete that 'Conservatism of this kind is a key to many aspects of the Minoan civilization of Grete, where beliefs and customs originally prevalent elsewhere in the Near East tended to linger.' This perception has a number of other fruitful applications which will be examined below.

Following Arthur Evans, J.D.S. Pendlebury, who combined a knowledge of Egyptian and Aegean archaeology, and the Greek archaeologist S. Alexiou both detected Libyan influence on Neolithic Crete and possibly on the type of carri that later developed into the Cretan tholos or domed tomb, 2 Egyptian influence is indicated by a number of Egyptian Predynastic stone bowls and a mace head found at Knossos, from Late or Final Neolithic levels.18 Arguing against this diffusionist view, however, Warren and Renfrew maintain that the Cretan Neolithic stoneware of this kind, probably produced with a bow drill, was the result of local developments." But the fact that there was largescale production of similar objects in Egypt at the time and that some of these have been found in Crete, although it does not prove diffusion, does make the arguments put forward in its favour by Arthur Evans and other archaeologists seem very plausible.49 Thus I would suggest that there is enough evidence to indicate that, from the earliest times, many different East Mediterranean cultures met in Crete.

The Early Bronze Age, c. 3300–2000 BC

Before examining Crete in the Farly Minoan Period, it is necessary to look at the beginning of the Bronze Age over the Fast Mediterranean as a whole. There is little doubt that in general the creation of Early Minoan culture was clearly related to the cultural explosion that took place in Southwest Asia and Egypt at the end of the 4th inflemnium

It was in this period that the Semitic-Sumerian culture of Meso-potamia expanded into Syria. Excavations at the Phoenician city of Byblos have shown considerable urbanization there at this time." The 3 th century ac also saw the emergence of a united Egypt under the 1st Dynasty. It is clear that these developments occurred on the bases of local Neolithic cultures which went on to become distinctive civilizations. Nevertheless, all of these more or less simultaneous transformations were clearly linked by at least stimulus diffusion (that is, local development stimulated by external activities). This can be shown, not merely by the similarities in contemporary developments, but also by specific stylistic resemblances between, for instance, late 4th-millennium Mesopotamia and Egypt at the end of the Predynastic period and the 1st Dynasts.

Furthermore, archaeological evidence shows that there were trading networks at this time connecting Egypt with Iran and Mesopotamia with Afghanistan. The earliest pharaonic tombs found, not in Egypt but in Nubia, contain objects from as far away as the Kordofan plateau in the Western Sudan and the Levantine coast. 1 Thereare also strong archaeological indications of contacts between Egypt and Palestine and Spain at this time, and Mesopotamian tablets from this period have been found in Romania. This is not so startling as it nught at first seem, as Transylvania, Hungary and Bohemia contained lead, silver and tin, all of which were extremely prized by and useful to Mesopotamian civilization. In fact, four cups found at Ur from the lemder Nast period in the late 4th nullenmum appear to have been made with lead from Hungary. It is possible to tell this from lead isotope analysis. This is a method of determining the geological age of a particular source of lead from the proportion of uranium and thortum in it, as the radioactive isotopes decay at a fixed rate. This process can be applied not only to lead but to other metals, when they appear in conjunction with it, particularly copper and silver

The demarcation at 1/3300 BC marks not only a technological change but a geographical one? During the Neolithic the richest

regions of what later became Greece were the fertile agricultural plains of Thessaly and Macedonia in the north. Crete and Southern Greece appear to have had much smaller, less prosperous communities. This is hardly surprising, given the very limited arable land available and the unreliability of rainfall. At the turn of the 3rd millennium, however, one finds a reversal in which the Southern Aegean appears to have had an economic boom and the north became a backwater. It is this new situation that requires an explanation,

Renfrew argues that this economic expansion was the result of the introduction of new crops, notably grapes and olives, which flourished on the tocky coasts and islands, rather than on the northern plains, which were more suitable for grain 28 Recently, however, there has been considerable doubt as to whether grapes and olives were 'commercially' exploited - or even present - in the Early Bronze Age (as we shall see below, the linguistic evidence is ambiguous on this). Rather than these new products, Renfrew's followers now tend to stress navigational improvements and the growth of trade in the South Aegean which allowed areas where crops failed because of unreliable rainfall to be supplied from outside. While they stay within Renfrew's school by restricting this hypothetical trade to the Aegean, the picture they draw is of a network of emporia of small but active trading towns.24 As such trading networks had existed in the Middle East at least since the third quarter of the 4th millernium, it would seem probable that stimulus diffusion, if not direct diffusion, was involved in this economic and social innovation. Material evidence from Crete at this time would make this seem quite likely

During the Early Bronze/Early Minoan period, the cultures occupying the small plains in Crete varied considerably. In the north, pottery indicates a continuation of the Neolithic tradition and influences from the Cyclades. In the east and south of the island, however, and later even in the north, a new style of pottery, the Agios Onouphrios ware, predominated. There have been suggestions that this originated in Anatolia but, as Branigan writes in his Foundations of Palatial Crete.

The only plausible external source for the red-on-buff tradition is Syria-Palestine, where a very similar style was in being at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. The spirit of the decoration is very similar to that of Minoan ware and several of the shapes are too Furthermore, some of the preceding [Palestmian] Chalcolithic pottery has affinities in Crete, particularly the so-called bird vases. The author is inclined to see the development of Agios Onouphrios

wares as taking place in the Messara [in Southern Crete] possibly under eastern influence, for which other evidence exists "

The 'other evidence' he was referring to was that of collective but ials in caves or tholor and the stacking of skulls. These, and the introduction of bronze working itself, led him to postulate a migration from Palestine through Syria to Crete. Unable to contest the plansibility of Branigan's hypothesis, Renfrew is forced, in rebuttal, to retreat to the requirement of proof. Nothing in the Early Minoan I levels unequivocally indicates contact with Egypt of the Near East.

The American archaeologist Saul Weinberg has also argued that there are a striking number of parallels between the Cretan cultures of the 3rd millennium and the slightly earlier Ghassul culture of Palestine Weinberg cites 'bird vases, mat impressions on the base of pots, high pedestal feet for chalices, suspension lugs, clay ladles, pattern burnishes, cheese pots, impressed spirals, contracted burial in cist graves, pithos burial, pyxides and incised decoration." The British archaeologists Branigan and Hood accept these parallels and enlarge upon them "Although Renfrew admits that Weinberg's theory 'is an interesting one', his entire book is based on the assumption that Gordon Childe and his intellectual descendants like Weinberg and Branigan are absolutely mistaken in their advocacy of 'modified diffusion'."

There are also remains of some imports from Egypt and the Levant Even in the Early Minoan period, Knossos was a considerable settlement and, as we have seen. Egyptian Predynastic and Old Kingdom stone bowls and locally and foreign worked ivory objects have been found there as elsewhere in the Aegean region. But, as Renfrew reassures us, Beyond the finds of Egyptian stone bowls in Crete there is little evidence for foreign contact during the third millennium.

In fact, however, the isolationists do have other problems. For instance, there is the appearance and widespread use of the wheel for pottery in the Early Bronze Age Aegean. Warren and Renfrew have objected to the argument, proposed by Gordon Childe in the 1930s that this was the result of diffusion. As Renfrew puts it,

The earliest find of a fast wheel comes from the Uruk period at Urand certainly nothing in the Aegean is of comparable antiquity. The wheel made pottery of Cilicia could indicate an intermediate step along the diffusion path, since Troy II and Tarsus [in Cilicia] were clearly in some kind of contact. Childe's diffusion theory can be supported in this way. But, on the other hand, the likelihood that a turntable was in use in the Aegean before the emergence of the fast

To my mind, here as elsewhere, Renfrew's objections to Childe's hypothesis of diffusion seem strained and do nothing to weaken the Australian's case. They do, however, illustrate the strength of Renfrew's desire to keep the Aegean apart from the Near East, In any event, whether or not one accepts the specifics of Weinberg's and Branigan's schemes, is it possible Crete and the Southern Aegean could have been unaffected by all this long-range trade? As mentioned above, Predynastic stone bowls have been excavated at Knossos. We also know, from widespread finds of obsidian from the Cycladic island of Melos, that many millenniums before 3300 BC overseas trading was taking place in the region. Homer attests that it was common to sail direct from Crete to Egypt in the Early Iron Age and possible to return. As the German Egyptologist and specialist in ancient international relations W. Helck points out in reference to the early obsidian trade, there is no evidence of a loss of navigational skills between the Neolithic and the 3rd millennium.59 Indeed, it is now generally conceded that navigation in the Southern Aegean, which had better ports then than today, had improved at the end of the 4th millennium, and that the society of the region was deeply involved in trade.19

The reason for the implausible picture of isolation does not seem to derive from the evidence—in any event the theory was formulated before the new scientific techniques for determining geographical origins of clay and metals had been applied to archaeology. The isolationist view is essentially an ideological construct. Renfrew writes in

the introduction to his The Emergence of Curlication;

All liave come to believe that this widely held diffusionist view, that Aegean Civilisation was something borrowed from the Orient, is inadequate. It fails to explain what is actually seen in the archaeological record. We can no longer accept that the sole unifying theme of European prehistory was, in the words of Gordon Childe, 'the irradiation of European barbarism by Oriental civilisation' . . . Throughout the southern Aegean, for a thousand years [the third millennium B.C.], striking changes were taking place in every field - in agriculture, in craft technology, in social organisation, in art and religion, in trade and in population. These developments evidently owed little to Oriental inspiration. Yet it was at this time that the basic features of the subsequent Minoan-Mycenaean coolisation were being determined. (my italics) ⁴¹

It is also clear that Renfrew accepts the view of scholars such as the historian of religion and myth Martin Nilsson that there was an essential continuity from Minoan-Mycenaean civilizations to that of Classical Greece. Thus, the independence of Greek and European culture as a whole is at stake. Where Montelius, Childe and then followers tended to see significant breaks in the culture of the Aegean after 2000 BC, Renfrew like Nilsson sees essential cultural continuity. Thus, for Renfrew to admit that there was significant Near Fastern influence on the Aegean in the Neolithic and Fasty Bronze. Age would be to place that influence at the centre of all Greek civilization.

There also appear to have been other borrowings from the Near East in the Farly Minoan period. It seems that flax and its product linen were first brought to the Aegean from the Near East at this time. Renfrew maintains that the grape and wine making seem to have been introduced to Crete during the 3rd millennium but recently some scholars have questioned this. If, as seems likely, they were introduced to the Aegean from the Near East, it is possible that

linguistic evidence can help here.

The word umi meaning both 'grapes' and 'wine' is described according to conventional wisdom as a 'wandering word', a technical but vague term used to describe verbal similarities in a number of languages, without indicating or wanting to indicate the original source.' The root is found not only throughout Indo-I irropean, the Greek orios, the Latin cinum, the Arimenian gim and the Hittite viyanu, but also in Semitic wayn, in the Arabic for 'black grapes' and the Ethiopic wayane, 'vine'. There are also the Akkadian inu, the Ligaritic yn and the Hebrew yaym, 'wine'. The Russian linguists Iflic Symé and A. B. Dolgopolskii did not argue that this cluster was a common heritage from Nostratic (a linguistic superfamily including Afroasiatic and Indo-European as well as a number of other language families), in which both scholars believe Rather, they saw it as a loan from Semitic into 'proto-Indo-Furopean' in the sense that is referred to in this book, as proto-Indo-Hittite.

When considering Crete, however, we should note that, while the Linear B word for 'wine' is probably aono—which is likely to come from the Indo-Hittite root—in Minoan, as written in Linear A, the form is yane. This could be an independent development of the general root but it is more likely to come from a specifically West Semitic form in which the initial a has become y- Most scholars maintain that the shift w to y- in West Semitic began only in the 2nd indlennium. This tends to support the arguments of the younger archaeologists who maintain that, although there were wild grapes in the Aegean

since the beginning of the Bronze Age, cultivated vines do not appear in the region until the mid-2nd millennium ¹⁷ However, the linguistic evidence is not altogether clear because the shift w to y- had taken place in the marginal West Semitic language. Amorite, which dates back to the 3rd millennium and some traces of it may occur in Eblaite, another West Semitic language of the 3rd millennium. ¹⁸ Nevertheless, while it is possible that yane could have been a word introduced in the 3rd millennium to describe wild grapes, it was certainly the form of the word used by the Semitic-speakers of the Levantine coast in the 2nd. Therefore, yane would be exactly the form one would expect if the term came in with domesticated vines in the 2nd millennium.

All this is not to say that the Early Minoan Cretan culture was exclusively Near Eastern, still less that its prosperous but essentially rural population lived in a society dominated by big cities or states as did their contemporaries in Syria, Mesopotamia, the Levantine coast or Egypt. The position supported here is precisely that of Gordon Childe, 'modified diffusionism' with many cultural items being introduced and absorbed into local cultures that were producing coherence out of mixture and diversity.

CRETAN RELIGION IN THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

Since Renfrew and Warren staked out their positions against 'modified diffusionism', a fascinating new study of Cretan religious ideas as revealed through archaeological remains—has shown that they can be quite closely related to contemporary ideas from the Middle East in general and Egypt in particular. Beginning with finds from the 3rd millennium, an Aegean archaeologist, Dr Lucy Goodison, has looked for constant features among the extremely varied imagery concerned with death and burial in Crete and the Cyclades—With great skill, she has demonstrated the centrality of architectural and artistic symbolic representations of women's wombs and pubes as well as other indications of death being seen as a preparation for rebuth

Further, she firmly demes the conventional view that Minoan religion was originally based on the worship of an 'earth mother' goddess and argues, instead, for one based on a goddess of the sun. The evidence in favour of her interpretation is so strong that she is surprised that other scholars, notably Martin Nilsson, had failed to see the central role of the sun in Minoan iconography—let alone its feminine characteristics.¹⁸

What Goodison failed to take into account was the idée fixe of the Aryanists that Aryan religion was one of the sky, while that of the Pre-

Hellenes was supposedly based on the earth or clithonic. This notion has been associated with a real tension and differentiation in Greek culture between celestial 'Olympian' and chthonic or earthly aspects of religion. On the other hand, its application to 'taces' is a modern development. It formed part of the Romantic and racist appropriation of the Manichean categorical division between spirit and matter This was already apparent in the German Romantic Friedrich von Schlegel's linguistics, according to which the Indo-European languages were 'spritual white others, notably the Semitic, were 'ammal. The notion that the Arvans were spiritual and that lesser races were material thrived in late 19th-century Germany and became a Inchpin of Nazi ideology. 1 This distinction first appeared in classics in the 1820s, put forward by the man who destroyed the Ancient Model, Karl Othred Muller-Muller devoted much of his absurd but extraordinarily influential The Dorigins to stressing that the religion of the superior northern tribe was Apollonian, both heavenly and solar. 2 Until very recently, the view that Greek religion is a mixture of Helleme sky gods and Aegean chthonic sprits remained canonical and untested. Now, however, the Swiss authority on Greek religion Walter Burkert has very effectively demolished the association between the Olympian gods and the Helleme invaders. He points out that, if anything, the Greek chillionic cults are closer to those of other Indo-Furopean religions than the Olympian ones are .' This incidentally considerably weakens the Arvan Model of northern conquest.

To return to Goodison's ideas on the Cretan solar cult, she argues that some of these features—particularly the vision of a female sun are distinctive and local. 'However, she sees others as common to the Aegean and Egypt—specifically, the idea of the sun travelling across the heavens by day and under the world by night on a boat and the image of death and rebirth as vegetation. Both themes find very close parallels in Egyptian religion. In this a number of sacred backs are supposed to sail across the sky with the sun god Re. Similarly, Osiris' murder by his brother Seth and later resurrection and the victory and sengeance of his son. Horus are closely linked to the seasonal death and revival of food crops and other plants.

Goodison argues that the 'dancing' floors found near many Cretan tombs were places for testivals, including mourning of the type of the Egyptian goddesses. Isis and Nephthys, who mourned for their dead brother/lover Osiris and reassembled his dismembered body. She also sees the Egyptian sisters as possible candidates for two women sometimes represented on seals of the period."

Although they come from a slightly later period, she associates the

dedication of beetles at Cretan hill sanctuaries with the Egyptian scarab, the sacred beetle, whose pushing uphill of a ball of dung was seen to represent the solar cycle. She mentions in this connection the find of a Minoan model of a beetle with a sun on its back.⁵⁷ The strong possibility that, before the rise of the scarab in the mid-grd millennium, there were other solar beetles associated with the 'solar' goddess Neit in Egyptian religion will be discussed below in Chapter II, and also in Volume 3.⁵⁸

Lucy Goodtson sets her observations in a context in which she, like Colin Renfrew and Peter Warren, sees considerable cultural continuities in Crete from the Early to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and even on to the Early Iron Age. However, where Renfrew and Warren see continuities and development occurring in isolation, Goodison has a more complex vision of a continuing and fertile interaction between local cultures and the Middle East.⁶⁹

Walter Burkert has provided another example of this type of interaction. He has traced the religious symbol of the 'double-axe' from Arpachiya in Upper Mesopotamia in the 4th millenmum to Sumer and Llam in Central and Eastern Mesopotamia in the 3rd. The cult of the double-headed axe is also found in Troy II in the first half of the millennium and, unlike the bull cult, with which it was later associated, it is also found in Early Minoan Crete. 60 Even closer to Crete, however, was the cult of a double-axe which flourished in Lower Egypt during the Old Kingdom and which has deeper roots still in Upper Egypt.61 This, I believe, can be related to the 'double belemnite' symbol of the Northeast African god Min, the significance of which will be discussed in Chapter IV. Thus, the double-axe which has been seen as one of the most typical European and Anatolian symbols has far more plausible roots in Africa and the Near East, and there is no reason that the two should be mutually exclusive. Ahus, Aryanist remarks like 'If there were any mysterious Oriental ideas to help the Cretans, I imagine they were quickly double-axed to shape as inaccurate in detail as they are unpleasant in tone.

CONCLUSION

It seems therefore that there are good reasons for rejecting Renfrew's and Warren's revisionism and for reaffirming the general position, taken by Montehus and Childe and maintained by Weinberg, Branigan and others, that Crete in the Early Bronze Age, even more than in the Neolithic, received massive cultural influences from the Near

East in general and Egypt in particular. This is strongly suggested by the styles and forms of pottery, the introduction of the fast wheel for pottery, flax, linen and possibly viticulture, as well as by burnal cus-

toms and iconography.

The period in the late 4th millennium when we should now date the beginning of the Early Minoan period was one in which Egyptian civilization was already well established 61 It was also one in which Syria and the Levant were becoming highly urbanized. The early ard millennium saw the apex of the high civilization of Old Kingdom Egypt. By its end, there is evidence that Egyptians and Nubians were trading as far away as Eastern Iran and Afghanistan,5 Similarly, in the first half of the millennium, the highly commercial urban civilizations of Syria and the Levant had extraordinarily intricate and fai-reaching trade networks. Some archaeologists have tentatively proposed that there were migrations to Crete from Palestine at the beginning of the Early Minoan period. Whether or not this was the case, there is every reason to believe, on the basis of both direct and circumstantial archaeological evidence that, during both its initial and later stages of development, Early Minoan culture was permeated by Near Eastern and Egyptian influences

We shall be looking at the development of the Cretan palaces at the very end of the 3rd millennium in Chapter IV Before that, however, I want to consider relations between the Near East, especially Egypt, with the Greek mainland and particularly with the key province of

Central Greece, Bojotia.

EGYPT'S INFLUENCE ON BOIOTIA AND THE PELOPONNESE IN THE 3RD MILLENNIUM, I The cultic, mythical and legendary evidence

N THIS CHAPTER I shall be looking at the extraordinarily intricate and dense mass of mythological parallels and connections between Boiotia and Egypt centuring on themes of irrigation and drainage. I shall attempt to disentangle some of these myths and legends about Boiotia as well as some of the close parallels to them found in other parts of Greece, particularly in Arkadia in the Peloponnese. These parallels are accompanied not only by similar place names but also by physical evidence of considerable drainage schemes — often thought to have been inspired by Egyptian hydraulic engineering which have been found in both Boiotia and the Peloponnese, and which will be discussed in detail in Chapter III.

Taken together, the cultic, mythical, toponymic and archaeological evidence strongly suggests that Boiotia and other regions of Greece were massively influenced by Egypt and the Levant during the Bronze Age. It is also extremely likely that these influences began in the Early Melladic period (the ceramic period approximating to the Early Minoan in Crete). However, while there may have been some form of Egyptian suzerainty over some of the Aegean states, there is no exidence to demonstrate that these influences were the result of Egyptian colonization. Thus, while there are many parallels between the situations of the Near East and the Aegean in the Early Bronze Age (c. 3300–2000 BC) and the Late Bronze Age (c. 1700–1200 BC), the only substantial suggestions of direct suzerainty come in the latter.

In Hellenistic and Roman times, writers like Theophrastos, Pliny

and Plutarch frequently drew parallels between the shores of the Nile and those of the Kopais. They saw similarities between the floating islands, the water plants, the date palms and the manufacture of linen in the two regions. This accumulation of evidence led Karl Offried Muller to admit that the idea of a migration of an agricultural people or of Egypnan conquest 'would appear to be not groundless'. Naturally, he went on to demonstrate what he saw as the deceptiveness of appearances in this case ' Nevertheless, as Muller knew, it was not only the geographical similarities between the two marshlands that linked Egypt with the Kopais basin. There were also strong mythological and legendary bonds connecting the Egyptian Nile and lakes with the shores of the Kopais and the Boiotian city of Thebes. Plausible Egyptian etymologies for such place names as Thebes, Kopais, Képhissos and for ethnic names such as Minyans and Lapiths will be discussed below.1 The Egyptian and West Senitic aspects of many Borotian myths, such as those around Oedipus and the Sphinx, will be considered in Volume 4. Here, I should merely like to mention some of the cutic, mythological and onomastic evidence for Egyptian influence. This, I hope, will provide a context for Chapter III, where I look at the archaeological evidence from around Lake Kopais, dating from the 3rd millennium, for Egyptian colonization.

SEMPLE AND ALKMENE

We shall first turn to Alkméné, a legendary princess living in Thebes, who was seduced by Zeus and as a result gave birth to Herakles. Her cult was extremely important on the shores of the Kopais There are close parallels between the births of two of Zeus' sons, Dionysos and Herakles, from women with strong Theban associations. In support of this connection is the following passage from the *Iliad* where Zeus is reminiscing over past lovers:

nor of the daughter of far-famed Phoinix who bore me Minos and the godlike Rhadamanthys, nor of Semele nor of Alemené in Thebes and she brought forth Herakles stout of heart, and Semelé bore Dionysos.⁵

This not only links the two divinities, Herakles and Dionysos, to Kadmos, the legendary Phoenician founder of Thebes, through his sister Furopa (the daughter of far-famed Phoinix) but it pairs Furopa with Semele and Alkmene 'In Volume 1, I noted the derivation of the name of Zeus' paramour Iô from Egyptian words for 'cow'.' According to myth, Semele was a daughter of Kadmos, who was also seduced

by Zeus and gave birth to Dionysos. Her name too appears to have a similar Egyptian origin, although others have been suggested. One derivation of the name is from a dubious Phrygian word for 'sky', another is from selenē, the Greek word for 'moon'. A stronger possibility, proposed by the Semitist Michael Astour, is a derivation from the West Semitic divinity \$ml (the Mother of the Eagles) and some versions of the story of the birth and dismemberment of Dionysos do resemble myths about \$ml and Oshis Dionysos'. Uganitic equivalent Baral and they clearly do share common features. There is thus every reason to suspect West Semitic influence here.

Nevertheless, the most likely fundamental derivation of Semele would seem to be from the Egyptian *smit* (wild cow). The cultural origins of the Egyptians as a cattle people, for whom — like the Silluk and Nuci, who still inhabit the Nile Valley — cows provide a standard of wealth and beauty, can be seen, among many things, from the Egyptian use of the word *smit* or *smiyt* to mean 'royal consort'.' Given the royal attributes of the Upper Egyptian ram god Amon and Zeus, whom the Ancient Greeks saw as his Greek counterpart, *smi(y)t*, Semelê, would seem a very suitable mate.

It should be noted that the connection between Zeus and Am(m)on in Boiotia was particularly well established. Pausamas, the Greek travel writer of the 2nd century AD, mentions a shrine of Ammon in Thebes with a statue dedicated by the local poet Pindar in the 5th century BC. It will be remembered that Pindar had written a hymn with the line 'Ammon king of Olympos'.

The chief Egyptian etymology for Alkméné would give her rather lower status than Semele. The verb rh, 'to know', has a biblical or carnal sense. The name Rh imn is attested, as are the terms rly usu and rht nsw (male and female acquaintances of the king)." Thus, while the Greek names Alkmaion, the Argive hero with Theban connections, and Alkma(o)n, the 7th-century Doric poet, may be related to the common Greek onomastic element Alki- (protector), they can also be plausibly derived from Rh Imn. The name Alkmene, the concubine of Zeus, would seem to come from *Rht imn. Medial /s were unstable in Egyptian and sometimes disappeared in Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names, as with Amenophis from 'Imn htp. We know that in the middle of the 2nd millennium 'Imn was vocalized as 'Amana; we also know that initial double or triple consonant clusters in Egyptian always produced prothetic vowels and that unaccented vowels were shortened. * Thus, a loan from an Egyptian *aRh māna could easily be received in Greek as * Alkmana and thence in Ionian to Alkmene. *Rht lmn/Alkmené would seem entirely suitable for a consort of Amon/Zeus

Having considered this strong possibility that Alkmene's name was Egyptian, we should briefly consider the Egyptian elements in her background. Apart from the connections with Zeus/Amon mentioned above and the fundamentally Egyptian character of her son Herakles, which will be discussed below, Herodotos believed she and one of her husbands. Amphitryon, were Egyptian. The Egyptian aspects of the other husband Rhadamanthys will be discussed in Chapter IV. Here, it is sufficient to say that, as Alkmene's husband, hence Herakles' stepfather. Rhadamanthys was supposed to have taught the hero how to shoot a bow and arrow. This is interesting, because in Egyptian theology Mntw, who, it will argued in Chapter IV, was Rhadamanthys' Egyptian prototype, was the divine patron of archery.

ATHENA AND ATHENS IN BOIOTIA: THE CULTS OF ATHENA ITÔNIA AND ATHENA ALALKOMENA

Alkměně had a tomb near Haliartos on the southern shore of the Kopais, the ancient excavation of which will be discussed in Chapter III. It was close to a tomb attributed to Rhadamanthys and to a shrine to Kekrops, the heroic founder of Athens. There are in fact many other 'Athenian' traces in the region. There are shrines to Athena and there were supposed to have been two cities, later flooded by Lake Kopais, called Athenai and Eleusis. Strabo suggests that these, like the major cities of the same names in Attica, were founded by Kekrops. 'Furthermore, there was a heroic cult of Kekrops in Hahartos itself, though there is some dispute as to whether this Kekrops was the founder of Athens or merely Kekrops son of Pandion, one of the later kings of Athens.\(^{10}\)

The contemporary specialists on Boiotia, J. M. Fossey and A. Schachter, have argued in support of each other that this 'Athenian motif' in the country to the west of Haliartos arose only much later, when Athens was ruling the territory between 171 and 121 BC. Fossey, in fact, is not quite so extreme and admits that there may be a 'conflating . . . [of] genume local traditions with an artificial Athenian one'. Even Schachter, however, admits that the two local cults of Athena Alalkomena and Athena Itônia were 'of considerable antiquity'.

The shrine of Athena Itônia at Korônela, 10 kilometres west of Haliartos, was the central cult of Boiotia and was clearly very active in Archaic (776 500 BC) and Classical (500-325 BC) times. It was traditionally supposed to have been established by the Boiotians who conquered the country, which was called Boiotia after them, from the north sometime after the Irojan War (c. 1210 BC). Pausanias reported

that the eponymous Itônos was the father of Boiotos the eponym of the Boiotians. The warlike cult of Athena Itônia was central in Thes saly throughout Glassical and Hellenistic times and Strabo plausibly supposed that it was brought by the conquering Boiotians from their home in Thessaly to the shores of Kopais."

Where does the name Itôma come from? There appear to be two candidates the first of these is from the Egyptian 'Hint (the female solar disk). The antiquity of this symbol and concept in the Crete has been discussed in Chapter I. The only attestation of 'Hust for Nettwhom the ancients saw as Athena's Egyptian counterpart, comes from the 2nd century AD. Thus it may have been the result of Greek influence rather than an authentic Egyptian tradition. However, Neit's presence on the solar bark and her association with the sun, especially when symbolized by the eye of Re, and the Uragus the royal solar disk with a cobra coming out from it - date back at least to the 18th Dynasty.28 Even earlier than this is Neit's association with a coleoptera beetle whose iconography seems to have preceded that of the scarab and may well have had a similar solar function, as it was possibly luminous.21 Neit's strongest solar associations appear to have been in the Old Kingdom in the first half of the 3rd millennium. What is more, there is the evidence from Crete that the iconography of the solar beetle was already current in Crete in Early Minioan times. The late attestation in Greece may well reflect an extremely ancient Egyptian tradition.

It will be argued in Volume 3 that there is also 2nd-millennium evidence from the Aegean of Athena's association with the solar disk and with snakes in the form of the Gorgon's face, which the goddess almost always wore on her shield or breastplate. This ferocious aspect of the goddess's character would fit very well with the martial nature of Athena Itônia.

The epithet Itônia has another origin, however, which is of more immediate concern. When Strabo described the Thessalian origin of the cult of Athena Itônia at Korônela, he also stated that there had been punning on the river names Kuralios or Koralios and Korônela. This stream, which was supposed to flow from two springs like the breasts of a goddess, was clearly significant in the cult.

This raises another possible etymology for Itôma. Stephanos of Byzantion, writing in the 6th century AD, maintained that the eponym of the Cretan city of Itanos was a son of Phomix (the eponym of the Phoenicians), F. C. Movers and Victor Bérard, following up on this indication of Semitic presence, saw an origin for the name in the word 'ētân or 'êtân (perennial, ever-flowing) found in Hebrew.²⁷ Since they

wrote, the name has been attested in both Linears A and B as Itano and Utano respectively. The variation Itan-, Itōn- can be explained by the fact that the Semitic å seems to have been transcribed into Greek and other languages as ô almost as frequently as a See, for example, the name of the small inner harbour at Carthage known in Greek as Köthön from the Late Canaanite qåtån or qåton (small). Given the clear culto importance of the stream flowing through Itōma, it is quite likely that this name may have pre-dated the arrival of the Boiotians and have provided a reason for the establishment of the cult there. The great probability of a substantial West Semitic presence in Boiotia in the Late Bronze Age indicates that the name could be Semitic. However, the frequency of Itanos/Itōnos around the Aegean would seem to suggest that the toponym had independent force in the local languages.

Scholars are generally agreed that the cult of Athena Alalkomena is even older than that of Athena Itônia and, as we shall see, there are arguments for linking the two cults. Homer refers to 'Athena of Alalkomene' ²⁹ Schachter provides other reasons for accepting its great age: the facts that it was regarded as ancient in Antiquity; attracted legends of the prehistoric period; and existed so close to – only 3 kilometres from – the cult of Athena Itonia. Both antiquity and an early association with Athena are also suggested by the presence of the name Alalkomenios for the last month of the Boiotian year, which was sometimes repeated for intercalation to adjust the solar to the lunar year. *Calendars are generally recognized to preserve archaic nomenclature.

Ögygos, 'Ôg and Gôg

Relatively little is known about the cult. In a story going back at least to the 4th century BC, Alalkomena or Alkomena was supposed to have been one of the three daughters of Ogygos, the legendary first ruler of Boiotia. Pausamas also reported that Ógygos was also the father of Eleusis — in Atrica. Ogygia was the name of Kalypso's far-off island in the Odyssey. Linking the insular, the Boiotian and the Atric commotations of the name is the idea that all come from a primal flood. The German ancient historian Eduard Meyer specifically linked Ógygos to the flooding of the Kopais. A connection with the lake and the flooded cities of Athenia and Eleusis on its western shore would certainly explain the otherwise puzzling association of Ogygos with both Boiotia and Atrica. The double connotation of antiquity and marshland comes in a passage of Aischylos' The Persums referring not to the Boiotian but to the Egyptian Thebes.

The clearest etymologies for Ôgygos or Ôgygés and Ôgygia come from West Semitic. The most common though by no means generally accepted derivation for both Ôgygia and Okeanos—the ocean or rim of the world—is from the Semitic toot, 'wg (to draw a circle)." These connotations of the ocean and the associated mountains that surround the world are also present in a West Semitic mythical figure, 'Ôg of Bashan. 'Ôg was strikingly similar to Ôgygos. He was seen in the Bible as the last of the Rephami, a race of aboriginal giants associated with funerary rites and the spirits of the dead associated with the watery slush of the underworld. In opposition to these characteristics the Rephaim were also associated with healing and the snakes connected in both Greece and the Levant with medicine. They were also linked to life, rebirth and fertility."

In an Ugaritic text, the Rephaim or Rpim were called *qdmym* (eastern or ancient), the same root from which the name of the founder of Thebes, Kadmos, derived. In the biblical Book of Deuteronomy, it is reported that King 'Og of Bashan was the last survivor of the Rephaim living in the general region of Canaan. Hus, his position as the oldest inhabitant is very like that of Ogygos in Boiotia Bashan is generally placed to the north of Moab in what is now Northern Jordan. However, unlike this generally and region, Bashan is also associated with great fertility and fat cattle in In this way it was parallel to the rich marsh grazing lands of Boiotia.

'Ôg was the sole surviving antediluvian creature. According to the Midrash - Jewish biblical commentaries written in Babylonia from the 5th and 6th centuries of the Common Era - 'Ôg had survived the Flood by sitting on top of Noah's Ark.11 Astour does not associate Ogygos with 'Ôg. He sees Ogygos as the counterpart of Noah and his Mesopotamian counterpart Ut-Napistim and his Greek one Deukalion.42 The name Noah - correctly Noah-is traditionally supposed to derive from the Semitic root, right (rest, settle). Despute the final h_i it is likely that it was influenced by the Egyptian new (water, flood). This would explain such anomalies as the term mê nouh (flood) found in Isaiah and the rendering of Noah as Noe in the Septuagint," Thus in some ways Noah was the flood with which he was associated. This ambiguity or double function could also be true for 'Ôg and Ôgygos. In this connection it is interesting to note that in Late Egyptian wgs was a 'type of water or flood'. The toponym Wg(s) also appears as the name of a body of water, either 'the grand canal or the course of the Nile', in the 3rd nome (or district) of Upper Egypt, that of the city of Esna. 45 Esna was the Upper Egyptian centre of the cult of Neit. Its association with Troezen Athena's sacred city in the Argolid will be discussed in Volume 3. Here it is simply interesting to note the connection of Wg(s) with water and Athena's Egyptian counterpart Neit

There are, however, difficulties with this as an etymon for either 'Ôg and Ogygos. In the first case, the initial fayin in the Semitic name does present difficulties. However, there is a close association in Fgyptian between w and f so the barrier is not insuperable. The problem with the derivation of Ogygos from Wg(t) is the second g as there is no evidence of one in any of the Egyptian texts.

There are, however, signs of one in West Semine. The first of these is suggested by the giant Gog referred to in the Bible. Gog, with his brother Magôg, was supposed to have been a son of Japhet and to have lived in the far north. This would seem to make him rather different from 'Ôg, even though 'bulls and buffaloes of Bashan' were prophested to be eaten at Gog's funeral. "Then there is the possibility that Gôg was simply a West Semitic word for 'giant', the root ,gg attested in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Canaanite with the general meaning 'roof, gallery or top'. In Amharic gagg means 'tooth that pushes under another'. These general connotations of exaggerated height together with the names Gog and Magog raise this possibility. In any event, there is no doubt that the Greek gigas (giant) has no Indo-European etymology that respectable lexicographers, such as Julius Pokorny or Pierre Chantraine, cared to repeat. Whether or not gigas comes from Semitic it would seem likely that the double g in Ogygos was influenced by the Greek word.

Astour argues that Ögygos derives from the Semitic root, 'gg (to burn, flame). He links this to the strong tradition that floods are often associated with fire. An example of this is the fact that the wife of the Greek flood hero Deucalion was called Pyrrha (fire). The Chapter VII, I shall argue that this tradition has a historical basis in volcanic events, especially the great. There eruption of 1628 BC. According to Jewish tradition as preserved in the Talmud, the flood that almost overwhelmed 'Og of Bashan was mingled with fire and he would have been scalded to death if it had not been for his gigantic strength."

In short, although the derivation of the West Semitic 'Ôg from the Egyptian wgs, 'flood', is weak and that of the Greek gigas from the Semitic vgg is uncertain, the tight network of parallels makes a close relationship of Ogyges or Ôgygos to 'Ôg very probable. In any event, there is no doubt that Ôgygos, the Boiotian representative of Greek autochthony, has many intricate relations with the Near Fast.

Alalkomene

Now I should like to return to Ögygos' daugher Alalkomena or Alkomena. Alalkomene was supposed to have been the birthplace of Odysseus, though this may well be a confusion with another Alalkoniene on the hero's home island of Ithaca." More importantly, there is the tradition that an eponym, Alalkomeneus, reared Athena by the banks of the river Triton below both Alalkomene and Korônia

This was an alternative to the other tradition that Athena had been raised by the river Triton in Libya - Herodotos placed the Triton associated with Athena in Tibya', in what seems to have been the south of modern Tunisia 1 Other ancient writers put it in different regions of North and West Africa, but in most cases it was associated with marshes. In a very interesting passage from his epic the Argonautika, which will be discussed in Chapter VI, the learned Apollonios of Rhodes, who was a librarian at Alexandria in the 31d century BC, daimed that Triton was an ancient name for the Nile. Apart from linking it to its eponym. Triton, a son of Poseidon, there has been no satisfactory etymology of the name, though it is vaguely thought to be related to the Greek tritos (third). However, the Greek foot trito is, I believe, often confused with the Egyptian byt, a noun from the verb b (respect), frequently used in referring to kings and gods. Adolf Liman and Hermann Grapow, the chief editors of the Worterbuch der Augyptischen Sprache, derive tr from two (respect). The basic sense of this word is, however, 'to purify'. The guide to the soul called the Book of Going Forth by Day is more commonly known as the Book of the Dead, a title more suitable to the 19th-century image of Egypt. It is one of the most widely attested Egyptian texts and it dates back to the 18th or even the 17th Dynasty, in the 17th century BC. In it Specific Lwe is the name of one of the rivers in paradise or the Fields of the Blessed, full of rich corn and prosperous agriculture. This etymology for Tritoms is far from satisfactory, but it should be borne in mind when we consider the associations of Athena and her Egyptian counterpart Neit with the draining of marshes and the creation of productive land along the banks of the Nife and other rivers and lakes

Should the Alalkomenian Athena be linked to the cult of the Itônian Athena, 3 kilometres to the west, and the Tomb of Alkmene, about the same distance to the east? Schachter has plausibly argued for fundamental links between the neighbouring cults of Athena. He has even tentatively suggested that the Alalkomencion was the original site of the cult of Athena Itonia which was moved west, possibly because of danger from flooding. It is not necessary to go as far as this in order to accept his general argument, for which he has ancient authority—a reference made by the 4th century African Christian writer Lactantius to Bakchylides, a poet of the 6th-century BC, who had stated that the Itonian and Alalkomenian Athena signified the

same thing.55

If we make this parallel, it would seem that interesting characteristics of the cult of the Itoman Athena may also apply to the Alalkomenian one. For instance, the latter was clearly associated with a snakelike creating from at least the 6th century BC 6 Schachter beheyes that the snake represented on a Boiotian lekane (shallow basin) was an earthy or 'chthoric' Zeus, since Athena Itôma was paired with Zens at Haliartos. There are a few traces of a 'chthonic' or snakelike 'ophic' Zeus, but there are also two possible Egyptian explanations for this Greek iconography. One is from Neit's association with the erectcobra of the Unaeus, the ceremonial headdress of the pharaohs, which was also the determinative or symbolic sign of goddesses. It would appear more probable, however, that the creature from Korone, like that found on another 6th-century Boiotian vase and the illustration of Athena at Priene on the coast of Asia Minor, which has a coiled snake in front of the goddess, are representations of Neit's son and most frequent consort since the Old Kingdom, the crocodile god Sobek, " Sobek was a divinity of floods, riverbanks and especially of the marshy lake Fayum - a huge depression and oasis linked to the Nile Valley. Such a cult would, thus, seem altogether appropriate for the marshy shores of Lake Kopais. I shall be looking at the connections. between Alkmene and Athena Alalkomena later in the chapter. Here, however. I should like to consider another aspect of Neit.

NEIT, THE CONTROLLER OF WATER

In Volume 3, I shall discuss the intimate relationship between Neit and Athena as well as that between Neit's city Sais, or Ht Nt, and Athens At this point, liowever, it is essential to consider one aspect of the Egyptian goddess in order to gain some insights into the cults of Athena on the shores of the Kopais.

Neit had many functions as a warrior, weaver and a divinity of the upper air or Ether. Nevertheless, her essential characteristic was as the bovine divinity—the creative cow that Ahet—associated with Mht Wit, the Great Flood or swamp, the primal water. Details of this are clearly attested only in texts from the Saite and Ptolemaic periods in the 1st millennium be. However, it is clear from references in the Pyramid Texts inscribed in pyramids of the late Old Kingdom (2700—2500 bc) but composed many centuries before that, and in the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom (2100~1750 bc) that these ideas were far more ancient 5 Her cult at Sais in the marshes of the Western Delta is known in the 1st Dynasty and may well be even older.

The Pyramid Texts describe one of her central aspects. 'Neit has come to her lakes which are on the edge of the Mht Wit [Great

Swamp]... Neit makes green the grass on the two banks of the horizon.'6. In New Kingdom versions of *The Book of Coming Forth by Day* she is seen as associated with banks and islands '* Later texts also specify how Neit created land out of the waters, 'separating the isles and the banks'. In the Old Kingdom, she was the goddess who 'opened the way(s)'. This clearly meant leading religious and funereal processions often in a bank by water *Wp(i)* also meant 'opening' waterways.' 'Thus, she is the goddess who creates channels and disciplines the wild matshes.

THE BATTLES BETWEEN NEIT AND SETH, ATHENA AND POSEIDON

Nêit's role as the divinity of the nourishing flood, of canals, irrigation and land reclamation would seem to provide a key for understanding many aspects of Athena's mythological character that have been inexplicable to modern scholats. Take, for example, the Greek goddess's battles with Poseidon at Athens, Troezen and elsewhere which parallel those fought by Nêit against Poseidon's Egyptian counterpart Seth and the evil serpent Apopi." Seeking an explanation for this conflict, Lewis Farnell, the leading orthodox scholar of Greek religion at the turn of the century, wrote:

In no part of Greek religion was there any connection between Pallas [Athena] and Poseidon that points to an original affinity of character. Where the cults existed side by side, as on the Acropolis of Athens, at the deme of Colonus and possibly at Sunium, at Troezen, Sparta, Asea [in Arkadia], and probably Corinth we may suppose that in some of these places there had been a final reconciliation of two cults that were often in conflict at first. To say the strife of Athena and Poseidon for the Attic land is a symbol of physical changes, an allusion to the sea encroaching or the sea receding, is very plausible but untrue; we have the analogy of the contest between Helios and Poseidon at Corinth, where the explanation appears even more natural and likely; but we know it to be wrong; for in the first place the territory in dispute between the two divinities was Acrocorinthos, a height which never in the memory of any Greek had been flooded or threatened by the sea and secondly we have abundant evidence of the prevalence of a very ancient Helios-cult at Counth which paled before the later Ionic worship of Poseidon. No doubt there were physical reasons why Poseidon should be worshipped at Corinth, but the Corinthian legend of this strife, the Delphic legend of the conflict between Apollo and the Python, of Apollo and Heracles for the Tripod, the Attic legend of

the rivality of Poseidon and Athena and many other similar theomachies, probably all contain the same kernel of historical fact, an actual conflict of worships—an earlier cherished by the aboriginal men of the locality, and a later introduced by the new settlers. Athena was the older goddess of Attica, Poseidon the great god of the Ionians: the strife and the friendship between the two delties on the Acropolis may have been the religious counterpart of the conflict and union of the old Attic and Ionic elements of the population.⁶³

The basic flaw in this passage is Farnell's reduction of the problem to one of 'race' or of 'the ethnic principle' pioneered by Barthold Niebuhr and beloved by roth-century ancient historians." Naturally, Athena was closely fied to Athens. I also accept the ancient view that Poseidon was the patron of the Iomans and I would go further and link this to the Mycenaean predilection for the god and to the Hyksos' worship of Seth. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that there was an 'aboriginal Athenian' population which 'paled before' the Ioman master race.

Walter Burkert, the modern Swiss authority on Greek religion, does not mention this racist theory. He places less emphasis on the ethnic principle than on the two divinities' association with horses.\(^{1}\) There is no doubt that a number of such horse cults exist, and I shall argue in Volume 4 that it would appear that Poseidon had been associated with chariots since the 18th century BC. On the other hand, there is to my knowledge no description or representation of the two divinities. fighting from chariots and I hope to make it clear below that the cults of Athena and Poseidon and their rivalry antedated the introduction of the charjot to Greece. Burkert also argues on the analogy of the struggles between Apollo and Poseidon - that those between Athena and Poseidon symbolized a generational conflict between young and old.50 It is indeed clear that, as a symbol of the rising sun, Apollo, like his Egyptian counterparts Horus and Khepri, is seen as a young man and younger than his uncleropponent Poseidon/Seth. Despite being a mece of Poseidon, the situation is not so clear for Athena or for Neit, both of whom are curiously ageless and not particularly vouthful.

If these schemes break down, what are we left with? First, there is the argument that Farnell discarded, that the struggle 'is a symbol of physical changes, an allusion to the sea encroaching or the sea receding'. He is misled here by his purely maritime view of the Greek god. Poseidon—like Seth and their Ugaritic equivalent Yam (sea)—is a divinity of disorder beyond the limits of cultivation. Thus, while his realm certainly contained the sea, it also included such things as

earthquakes and the donkeys and horses of the nomadic populations of the desert." The chief struggle mentioned by Farnell is between organized land and chaotic water, but the water can be fresh as well as salt. The Egyptian battle between Horis and Seth is usually represented as one between a man and a large, powerful riverime or lacustrine animal, a crocodile or more commonly a hippopotamus. It is interesting to note that since hippopotamoi (horses of the rivers) do not look much like horses, the Greek word and concept may well come from their relationship to horses through Seth and his other later Greek counterpart Typhon.

These riverine connotations would explain the cults of Athena and Poseidon at Asea and Sparta, which were at the source and the flood plain of the Eurotas river – the biggest in the Peloponnese. (It is possible that the struggle at Athens was originally over the Thriansian plain on the coast of Attica.) However, the close associations between Athens and Neit's marsh-girt city of Sais, and the less certain but still likely pairing of Troezen in the Argolid and Neit's southern city of Esna, which also required hydraulic work, are sufficient to explain the double cult of Athena and Poseidon in the Greek cities. In many ways the battleground between Athena and Poseidon at Athens was a transposition of one between Neit and Seth at Ht Nt Sais.

Rather than arguing that the connected worship of such disparate deutes must represent religious conflict between different peoples of different generations, it would seem much more plausible to suppose that the struggle was itself central to the cult. Fonteniose and others have shown the universality of such divine battles. Here, I simply want to emphasize that the particular forms of many of these common themes found in Greece are nearly always specifically Egyptian or West Semitic.

In Egypt, as in most other places, it was seen that both the demonic forces of nature and their taming were necessary to human existence. Thus, while I deny that the horse cult was fundamental to that of the struggle between Athena and Poseidon, Walter Burkeri is absolutely right to point out that when 'Poseidon sites the horse and Athena invents the bridle and bit, thereby placing the animal at the disposal of man', thus represents something much more universal because it 'produced a telling constellation of elemental force and technical wisdom'.⁷¹

Poseidon/Seth

We shall return to Athena later, but here we need to consider Poseidon. He too had a cult in the region south of Lake Kopais. Ten kilometres to the east of Haliartos, there was the grove and later the temple of Poseidon Onchestos. As this was situated on the pass separating the Hahartos from Thebes, Schachter has plausibly linked it to other centres of Poseidon's worship on passes or water gaps in the wilds of Thessaly, which he believes date back to the Bronze Age. Schachter also connects the cult at Onchestos to the Kalaurian Amphictiony, or league of cities, set in many of the major plams throughout Southern Greece, which, despite recent scepticism, gives every appearance of having originated in early Mycenaean times. 4 The Onchestian cult was specifically linked to the wildness of the terrain and to horses. The same is true of that of Poseidon Telphousa. This was situated at the spring of Telphousa or Tilphousa, which is generally recognized as being at the bottom of a cliff below the Tilphosian mountain, just one kilometre from Alalkomenai,71 It was here that Poseidon was supposed to have mated with the herce goddess Erinys to produce a magic horse, Arcion, famous for helping Herakles and for rescuing another hero, Adrastos 21 The wider significance of this myth is made clear by its appearance at Thelpousa in Arkadia. Here Poseidon was supposed to have tayished Demeter Erinys who gave birth to Areion.75

The parallel names of Ermys and Arcion seem to be in some way connected to the word env (strife). Here again, Egyptian mythology can provide useful guides for understanding this mythological cluster.

Fontenrose has recognized a close relationship between Frinys and Korě/Persephone." Ermys can, thus, be seen as a Greek version of the Egyptian Nephthys. Nephthys was the sister of Isis (whose Greek counterpart was the earth mother goddess Demeter, mother of Persephone) and the wife of Seth, whose chthonic aspect was in Greek terms Hades.

Like her usual Greek equivalent Persephone, or Korë, Nephthys was seen as both good and evil. The Egyptian goddess helped her sister protect Osms and Horus but at the same time she was a divinity of death. As a mirror image of her sister, the ever-ferrile Isis, Nephthys was normally barren, but she was supposed to have had one child, the jackal god Anubis. As so often in Egyptian mythology—and elsewhere—there was uncertainty as to the father; some sources maintained that it was her brother Osims and others her husband Seth. The latter version would fit the Greek story very well and link Anubis with Poseidon's offspring, Areion. Anubis inixed paternity would seem to be the result of his theological character. Despite his intimate connections with death, his role (which will be discussed more fully in Volume 3) was essentially positive. He was the guide and sometimes the carrier of the soul, like his Greek counterpart Hermes Psycho-

pompos. In rescuing the dead and carrying them off to safety. Anubis seems to have resembled Arcion. In general then, the story of Poserdon, Frinys and Arcion would seem to follow the Egyptian pattern—transposed into hippic or horsey terms.

Delphos and Anubis

The pattern is, however, is extremely intricate in that a number of scholars have plausibly seen a parallel between Telphousa-Tilphousa and Delphos—the son of Poseidon of Apollo and Melantho of Melania, a dolphinhke daughter of Deukalion (the Flood)—and Delphoussa, the name of one of the three springs at Delphi." The connection was clearly significant because, according to the Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, Apollo considered setting up his temple and oracle at the Telphousian spring before he did so at Delphi." It is further confirmed by the existence of three forms of the Arkadian toponym. Thelpousa, Telphousa Delphousia. This brings us to the identification of Delphos with Apollo and the complications around the latter's cult at Delphi, which will be discussed below and in Volumes 3 and 4. Only some aspects can be raised here.

On the basis of a connection made by the Greek lexicographer of the 5th century AD, Hesychios, between Delephat and the 'Chaldaean' name for the planet Venus, Victor Berard identified the cluster. Thelpousa/Telphousa/Delphousia with a Semitic cult of Dilbat the morning star. If this is so, it is less interesting from our point of view than the fact that Delphos was seen as the son of Poseidon or Apollo and Melama or Melantho. If one admits the equation of Poseidon with Seth and Ositis' son Horus with Apollo, the ambiguity of Delphos' paternity is remarkably similar to that of Anubis.

Melaina/Nephthys

Delphos' materials is still more interesting. Fonteniose identifies Melaina with Ge (Farth) and hence indirectly with the earth mother Demeter. There is no doubt that the name Melaina Melainho is related to the Greek toot melain meaning black, and that earth is frequently called 'black' in Greek writings. It is for this reason that her son Delphos seems to have been considered an African Black and it is apparently his portrait that can be seen on a number of 5th-century coins from Delphi and Athens." However, where does the root itself come from?

There is no common Indo-Furopean root for the colour black, although Chantraine sees an Indo-Furopean cognate for melan in the

Baltic root * meln (blue stain) ** However, it would seem more plausible to derive this from the Egyptian name Minw, the Mountain in the West, where the sun goes down in the evening, and the entrance to the underworld (this is discussed further in Chapters IV and X) ". A derivation of melan from Minw would have a neat analogy in the Semitic world cluster around the root., ib, with the meanings 'enter', 'the place where the sun sets', 'west' and 'black', found in Homeric Greek as erebos, which is defined in the canonical Greek dictionary of Liddell and Scott as 'a place of nether darkness forming a passage from earth to Bades'. Erebos almost certainly comes from the Akkadian erebu (sunset).

In this case, Melaina Melantho may mean not merely 'black' but the black of the west and the evening. This could link her to Europa, whose name derives from "th" and who played an important role in Boiotian legends and cults.' The association with dusk would also associate Melaina/Melantho with one of two Egypto-Greek goddesses. Hrt. I'mt Artemis, the Terocious hon goddess of the evening sun, or Nephthys/Persephone, the divinity of the margin between life and death and day and night. Given the associations with Demeter, mentioned above, and the parallel with the Telphousian myths of Poseidon's rape of Frinys, the latter would seem much more likely, and the fit can be made tighter still. In his De Isidi et Osnide, Plutarch saw the illicit sex between Osnis and Nephthys as an allegory.

The outmost parts of the land beside the mountains and bordering on the sea the Egyptians call Nephthys. This is why they give to Nephthys the name of 'Emality' [teleute] and say that she is the wife of Typhon. Whenever, then, the Nile overflows and with abounding waters spreads far away to those who dwell in the outermost regions, they call this the union of Osiris with Nephthys, which is proved by the upspringing of plants.²⁸

As mentioned above, the spring at Telphousa is at the foot of a clift, a few metres from the historic edge of Lake Kopais but just over a kilometre from the 95-metre contour, which seems to have been the level for most of Antiquity. The spring was at precisely the edge of the flood plain, just as Plutarch described the territory of Nephthys in Egypt. The fundamental difference is that in the Egyptian story Nephthys, the wife of Seth, was seduced by Osiris, the beneficent flood. In Greek mythology, on the other hand, Persephone was seized by Hades and Erinys (Melania, Melantho) was ravished at Thelpousa. Tilphousa by Poseidon, the symbol of violent water. Nevertheless, the parallel between Plutarch's allegory and the Boiotian myth is remarkable.

For this parallel to be significant, however, two apparently difficult

conditions have to be met. Firstly, there has to be an acceptance of the identifications of Poseidon with Seth and Persephone with Nephthys Although these were not formally accepted in Classical and Hellenistic times. I hope to demonstrate the connections pieceineal in later volumes. The second condition is that, if the Egyptian story is very ancient, as it appears to be, then it must originally have been allegorical or have possessed this allegorical sense over a millennum before Plutarch. This too is not so difficult to accept as it might appear There have been many examples, the most notable being his telling of the myths around Osnis, where Plutarch can be seen to have been in touch with traditions going back over a thousand years.30 If one concedes the identification of Nephthys with Persephone Ermys, the chances that the remarkable parallel between the Tilphousan myth and Plutarch's allegory is an example of 'Interpretatio Graeca' (the term used by Aryanist scholars to describe what they see as the later Greek mistaken interpretation of their own culture as having received profound borrowings from Egypt and Southwest Asia) are negligible. This is both because of the antiquity of the Boiotian cults and precisely because of the failure of Greeks and Egyptians in Classical and Hellenistic times to give public recognition to the identification of Seth and Poseidon.

Areion and Pegasos

As many scholars have noted, the story of the conception and birth of the magic horse Ateion is very similar to the story of Bellerophon and Pegasos. Pegasos, the flying horse, was supposedly begotten by Poseidon from Medusa in the mythical Western Hyperborea or Libya, and was especially connected with springs. Caught and tamed by the hero Bellerophon, Pegasos helped his master kill the monstrous Chimaera. After that, while Bellerophon was cast down for his presumption in trying to fly to Olympos, Pegasos reached the heights and remained as a servant to the gods.

Michael Astour has shown that the name Bellerophon comes from the Semitic *Ba al-raphôn (The Healing Lord) and that many of his aucestors, as well as Pegasos' iconography and some of the themes of the mythical cycle, are clearly Southwest Asian. 'However, he is unable to explain Pegasos' name and ancestry.

At least from the time of Hesiod, whom I place in the 10th century BC, it was recognized that Pegasos' name was connected to pêgê or paga (spring or running water) 18 Strabo, in the 1st century BC, referred to Hippokrênê (Horse Fountain) as the spring of Pegasos on Mount

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Helikon, about 10 kilometres south of Tilphossion and Lake Kopais.40 Chantrame admits that the etymology is obscure but goes on to speculate that because fountains are cool, pige is related to the verb pegnymi, which normally means 'stick or fix upon' in the rare sense of 'congeal or freeze. This is odd since pege or its verb pegazo have precisely the sense of the gushing or movement of liquid water, tears, and so on.

It would seem more plausible to derive pegé and Pegasos from the Egyptian semantic cluster which includes such words as pgru (jugs for washing), pgi (the opening, for instance of a valley), pgi (to break out or burst), pgy (to open as wounds), all written with the determinative bsg or bgs (sputle, to spit out) at should be noted that Pegasos was supposed to have spurted out of the neck of his decapitated mother Medusa, Furthermore, there were the place names Pg3 and Pgs, also written with ...

It will be shown below that it is very likely that there is paranomasta or punning here in the formation of the name Pegasos, with an Egyptian form, *Pigh s (the gazelle), and with gs (run) and gst (speed)."

The Libyan Connection and Horses

A possible derivation of the name Tilphossia from Tilbyw (Libya) will be discussed below. Here I shall consider a connection between horses and springs found in Libya, using the name in both the modern sense of the country of Libva and the 'Libva' of Antiquity which included the whole of the Maghreb, the Sahara and further south. In Classical times, as today, the country to the west of Egypt is best known for its sand. Then, however, it was also known for its horses and chariots and oases. Asses and horses appear to have been introduced into Libya, through Egypt, only in the middle of the 2nd milleumium and the beginning of the New Kingdom. By the 19th Dynasty, in the 13th century BC, large numbers were being captured there by the Egyptians 46 In Classical times Libya had become the horse country par excellence. Pindar called Cyrene in the east of the country 'good horse' and the 31d-century poet Kallimachos named it 'the best horse bearing'." However, as Oric Bates, the early 20th-century writer on the ancient Libyans, pointed out, 'The "horses", it should be said, were little more than pomes, but tough and wirs, and fleet. They were often so well schooled as to follow their masters like dogs. This is interesting in the light of the equation between the canine Anubis and the horse Areion suggested above

As well as being good horsemen, Libvans were also reputed to be excellent charioteers. In 1171 BC, Ramesses III clanned to have captured nearly a hundred chariots from them. Rock paintings – some of them dating to around this period—found across the Sahara as far south as the Niger represent hundreds of chariots. In Classical times nearly all the North African tribes appear to have used them in warfare. According to Herodotos, quadrigas, or four-horse chariots, were introduced to Greece from Libya. As Homer mentions then use, this must have been before 800 BC and may well have been even earlier, the most likely period being the 12th century when Libyans and Greeks were allied as Peoples of the Sea

The link between horses and chariots on the one hand and springs and bases on the other can be seen from the names given to the nomadic raiders in Libya. One of the most famous of the tribes that raided the coast from the interior, on horseback or using chariots, was the Nigretai or Nigretes—whose beautiful blackness was the source of the Latin word nager, from which the Portuguese, Spanish and English 'negro' developed. Their name came from the Semitic root, (n)gr (water to flow into sand) which was the origin of the toponyms Gar, Ger, Nagar and Niger, notably the River Niger, which unaccountably flowed east away from the Atlantic, apparently into the desert.

The Nobatai

The Semitic root subt meant 'gush forth of water' or oasis. Peoples of the deserts and oases were sometimes called Nabatu, Nabati or Nabataeans in Arabia. The situation is confused by the existence of an Egyptian place name, Nbt or Nbyt, referring to two towns in Upper Egypt otherwise known as Ombos and Ombi. Ombos, on the edge of the desert, was the most important cult centre of Seth, who was frequently known as 'He of Ombos' or Nbty.11. This firmly fied Seth, the god of the desert and its people and animals, to the peoples of the oases. It is therefore impossible, and to some extent uninteresting, to discover which of these formed the origin of the name of the Nobatar, a nomadic people living in the Eastern Sahara. Their city on the Upper Nile, in Nubia, was known as Nabata or Napata.146 In the Ptolemaic period there was the geographical term 13 n Napytw (Land of the Napitu), which the geographer of ancient Egypt Henri Gauthier placed in Libya. These could well be the Nobatai from Fastern Libya, called in by the Roman Emperor Diocletian to defend the southern frontier of Egypt in 294 AD. O Various attempts have been made to identify them with particular Libvan tribes but these have been unsatisfactory. 8 Nevertheless, the references are sufficient to demonstrate that Nobatar 'Oasis Dwellers' were reported from Libya as well as from Nubia and Arabia.

Seth and Poscidon, Nbty and Neptune

According to Herodotos, not only the quadriga but its patron god Poseidon came to Greece from Libva: 'for the Libyans are the only people who have always known Poseidon's name and always worshipped him.' ³⁰ Alan Lloyd, who has written a splendid commentary on Herodotos' Book Two concerning Egypt, can make nothing of this statement. Working within the Arvan Model, Lloyd maintains that Poseidon's 'Indo European/Gk, provenance is beyond doubt and the date of his introduction to Greece at least Achaean [Late Bronze Age]'. ¹¹³ My tentative hypothesis deriving Poseidon's name from the Egypto-Semitic hybrid Pi(w) Sidôn (He of Sidôn) has been mentioned in Volume 1. ¹¹ Thus, I do not accept that his name was either Indo-European or Libyan. As I have also argued above, I see him as the counterpart of the Egyptian Seth, who by Classical times was considered to be the epitome of evil.

This would explain why Herodotos' Egyptian informants seem to have been so adamant in denying Poseidon, a respectable god in Greece, a place in the Egyptian pantheon and why they saw him as the divinity of the outside wilderness, hence a Libvan god. Possibly following Egyptian informants. Herodotos linked Poseidon to the river Tritôn and Lake Tritonis in Libva or further west. Thus, the god would seem to be associated with inland water within Libva, as well as with the hunting, horses and chariots of the oases' turbulent inhabitants.

At this point, we should consider the name of Poseidon's Italic counterpart Neptune. Let us return, for a moment, to the Semitic root only, used for oases and their inhabitants, which appeared in the place names Nabata and Napata as well as the tribe of Nobatai who lived in Eastern Libya in Late Antiquity. The town of Nepete near Rome had a river and springs and, as the antiquatian George Dennis described it in the 1840s,

He [the traveller] has left the open wastes of the Campagna and entered a wooded district. It is one of the few portions of central Italy that will remind him, if an Englishman, of home. Those sweeps of bright green sward... The whole forms a lively imitation of — what is most rare on the Continent—English Park scenery. 113

It was, in fact, an oasis. The existence of many plausible Semitic etymologies of toponyms around Rome – including that of the city itself – will be discussed in Volume 3. Thus, the derivation of Nepete from a Semitic root, which would seem to be extremely appropriate semantically, cannot be easily dismissed. With the West Semitic personal and gentilic suffixes an or δn , Nepete makes one very plausible origin for Neptune – the other chief candidate being the Egyptian

Nbty, Seth "Thus, the existence of the name Nepete would suggest that some people saw resemblances between desert oases and European water sources and their immediate environs, in dry regions. If one accepts this background, their Poseidon's association with the spring at Lilphousa seems altogether natural.

Poseidon, Tilphousa and Libya

Can anything be made of the name Tilphousa Telphousa/ Thelpousa itself? At one level there seems to be a connection with Delphousa and Delphos with its basic meaning of 'pair' or 'brother' which has been touched on above and will be discussed further in Volume 4. ¹ However, I would argue that there is also a connection between the Egyptian place name Tilbyw (Land of Libya) and the frequent Aegean toponymic suffix -s(s)a. ¹ Tilbyw is a rarely attested variant of Rb or Libu, Libvans. The name itself has been found only from the reign of Ramesses II in the 13th century Bc and at that time appears to have meant a distant tribe to the west of Egypt. ¹ During the invasions of the Peoples of the Sea, that is, peoples from the northwest and west, the Libu became—from the Egyptian point of view—the leading people of the Western Desert.

In order to draw our the parallels between Talbyw and the Boiouan Telphusa, it should be remembered that Libya was seen by the Greeks, probably since Homer or earlier, as including all Africa west of the Nile, * Most of this area was made up of desert and oases; smilarly, the Boiotian Telphousa included the steep cliff and the 'oasis'-like spring below and from it as in Libya - flowed a river Triton, connected to a marshy lake. Telphousa or 'Libyan' would make a very good byname for a goddess parallel to the Egyptian Nepthys, the barren sister of Isis, and the Greek Frinys Persephone, the fearful sister of Isis' counterpart Demeter 19 If Ermys' counterpart Melama Melantho is associated with Minw, the Egyptian 'Mountain of the West', as I suggested above, this too would suggest a link with Libya.126 Furthermore, Libya as Africa would also parallel the blackness of Melaina Melantho and Delphos 21 These and the myths of Poseidon's own Libyan associations would make an etymology of Telphousa from Tilbyw seem quite plausible.

The Arkadian Thelpousa

The geographical case for identifying Thelpousa in Arkadia with Libya is hardly less clear. The Arkadian Thelpousa was sited on the river Ladon where it emerged from a gorge and spread out into various channels on a small flood plain. The name Ladon occurs as an alternative name for the river Isménos that flowed past Thebes in Boiotia and also occurs twice in the Peloponnese—once in Arkadia and once in Elis. In the Arkadian case it flows out of 'springs' originating in Lake Pheneos where Athena and Poseidon were jointly worshipped. These springs or channels were and are frequently blocked by earth tremors or quakes, thus leading to sudden stoppages followed by floods. All of these would clearly be attributed to Poseidon, the divinity of earthquakes, and possibly explain the idea of the rape of Demeter Erinys downstream at Thelpousa. In Elis a river Ladon flows into a river Peneios at the Flean Pylos or 'Cateway'. The double connection between the two names is interesting, especially as Peneus has a strong Egyptian etymology in Pa Nw(y) (the water or the flood). [23]

Astom has pointed out that there was a river Lathon or Léton not far from Lake Tritôn in Libya and he links this to the Ugaritic dragon. Lin and the Hebrew Liwyátan (Leviathan) who has been plausibly identified by modern scholars with the Ugaritic sea god Yain(m). This etymology is strengthened by the mythical Ladon of the snake that guarded the Golden Apples of the Hesperides of who was killed by Herakles, possibly in Libya. According to Hesiod, this snake could well be a river. The idea of the world being surrounded by a river snake/dragon, with hell inside it, occurs in an Egyptian Guostic text, Pistis Sophia, of the 2nd of 3rd century an, which the mythographer Joseph Fontencose has plausibly linked to earlier Egyptian conceptions. As Eshall be discussing this further in Chapter VII in connection with Atlas-Atlantos as the ocean that surrounded the world, both the giant Atlas and the Atlantic Ocean were of course intimately connected to Herakles, the Hesperides and Libya.

The scholast to Apollonios Rhodios described Ladon as being the dragon. Typhôn, who had expired at the springs of the Orontes river in Syria. The Orontes frequently altered its flow and course as a result of seismic movement. Typhon was the official Greek counterpart of Seth and, as Astour points out in this connection, the Ugaritic Ym(m) or Tpt Nht (Judge River), the equivalent of Seth and Poseidon, was also portraved as a dragon. Thus, in Greece, the Levant and Egypt we find Ladon Lin associated with rivers, dragons and the god of disturbance.

NEIT/ATHENA AND NEPHTHYS/ERINYS

The Ladon in Boiotia brings us back to the shores of the lakes in Boiotia, where the presence of Poseidon both as a divinity of the untained marshes and of the spring is easy to understand. So too is the

presence of Erinys, if she can be associated with Persephone and Nephthys, Seth's wife Similarly, the presence of Athena as the divinity of water regulation and land reclamation is exactly what one should expect in a place where both were going on. There is, however, some difficulty in understanding the relationship between the two goddesses.

One way in which the two were linked was through the Gorgon Medusa, who, as I mentioned above, was closely tied to Persephone Nephthys, and incidentally Libya. However, while Athena was mythically involved in the monster's death and decapitation, she also wore her face and was in that way connected to her. This relationship, which dates back to the Bronze Age, will be discussed below and further in Volume 3.

Anukis/Onka

Here we are concerned with another link between the two goddesses Nêit/Athena and Nephthys Erinys, that found in the name Onka. The shrine of Demeter Ermys at the Arkadian Thelpousa was located in a district of Onkeion. This has an eponymous King Onkos who was supposed to be a son of Apollo Onkaios. * These would seem to have gained their names from the location rather than the other way around.

The etymology of Onka almost certainly comes from the name of the Egyptian goddess takt, known to Greeks in Hellenistic times as Anukis. Egyptian and Semitic tayins were frequently associated with the back vowels o and u. See, for instance, the Coptic suffix to from the Egyptian of (great) and the Coptic onh and onh for tah (life). Finally were usually dropped in Egyptian and always in Greek. Thus, there are no phonetic problems in deriving Onka from takt

Anukis was associated with the world-creating ram god Khnum at Elephantine, on the southern frontier of Egypt, by the rapids of the First Cataract. She was connected with the islands in and near the cataract, notably Sahel, Elephantine and Philai. As a goddess of the place where the Nile burst through into Egypt, she was also associated with the Nile sources – which according to Herodotos were sometimes seen as springs, pegai – and with the Nile flood Albert Her sacred animal was the gazelle, *Pi ghs. This is interesting in the light of one of the etymologies for Pegasos given above. The gazelle was presumably associated with the 'speed,' gst, of the waters rushing past Anukis' islands. In human form Anukis was generally represented with a Nubian headdress and seen as non-Egyptian. She was also closely associated with Nephthys.

Thus the name Onkaios was, if anything, overdetermined. Its setting in Thelpousa where the fast-flowing river Ladon broke up to form islands and where the seat of Demeter Frings was located would fit perfectly – if on a much smaller scale – with nikt's cult centres on the islands of the Nile cataracts and her association with Nephthys.

Nčit/Athena and Anukis/Onka

Far better known than the cult of Onkaios was the cult of Athena Onka or Onga. According to legend, this had been established by Kadmos at the place at the centre of Thebes where the sacred cow had lain down after leading him to found the city.

Accepting the associations between Neit and Athena and between Anukis and Onka one would expect to find links between Neit and Anukis. However, no associations between the two Egyptian goddesses have been attested. They are not unthinkable, however, as in Ptolemaic times, Neit and the rain god Khiuim were the divine pair at Esna and were represented as two forms of the same world-creating divinity. Furthermore, Neit, in her aspect of the divine creative cowshit, Ahet, was seen as Khiuim's mother. Rainadan El Sayed, who has written the standard work on Neit, believes that the association between Neit and Khiuim is much older.¹

This relationship may well have been reflected in Greek cults. Khnum was widely known as Nb Kbhw (Lord of the Cataracts) and it is possible that he was sometimes referred to simply as Kbh.'.' It will be argued in the next chapter that the Egyptian Kbh (Nile cataract or water emerging fresh from a cave) is the origin of the common Greek river name Kephis(s)os, which was associated with streams that flowed underground '** Kephis(s)os was also a mythological figure and as such, I believe, should be associated with Khnum. In Argos, for instance, Kephis(s)os was one of the judges who granted the territory to Hera rather than to Poseidon, a myth very close to the conflict between Poseidon and Athena reported elsewhere.

At the city of Argos there was a sanctuary of Képhis(s)os by which Pausamas reported a head of Medusa. The relationship between Medusa and both Athena and Frinys Persephone has been mentioned above. Similarly in Upper Egypt, not only Neit but Anukis, with her associations with Nephthys, were close companions of Khimim. Thus, there could well be a link between Anukis and Neit through Klimum/Kěphis(s)os.

The association of Athena Onka and the tradition linking her to the cow who lead to the foundation of Thebes with Neit is made closer by

references in inscriptions of the Roman period at her great temple at Esna to Něit as Ahet, swimming with the sun between her horns to settle at Sais 15. It would seem that this story of Ahet has great antiquity. As mentioned above, Neit was identified with the cow of the Mht Wit (Great Swamp) in the *Pyramid Texts* from the early 3rd millennium. 17 We also know that Neit was identified with her city, Sais or Ift Nt (House of Něit) since the earliest dynastic times. Laken together with the attestation of her as the mother of Re in the *Coffin Texts* of the Middle Kingdom, this makes it overwhelmingly likely that the late inscription at Esna reflected a much older story.11

Michael Astour has shown that the story of following a cow to discover where to build a city is found in the Bible and that it was probably known elsewhere in West Semitic culture 112 However, the parallel between Neit as Ahet and the foundation of Sais and the story of Kadmos' following the cow, sacrificing her to Athena and establishing both Thebes and the cult of Athena Orika is even closer. Furthermore, the Egyptian myth's focus on Neit as Ahet is precisely that aspect of the goddess that was closest to Khnum, since Ahet was Khnum's mother, and hence to Anukis. Thus, the context of the foundation myth of any city, but particularly one with the geographical situation of Thebes – see below – would be precisely where one would expect to find a fusion of Neit/Athena with Anukis/Orika.

Pausamas wrote about the Theban cult of Athena Onga: Those who think Kadmos was an Egyptian and not a Phoenician who came to Thebes are contradicted by this Athena called Onga in Phoenician not Sais in Egyptian. The confusion between Kadmos' Egyptian and Phoenician origin will be discussed in Chapter XII. Here I want to point out that Pausamas was correct to assume that there should be a tight connection between Athena and Sais and was right to be puzzled by Athena Onka. Athena Onka is not a standard name for the goddess, it is a fusion between her and Anukis. Pausamas had good reason to be uncertain as to whether Onka was Egyptian or Phoenician.

The most plausible origin for Anukis' Egyptian name inkt is from the verb link (to embrace). This could refer to her islands being embraced by the river branches. However, one finds an even closer parallel in the Semitic root of inq (necklace), the idea being either that the rivers rushing past formed a necklace or that the islands in the cataract resembled a string of jewels. This might seem far-fetched if it were not for two factors. Firstly, there is the geographical situation of Thebes, which is on an escarpment above the Theban plam over which two or three rivers or streams flowed before joining up at the

bottom. Thus, the site resembled both the islands of the Egyptian enkt and the Semitic enq (necklace). Secondly, the fact that the topography was seen in this way in ancient times is shown by the fact that the name of Kadmos' queen was Harmonia, which meant 'stringing together', and that the most famous present given at their magnificent wedding was a hormon (necklace).

All these associations can be seen in Euripides' play *The Phoenician Women*. While the city is falling, the chorus of Phoenician Women sing

in celebration of its Phoenician foundation.

And then to Harmonia's wedding came the heavenly gods. And the walls of Thebes rose high to the harp's music, And at the bidding of Aniphion's lyre,

On ground between two rivers her towers stood straight,

Where Diree and Ismentis side by side,

Moisten the lush green plain.146

Note the repeated references to strings. (The derivation of both Harmonia and hormon from the Semitic root, him (string or net) will be

discussed in Volume 3.)

Harmonia had, of course, many other mythological attributes. Astour has shown, for instance, her connections to the Sumerian and Semitic goddesses with the title 'Lady of the House or Palace', '—I his brings her close to Nephthys, or Nbt Ht, which also means 'Lady of the House'. Thus, the association of the cults of Onka and Harmonia in the Boiotian Thebes would tally with the Egyptian identification of Anukis with Nephthys. There is another story about Harmonia that she and her husband Kadmos turned into snakes and went to live in the Hesperides at the end of then lives. This myth, too, has many aspects, one of which would seem to be that, as a 'necklace' one strand of which was the river Ismenios/Ladon (who also lived in the Hesperides), Harmonia was already such a snake. '' Neverthesess, the central point I want to make here is that Harmonia's name as 'necklace' brings her close to Cikt, Cinq and Onka

As we have seen, the most likely etymology for first comes from the verb link. Its existence and its determinative () raise the possibility that Egyptian too had a word *fink, meaning 'necklace'. However, the presence of so many other Semitic names in Boiotia makes the attested Semitic form more likely. Thus Pausanias' confusion between the Egyptian and Phoenician origins of the name Onka would seem to reflect the presence of both languages at the very beginning of

the cult.

Athena Onka and Athena Alalkomena

Another Egyptian root that may well be involved in this pattern is erk, which in Egyptian is phonetically close to erk Asimilar vocalic pronunciation to Onka can be found in the Greek horkos (oath), which comes from the Egyptian erk (swear, oath) and the Coptic erk. The basic meaning of erk is bind' seen in the determinative erk, a linen band. This would seem similar to that of erk (embrace, necklace). However, erk was not aways rendered as erk in Coptic; in the Fayumic dialect, erk (oath) was rendered erk. The related form erky (the last day of the month), erky erk (the last day of the vear), was commonly used. Presumably, these came from the sense of the year as a circlet.

The Egyptians had three if not four calendars, but the one that appears to be central to this mythological cluster was that now known as the 'civil' calendar. This was divided into twelve months of thirty days to which were added five 'epagomenal' or 'added' days. The new year began with the heliacal rising of Sirius which was an indicator of the arrival of the Nile Flood in the middle of our July. At least by the 18th Dynasty, the first day of the first month of the flood and of the new year was the feast of Khnum as god of creation and the Nile. Cataracts. Thus **Trky inpt* was linked to his companion **Trikt** Anukis who was seen as the Nile Flood and, at least in later times, she was identified with Spdt/Sothis, the Goddess of Sirius.

In Coptic, **rky was not written only as **\tilde{o}rk* or *\tilde{o}lk* but also as alke. This leads us back towards Alkmene and Alalkomena. The parallel here is not merely phonetic. There are also important calendrical associations. While **rkyrnpt* was the last of the five epagomenal days, dedicated to Isis and Nephthys, as I mentioned above in Boiotia the month sometimes repeated for intercalation to adjust the calendar was called Alalkomenios. The relation between Alalkomenia and Athena Alkmene will be discussed below. Here we should simply note that -mena and -mene were clearly seen to resemble the Greek mene (month). Schachter claims that in Athens the month equivalent to Alalkomenios was called Athenaios, which would fit nicely with Athena Alalkomenia. The calendrical uncertainty in both the Egyptian extra days of **rky mpt* and the Boiotian Alalkomenios neatly tallies with the legend of Zeus' having turned one day/mght cycle into three when he sported with Alkmene to conceive their son Herakles.

Thus, through intricate wordplays between the similar roots *enk* and *enk*, there would seem to be parallels between the Theban cult of Athena Onka and *enkt* Anukis (hence Nephthys and the latter's Greek counterparts Erinys and Persephone), and those of Athena Al-

alkomena and Alkméně. To complete these, however, we have to establish a relationship between Athena Alalkomena and Alkmene

Athena Alalkomena and Alkměně

The name Alkmene seems to be overdetermined or based on punning in which it would appear that it has at least two different origins, one from *Rht inm (Friend of Amon) and the other from *rhy(last days of the year).

The pairing of Athena Itoma (whose cultic connections to Athena Alalkomena have been discussed earlier) at Haliartos, and probably at Korôneia as well, with Zeus is interesting, as Athena was so frequently represented as single or as having rivals like Poseidon and Hephaistos. Zeus was worshipped all over Boiotia as Zeus Karajos of Kerajos (horned). This suggested to Schachter that there may be some connection here with the Egyptian ram-horned 'Ammon', worshipped in Thebes at least since Pindar's time in the early 5th century BC. However, as he was working within the Aryan Model, Schachter believed this idea is mistaken. On the other hand, for those not using this model, the local worship of Zeus with Athena in conjunction with the fact that Alkmene was a consort of Zeus raises the strong possibility that the fact that the shrine of Athena Alalkomena was only seven kilometres from the tomb of Alkmene and the extraordinary sums larities between their names might well be significant and not just the result of random coincidence.

One possibility is that Alalkomena comes from Alkmene with the common Egyptian toponymic prefix R- tentry to), which was mentioned in Volume 1. ** We have also seen that this may have been transcribed into Greek as La- and that proffictic vowels are possible before single consonants. Furthermore, R- is so widely used that it often simply means 'territory of ' ' In this case, it could have been 'territory of Alkmene'. Given the many indications of Canaamte influence in Boiotia in the Late Bronze Age, it is possible that the initial A- of Alalkomenia comes from the article ha. This is found, for instance, in Atabytion, the name of the highest and central mountain of Rhodes from the Canaamite *Hatabor (the highest pair centre) ' On the other hand, the initial A- of Alalkomena could simply be profficient. If Alalkomena means 'the territory of Alkomenia', Athena Alalkomena would it some sense be a fusion of Athena and Alkmene, 'the consort of Amon or Zeus'.

There are a number of associations between Neit and Amon. As

mentioned above, Neit was sometimes linked to lin, the solar disk. She was also seen as the mother of the sun god Re and therefore linked to Amon, who was frequently syncretized as Amon-Re. From at least the 30th Dynasty - the 4th century BC - Neit was identified with two consorts of Amon, Amenet and the goddess Mut 1.8 The antiquity of the latter identification will be considered below. Another interesting feature was Neit's relationship to Mntw, the Egyptian warrior god especially associated with conquering the north. There are two very interesting reliefs from the 11th Dynasty showing Mnjw and Neit protecting the pharaoh Mntw Htp II, whose possible involvement with the Aegean will be considered in Chapter IV. * This notion that Neit and Mntw and possibly Neit and Amon were the divine guardians of the pharaohs of the 11th and 12th Dynasties would seem to provide interesting parallels to Alkmene's marriage to the mythical judge and lawgiver. Rhadamanthys, who, I will argue in Chapter IV, was the Greek counterpart of both the god Mntw and the 11th-Dynasty pharaoh Mntw Htp. It would also provide interesting parallels to Zeus' consorting with Alkmene to produce the hero Herakles, who strongly resembles a Middle Kingdom pharaoh

HERAKLES
The Sumerian and Semitic origins of Herakles

Herakles is a mythological figure of such massive richness and complexity that it is difficult to know how to disentangle the different strands that go to make him up. Walter Burkert traces him back as far as the Upper Paleolithic 20000 to 15000 BP (before the present), as a great hunter who kills mighty animals and as a shaman who can enter the world of the dead and return from it. More specifically, he is able to point to images from Sumerian and Akkadian seals of the 31d millenmum showing a hero dressed in a lionskin and with a bow and a club slaying lions, dragons, birds of prey, and so forth. " Burkert is careful not to mention the name but it is quite clear that he has the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh in mind, and other scholars have been more explicit.16 The original Gilgamesh was a ruler of the city of Uruk in about 2600 BC It is apparent that legends congregated around him in the centuries after his death, but the first texts concerning his exploits appear only in about 2100 BC. The Epic of Galgamesh, as we know it, seems to have been composed in the 1st half of the 2nd millennium. (62)

Gilgamesh was a warlike ruler who, with his companion, the hairy, natural or wild man Enkidu, renouncing marriage and settled life.

travelled widely, killing the monster Huwawa and the Great Bull of Heaven. After Enkidu's death Gilgamesh went to visit his friend in the underworld and set out on a quest for immortality. Mythographers have shown that this epic too is immensely complicated. It is made up from the historical Gilgamesh, folkloric themes found in stories from all over the world and literary artifacts, some of which may have astronomical and philosophical significance. 15

How much influence did the Gilgamesh epic have on the Greek myths surrounding Herakles? It is naturally impossible to tell where the Sumerian cycle drew on world wide folkloric themes. In the same way, while both of them are on the borderline between moriality and immortality and are concerned with death, this theme is too general to indicate a special relationship between the two heroes. There are, however, a number of particular resemblances—both Gilgamesh and Herakles walked, rather than riding in chariots, and used clubs rather than swords. This would seem to place the Greek hero's origins before 1750 BC, when chariots and swords appeared in the Mediterraneau tegion and quickly became symbols of heroic royalty. Similarly, both Gilgamesh and Herakles usually carried out their deeds alone or in the company of one devoted friend or mimon, whose death disturbed them greatly.

The important Phoenician divinity, Melqart or Mlk qrt (King of the City), who was the patron deity of the Phoenician city of Tyre, could provide a bridge between Gilgamesh and Herakles. Both a detailed passage from Herodotos and inscriptional evidence make the identification of Melqart and Herakles absolutely clear.

It is impossible to tell how old the cult of Melquit was at Tyre. Herodotos wrote that Herakles' temple was as old as Tyre itself, which he beheved to have been founded 2,300 years before his time, that is, about 2700 BC. This, as the French Semitist René Dussaud pointed out, may refer to the cult of Ba'al (Hadad), one of the gods from whom Melquit derived, but that Melquit is a later syncretization of many gods." Most modern scholars maintain that worship of Melquit was much more recent. The most extreme place it at the time of the earliest attested inscriptions in the roth century BC and suggest that his cult replaced earlier ones in the city. "There is also little doubt that Melquit was identified with many disinities including the Mesopotamian god Nergal and, as we shall see below, with the West Semitic god of pestilence Reshef."

The name Herakles would seem to suggest a Near Fastern origin for the hero. Conventional wisdom in Antiquity understood the name Herakles to mean 'glory to Hera'. In any event the ready identification of the final syllable of his name with kleos (famous) has led etymological researches on his name to be concerned with the first element of Hēra-, also found in the name Hēra itself and possibly the word 'hero'. The usual Indo-European etymology for Hera- is from a root *ser (serve or protect). I his has been attacked by John Chadwick, the leading specialist on Mycenaean Greek, on the basis of the Linear B form Era for the divine name. This lacks a w in the reconstructed form *herwa, which Chadwick believes to be necessary " Whether or not this criticism is based on misplaced precision, it would seem better to find an origin for Hēra and hero, as well as for aspects of the character of Herakles, from a sacred paranomasia or combination of three West Semitic roots all based on the consonants , hir.

The first of the Semitic roots, and the one which would seem central to the characters of Hetakles, Hera and heroes is thir (noble, free). Her in Hebrew means 'freeborn' or 'noble' and the name Hirappears in Ugaritic. In the 20th century AD, we encounter the root in Ben Hur and the Swahili word of Arabic origin uhuou (freedom). There are problems with the vocalization as the Linear B form Frashows that the em Héra is primary and not a development from a, the vowel one would reconstruct for West Semitic."

The second meaning of their is 'scorch or burn'. The name of an Akkadian divinity, Erra (the Scorcher), is derived from this, Erra was known in Sargonic times—in the 3rd millennium—but an epic concerning him seems to have been a product of the early 1st millennium, which was a peculiarly brutal period in Mesopotamian history. Erra or 'Scorched Earth' was a ferocious and cruel but heroic warrior who specialized in devastation and causing famine through burning. He was in many ways identified with Neigal, the much-teared god of pestilence.15 This root would seem to appear in the Greek Herakles' 'madness' and destructive urges. It could also be related to the hero's affinity for fire which was particularly strong in Phoenician Heraklean cults. Here, the phonetic relationship is better than that with hor. There is no doubt that Erra comes from the root this and that while the initial h was dropped in Akkadian it would have been preserved in West Semitic. West Semitic, however, did not tolerate double Therefore, the western counterpart of Erra would have been * Hera, though the exact nature of the e is uncertain

The third Semitic (hrr etymologically (hrr means 'to bore and make holes'. As in ,hrr (noble, free), this tends to be vocalized with the back vowels θ and u in Hebrew. This semantic range would seem to be reflected in the aspects of Herakles as a tunneller and irrigator

though, as will become evident below, these probably have other origins as well.

A further derivation can be made from the Egyptian name Hr, Horus reconstructed as *Hánuw. This name was used both for the fierce falcon and solar god and as the symbol and name of the living pharaoh. This will be discussed below.

Despite the confusion and the lack of direct attestation, it is clear that (H) era was a name used by West Semitic speakers for a Heraclean or Melgart-like hero. The strongest evidence for this comes from the city name Abdéra.

It seems quite plausible to derive Abdera from the West Semitic *'abdera (servant of Era). Although the development of toponyms from personal titles is rare, it does occur. An example of this is Didyma, the name of the city on the Carian coast famous for its oracle from Didymaios (twin), a title of Apollo. I shall argue in Volume 3 that Delphi and Délos received their names from Delphos, another word meaning 'twin' used as an epiclesis for Apollo.

In the case of Abdera there are conclusive links between the cities bearing this name and Herakles. According to legend, Abdéra in Thrace was the place where Herakles' servant, or minion, Abdéros was killed and buried, and both the Thracian city and the Abdéra in Southeast Spain had Herakles as their titulary deity. Even if one neglects the clearly Semitic nature of the prefix Abd-, the name cannot be explained in Greek terms because, not only was the Thracian Abdéra in a region heavily—and at an early date—associated with Phoenicia before it became Greek-speaking, but the Spanish Abdera was at the centre of the band of Phoenician settlements on the southeast coast of the peninsula.^[7]

The Egyptian origins of Herakles

Given what seems to be the strong case for a Semitic origin of the name Herakles, it is somewhat puzzling that Herodotos should explicitly state that 'the name' of Herakles came from Egypt 'Alan Lloyd suggests that when Herodotos wrote 'name' he meant name and not just 'concept' as other scholars have argued. Lloyd sees Herodotos here — as elsewhere — as a victim of the delusion of Interpretatio Graeca, in that the Greek historian really believed that the Egyptian gods were called by their Greek names. 'As should be clear by now, I do not accept that the Interpretatio Graeca is a delusion. I believe that many of the Greek divine names, such as Apollo, Athena and so on, were in

fact Egyptian and that when Herodotos said 'name' he usually meant just that, name. In this case, however, the evidence is far less clear-cut and it may well be that the cautious scholars who maintain that Herodotos was merely referring to the concept of Herakles are right

It is just possible, however, that Herodotos' informants had a name in mind. This would have been Hr ki (1). Hr ki was a form attested only in the reign of Ptolemy VI in the 2nd century Bt of the name generally written Hki (magic). 174 Even in the confusing world of Fgyptian religion the figure of Hki or Heka is particularly dim and slippery. As a personification of magic his basic nature was represented, as Herman te Velde, the expert on Egyptian religion, put it, as 'magic power, divine creative energy, human creativity, vital potential, mysterious efficacy'. 176 This seems altogether too vague a divinity to attach to Herakles. Furthermore, there are severe phonetic problems in that by the late 1st millennium Hi ki was pronounced in the same way as Hki, probably as Hik. Thus, to see the 7 and the 7 as liquids would have required an archaizing reading of the name.

Before dismissing this relationship, however, we should consider one or two points in its favour. Firstly, Hks was seen as responsible for the subduing of Apopis, the serpentine monster of chaos. To Secondly, there was also a close relationship between H(r)ks and a late divinity known as Tutu who was seen in Ptolemaic times as a walking hon and known as 'great in valiance, son of Neit'. Thus, he resembled Herakles - who was also distinctly leoning ; and was the son of Alkmene/Athena Alalkomena. The great period for the worship of Tutu was in the first two centuries ab which were also highpoints in the cult of Herakles. 177 Both H(r)ks and Tutu were seen as manifestations of Shu, the god of air, whose undoubted relationship to Herakles will be discussed below. Thirdly, at the Prolomaic and Roman temple of Neit and Khinum at Esna, H(r)kt was seen as a divine child, whose mother was Neit. There is no doubt as to the great significance of Herakles' childhood in the myths surrounding him. This links H(r)ks to the young Horus, known as Hr p hid, 'Horus the Child' (Harpokrates in Greek). 78 The confusion between Herakles and Harpokratês in Late Antiquity can be seen from a statement by Frat osthenes, the librarian at Alexandria in the early 31d century BC, in his compilation on the kings of Thebes. Eratosthenes refers to the Pharaoh Semphrukratés as being 'Herakles Harpokratés'. "

Where does all this leave us? It would seem quite possible that Herodotos and his Egyptian informants had H(r)ki in mind when they

said that the name of Herakles came from Egypt, It is much less likely, however, that the name Herakles actually came from Hrks, although it is just possible. All in aff, it would seem more plausible to suppose that the final -kles is merely the Greek suffix meaning 'glory', frequently used with proper names. However, the basis of the name, as well as that of Hera and the word 'hero', would seem to have been influenced by the Semitic 100ts , bir, especially from , bir (noble, free), but to have come from Horus or *Hirruw There is a phonetic problem here in that the Linear B form Era shows that the e in the name Hera is Pan-Hellenic and not the result of the shift & to & in Eastern Greek dialects. Nevertheless, the semantic parallels are impressive. Firstly, there are the many solar and heroic similarities between Herakles and Horus/Apollo and, more specifically, there are those between Herakley and the Greek heroes, on the one hand, and the Egyptian pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom, whose official titulary always began with Hr and the so-called Horus name, on the other,

It is also interesting to note in connection with the name Hera that the 18th-Dynasty woman pliaraoh Hapshepsut called herself, among other things, Hi i iit dem (Female Horus of fine gold). ***

Given these aspects of his name, it is not so surprising that Greek myths do not place Herakles' childhood in Syria or Mesopotamia. He was seen, however, to have many contacts with Egypt

Just as modern scholars see Herakles as a composite figure. Ancient writers frequently maintained that there were many different figures called Herakles. Herodotos distinguished between the divine and the heroic Herakles and between the very ancient Egyptian one, the Phoenician one, the one worshipped in the Phoenician colony of Thasos and the Herakles from Thebes in Greece, "Diodoros Sikeliotes, the general historian of the 1st century BC, saw three Herakleses. The most ancient of these was born in Thebes in Egypt and subdued the whole world, the second was a Cretan who had founded the Olympic games and the third was the son of Alkmeně and Zeus and was born just before the Trojan War ¹⁸⁷ Cicero differentiated six Herculeses—the Latin Herakles—of which the Egyptian was second, the Tyrian fourth and the Greek sixth. "

Herakles, Hry &-f and Reshef

Where in Egyptian tradition can we find this ancient if not the most ancient Herakles? One identification has been made with a rain god Hry 3-f.— Arsaphes in Greek—whose name meant 'He who is on his

lake'. Although he had a smaller cult centre in the Delta, Herakleopolis Parva, his chief city was known later as Herakleopolis Magna in the Fayvum, the Egyptian name of which was Nnl-nsw(t) (City of the Royal Children). In general, like Herakles, Harsaphes was associated with royal children. He was also identified as a royal goid resembling Amon, with whom he was later often assimilated. However, he was also a fertility god like Oshis. This association with fertility, taken together with his name and the situation of his centres in the Fayum and the Delta marshy areas where considerable reclamation had been undertaken, indicates that he was concerned with irrigation and dramage. ⁸¹ These aspects of Herakles will be discussed below.

Despite the attestation of the West Semitic god as Ra-sa-ap at Ebla from the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, the name Hry 5-f would also seem to be the origin of the name of the West Semitic god of war and disease R\$p or Reshel. There is no satisfactory Semitic origin for the latter name. It is known that Hry 5-f had a temple at Byblos and there is httle doubt that there was a confusion between him and and Reshef there and elsewhere The identification is not invalidated by the fact that the Canaamte god Reshef was worshipped in New Kingdom Egypt. As a parallel to this, it will be argued in Volume 4 that the Egyptian goddess Widyt became assimilated to the West Semitic goddess Qdšt and was worshipped as such in Egypt.

There are, in fact, some interesting features of the worship of Reshef in Egypt. Firstly, there appears to have been a valley dedicated to him just north of Herakleopolis Magna, the cult centre of Hry &-f. An inscription from the Persian period reads either 'Reshef son of the lord of Nnl-nsw' (Herakleopolis Magna) or 'the son of Resheph Lord of Nnl-nsw'. Dest Either way, there would seem to be a close association between Reshef and Hry &-f. whose name had by late times lost its sense of 'on his lake'.

In Egypt – at least since the 18th Dynasty. Reshef was seen as the pharaoh's god of warfare, and archery especially was identified with Mntw. This, as we shall see below in Chapter TV, is a parallel to Rhadamanthys'—who, I argue, should be identified with Mntw being the stepfather of Herakles. Rhadamanthys' double Amphitryon—also Alkmene's husband and exiled to Thebes—was the hero's teacher in the martial arts. [81]

If Arsaphes' identification with both Reshef and Herakles is clear, the triangle is completed by there being close parallels between Reshef and Herakles. In a posthumously published article, the military general and ancient historian Yigael Yadin demonstrated that, while the West Semitic Reshef was frequently identified with the Greek

Apollo as both were associated with arrows and disease, he was also equated with Nergal and Herakles. He used a hon-headed rhyton dedicated to Reshef found at Ugarit to chuch the identification of Reshef with lions. Yadin went on to link this to Herakles' association with lions and to work that he had written previously on the identification of Herakles with Samson—both were essentially solar heroes and had dealings with hons. Yadin plausibly saw Dan, the Israelite tribe to which Samson belonged, as having had its origin from one of the Sea Peoples.

Thus, Yadin saw a fusion between the Aegean Herakles and the Cananite Reshel. 22 I believe there had been associations between the two long before this and that the oldest figure in the cluster was the Egyptian Hry §-f. The characteristics of these deties – that they were solar, wandering, warlike archers, strongly identified with hons and young if not childlike – makes them very close to Horus or Hprr, god of the morning sun, and their Greek counterpart Apollo. Thus, for instance, the city in Philistia named Arsut, from Reshel or Hry §-l, was called Apolloma in Greek, and Cypriot inscriptions equate Reshef and Apollo. This, however, does not weaken the identification of Herakles with Reshef.

Herakles, Khonsu and Shu

Many scholars from Sethe to Gwyn Griffiths and Llovd have identified Herakles with another Egyptian god, Khonsu Khonsu was the third in a triad of deities worshipped at Thebes, the father being Amon, the mother Mut (mother and/or vulture). Khonsu's name seems to have derived from the verb has (travel), and this would fit the travelling hero, or, as Lloyd puts it, 'the Wanderer through the Heavens'. However, the Egyptologist Georges Posener believed that there was paranomasia between has and Khonsu's identification as the royal child, for which he reconstructed a name with the form *h-n-nsw (child of the king), thus linking up with Herakleopolis Magna or Nulnsw(t) (City of the Royal Children). Posener also insisted that Khonsu was not merely associated with Amon, the king of the gods, but also with terrestrial monarchs." Many of these, like Amon, had their principal seat at Thebes. It is interesting to note here that Herakles was born and brought up in the Greek Thebes.

Sethe, Gwyn Griffiths and Llovd also point out that Khonsu was closely identified with Shu, the air god, who was known as a fierce warrior. Shu's ferocity has been related to the herceness of the sun at midday; this in turn parallels, hrr (scorch) and the demonshero

Erra ¹⁹⁷ Shu's chief function was to separate earth from heaven or support the sky and this parallels the legend of Herakles and Atlas, in which Atlas first tricks the hero into holding up the sky but Herakles then tricks the giant into taking up his burden again. The Egyptian origin of the name Atlas will be discussed in Chapter 5. ¹⁹⁸

The identification between Hetakles and Shu is strengthened by the hero's struggle with Antaios where, like Shu in Egyptian legend, Hetakles separates the evil being from earth by raising it in the an. There is a tradition that Antaios lived in Libya and was a son of Poseidon. ** The Egyptian connotations of this story are confirmed by Gardiner's demonstration that Antaios' Egyptian equivalent, *ntywy, was a form of Seth. As he put it:

Hitherto the identification of the Egyptian 'Antywey with that Antaeus whom the Greeks conceived of as a Libyan giant slain by Herakles has been supposed to rest solely on the identification of names; the equation with Seth-Typhon indicated above shows more resemblance between the Egyptian and Greek legends than had been previously suspected.²⁰⁰

The identification with Labya, with its connections with Neptune and Poseidon and Antaios/'Antywey provides a further reason for associating Seth with Poseidon. Interestingly, there was a Renaissance tradition, presumably deriving from Antiquity, of this battle being one between 'Hercules the Egyptian' and Antaeus king of Labya. Machiavelli referred in his Discourses to:

the fables of the poets, in which it appears that Antaeus king of Libya, when attacked by Hercules the Egyptian, was unconquerable while he waited for him in the bounds of his own kingdom, but when he departed from it because of the cleverness of Hercules, he lost his state and his life.²⁰¹

Herakles as the victor over Antaios in Libra resembles both Horus and the Egyptian pharaoh and Shu. The scholars identifying Herakles with Shu do not mention, however, that Tutu and hence Hr ki were manifestations of Shu. Thus, their arguments independently tend to strengthen the possibility of the name Herakles deriving from Hr ki.

Now let us consider Khonsu's divine mother Mut. This goddess became prominent only during the reign of Hatshepsut in the 18th Dynasty (ϵ , 1503–1483 BC) when a temple to the Royal Triad was erected at Karnak However, attestations of her name occur in the Middle Kingdom.²⁰² By the 20th Dynasty (ϵ =1184–1087 BC) Mut was linked

to Neit and attestations of the assimilation are found in later periods ^{26,3} This leaves open the question of whether Mut was merely a new form of the ancient Neit, but it does show that the two could be identified in the Late Bronze Age. Here again, it should be noted that Shu, Tutu and H(r) is were all seen as sons of Neit. ^{26,4} Thus the two correspondences, Neit with Mut and Athena Alalkomena with Alkmene would fit nicely with that of Shu and Hr ki with Herakles.

Herakles and the pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom

At this point, another aspect of Herakles should be considered, that of him as the Greek image of a Middle Kingdom pharaoh (c. 2100–1800 BC). Although, as we shall see below, the Greek hero resembled pharaohs of both the Old and Middle Kingdoms in such things as irrigation, he resembles Middle Kingdom pharaohs more specifically. Herakles was generally seen as coming from the Greek Thebes or in older incarnations from Egypt or more specifically. Thebes in Egypt. Like Shii, the Middle Kingdom pharaohs were known to have come from the Theban nome and, according to a widespread Greek tradition, some 12th-Dynasty pharaohs believed by the Greeks to have been great conquerors whose armies ranged from Libya and Ethiopia to Scythia and Colchis in the Caucasus.

Although modern scholars admit the reality of Egyptian conquests in Nubia during the Middle Kingdom and some are prepared to consider an Egyptian suzerainty over parts of Syro-Palestine, they have been unwilling to consider the possibility that any of the wider conquests attributed by Herodotos and Diodoros to Sesöstris, the 12th-Dynasty pharaoh Senwosre 1, had any reality whatsoever. However, I shall argue at length for their plausibility in Chapters V and VI. If these arguments are accepted, there would be no difficulty in seeing these real conquests as bases for the conquering aspect of the mythical Herakles. In order to make this connection one need only accept the reality of the southern conquests, although it could be objected that Greeks in the 2nd millennium could not have heard of such distant events. On balance, however, the Middle Kingdom conquests seem to have been great enough to inspire the image of Herakles the conqueror.

Like Herakles and later Greek heroes, the 12th-Dynasty pharaohs were seen as occupying the borderline between humanity or mortality and divinity. Herodotos claimed that Herakles was an Egyptian god of great antiquity and that the hero Herakles was a much later figure.²⁰⁶

At another point, he argues that Egyptian religion had no worship of heroes 207 Alan Lloyd maintains that the Egyptians only derhed:

scholars, wise men or magicians of outstanding ability. Such a difference in attitude is, of course, indicative of a fundamental difference of ethos between the cultures of Ancient Greece and Ancient Egypt. 208

Lloyd seems a little too eager to make a distinction here. In fact, the Egyptians constantly made gods of a completely different class of men, namely the pharaohs. These, like the Greek heroes, were of royal blood and were frequently seen as carrying our tremendous and valorous deeds. This reverence became particularly strong in the 11th and 12th Dynasties, later generations paid particular homage to the divine figures of Menthotpe II, Ammenemes I and II and Senwosies I and III, and these cults were active in later times. Thus, these divinities, whose titles began with and often repeated the name Hr, are relatively similar to Herakles in their mixture of the divine and the human. Furthermore, at the height of the 12th Dynasty it was the practice of pharaohs to rule together with their heirs. Thus the association of Khonsu, Arsaphes and Herakles in Egypt with heroic royal children hts well with both Herakles and the other Greek heroes.

Unlike his half-brother Dionysos (the derivation of whose conquests from those of Senwosret I will be discussed in Chapter VI), who conquered with an army. Herakles is supposed, like Gilgamesh, to have acted on his own or with a single companion. This would seem to distinguish Herakles from the Egyptian pharaohs with their huge armies, except that Egyptian propaganda in texts—and even more strikingly in iconography—portraved the conquests as if they were those of the pharaoh himself with little if any support from his armies.

Herakles' tole as a hunter of huge wild beasts has already been referred to. This too has parallels with Egyptian pharaohs whose magnificent hunts were given great prominence in pictures and reliefs. Sesöstris' great ability in hunting was also noted by Greek writers.

Herakles as a hydraulic engineer

There are also interesting parallels between the activities reported of the Middle Kingdom – and Old Kingdom – pharaohs and a somewhat puzzling aspect of Herakles' character, his role as a hydraulic engineer. Although it is quite common for heroes to suppress enemies

and kill monsters, digging canals and tunnels is far less usual. Yet this is one of the most frequent motifs in the myths around Herakles

It is clear from a Mesopotamian seal that the image of a hero very like Herakles killing a monster with seven heads dates back to the 31d millennium. Ugaritic myths relate this to the killing of the sevenheaded dragon Ltn (Ladon) who is clearly associated with the Ugaritic sea and river god Yam(m)." Nevertheless, Herakles' killing of the many-headed Hydra (water) in his second labour contains the image of damming distributaries or different river mouths and hydraulic engineering.242 Herakles cleaned the Augean Stables, his fifth labour, by diverting the rivers Alpheios or Peneios through them. The hero's killing of the Stymphalian Birds, who emitted poisonous excrement, has been plausibly linked to other stories involving the draining of foulsmelling marshes. It should be noted here that, as with the Augean Stables, one of the rivers in this legend was called Peneios, which, I shall argue in the next chapter, derives its name from Pi nw (the flood) in Egyptian.213 In his tenth labour, Herakles dammed the river Strymon to drive home his stock. In the eleventh, he kills the monster Ladon whose rivering character has been discussed above. This may also be an aspect of the story of the infant Herakles strangling the two snakes, which became a symbol of Thebes used on its coins. The two snakes would stand for the two rivers flowing through. Thebes, one of which was the Ladon "In a contrary direction, there was a strong tradition that Herakles had diverted the river Kephissos to flood Lake Kopais. 215

The possibility that this aspect of Herakles could be in some way related to the Semitic root, her<, hir (bore tunnel) has been mentioned above. It is also likely that it is connected to his identification with 'He who is on his lake', Hrv §-f/Ar saphes. Nevertheless, the clearest parallels would seem to be with the Middle Kingdom pharaolis.

Herodotos reported that King Min had built dikes to protect Memphis at the head of the Delta. 6 He wrote that the great 12th-Dynasty conqueror Sesostris used prisoners of war for huge works of construction and irrigation. 77 Herodotos also strongly implied that Pharaoh Moeris, Amenembet III, the builder of the labyrinth, also of the 12th Dynasty, was involved in irrigation. 78 Diodotos amplified the two latter reports. He described in detail how Moeris had drained the Fayum and used it to regulate the height and flow of the Nile 219 He also referred to Sesostris Sesoosis as he called him activities in protecting cities from flooding and improving irrigation 226

There are thus striking similarities between the image of Herakles

the hydraulic engineer and the Classical Greek perception of the pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty undertaking irrigation and land reclamation. In fact, there is no doubt that there are very strong parallels between the images of these divinized humans held by Egyptians and Greeks in Classical times and those of the hero Herakles. This resemblance was made explicit by the librarian Fratosthenes, who described the 26th king of Thebes as 'Sempliroukrates who is Herakles Harpokrates' and the 34th as 'Sistosichermes, valuant Herakles'. Semphroukrates is difficult to identity but he would seem to belong to the Middle Kingdom, Following references to Amenemes I and II, Sistosichermes has been plausibly seen by modern scholars as a reference to Sesôstris 1, 111 or both.42 The 19th-century Egyptologist Reichard Lepsius, when writing a detailed article on what he saw as the identity of the measurements of Sesostris and Herakles, argued that 'from the standpoint of the ancient critic the mythical connections of both persons [Herakles and Sesöstris] were expressly recognized and indicated 1 122

It will be remembered that Herakles clearly dates back to the age before swords and chariots. In this way, he was unlike the pharaohs of the New Kingdom (1575 1100 BC) who used the latter both actually and symbolically. Like Herakles, the pharaohs of the 11th and 12th Dynasties wore (and were shown as wearing) lion skins and brandished clubs.293 The apotheosis, or acquiring of divine status, of the pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom took place during, or immediately after, their reigns." It was not a later construction. Thus, this aspect of Herakles' nature could have been fundamental to the myth as created in the Bronze Age, that is before 1100 BC. While the 12th-Dynasty pharaohs were especially protected by Amon, who as the royal god of Thebes was their divine father. Herakles was the son of Zeus, who in the Greek Thebes was particularly closely identified with Am(m)on. What is more, where the 11th-Dynasty pharaolis called Menthotpe were dedicated to Mont of Mntw, Herakles was in some sense the son of Rhadamanthys, who, it will be argued in Chapter IV, was Mont's Greek counterpart. The identification of Athena with Alkmene has been discussed above and there is no doubt that in Greek myths Athena frequently helped and supported Herakles. Similarly, there is explicit evidence of Neit as a protectiess of Menthorpe II and there would seem little reason to doubt that she served the same function for the pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty.

While modern scholars have poured scorn on Herodotos' and Diodotos' reports of the conquests of Sesostris, detailed evidence from texts and archaeology strongly supports their statements on the triumphs of Middle Kingdom hydraulics. Although the major work in the draining of the great Lake of Favyum was in the 12th Dynasty, the tradition placing the beginning of irrigation in Egypt with the first pharaoh Mênes who ruled around 3400 BC would seem to be accurate; there is also archaeological evidence of damming from the Old Kingdom (3000–2500 BC)." Ample proof has been found of the canal building of the pharaohs Senwoste 1. HI, who are acknowledged to be the prototypes for Sesőstris, and the same is true of Moeris 260. The name Moetis seems to have had two sources. Firstly, there is the place name Mr wr (Great Lake of Great Channel), given to a town near the mouth of the Favum, secondly, the name Nematrêt, the 12th-Dynasty pharaoh generally known as Amenembe III who did in fact undertake considerable irrigation works in the Favum.

Thus, the idea that the actual achievements of these pharaohs played a significant role in the formation of the mythical Herakles

must be taken very seriously.

Herakles as a Middle Kingdom pharaoh in Boiotia

In Greek mythology, Herakles was essentially a Theban hero. Thebes was his birthplace and the scene of many of his earlier heroic deeds. There were also a number of sites in Boiotia where he was worshipped. At this stage, it would seem useful to look at some of these cults for any indications of possible connections with Egypt or the Middle Kingdom pharaohs in particular—beyond those mentioned in

the general discussion of the myths surrounding Herakles.

Two cities in Western Boiotia had the remarkably similar names. The spiai and Thisbe and both had major cults of Herakles. As Astour has pointed out, both of the city names have a plausible origin in the name of the Hurrian storm god Tessub. 228 The idea of Hurrian influence in Bronze Age Boiotia is likely, firstly, because of the probability that there were Hurrian elements among the Hyksos, who, it will be argued, colonized in the Aegean, and, secondly, because of Anatolian influence at the end of the Bronze Age. These issues will be discussed in Chapters IX and XI.

Specific links between such Hurrian influence and the cult of Herakles are indicated by the name of the hero's wife, which was Hébē A number of scholars have demonstrated that her name does not simply mean 'youth', the German linguist Paul Kretschmer convincingly linked it to Hipta, found in two of the Orphic Hymns, and showed that both should be derived from the name of Tessub's wife

the Hurrian goddess Hebat.²²⁶ The linking of Herakles with Teššub undoubtedly points towards Anatolia and the Southern Caucasus. It does not, however, necessarily point away from the pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom. As I shall argue in Chapters VI and XI, the conquests of Senwosret I in these regions left traces of the pharaoh wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt on the iconography both of royalty and of the 'Smiting God', most notably Teššub.

Pausanias found the Sanctuary of Herakles at Thespiai, older than the days of Herakles son of Amphitiyon, and to belong to the . . . [earlier] called Herakles, whose sanctuaries I found at Erythrai in Ionia and at Tyre. 250

The cult of Herakles/Melqart at Tyre has been mentioned above. According to Pausanias, the state of Herakles at Erythrai is not like the statues they call Aiginetan or the most ancient Athenian statues, but sheer Egyptian if ever a statue was ²⁵¹ It is worth mentioning that at Thisbe there was a large dike used to control the water and provide land for cultivation.

In both Thespiaia and Thisbe, as well as at Koröneia, Herakles was known as Kharops, Herakles Kharops, or more often Kharops Herakles. The epithet would seem to mean 'flashing eyed'. However, another possibility is that the name is related to Kekrops the legendary founder of Athens, who also had a shrine at Haliatos. Kekrops will be discussed further in Volume 3 but here it is sufficient to say that I shall argue that the name may be related to Hprk3Rt, Hrhpi Rt or Hrk3wRt, the prenomena of Schwosres I, II and HI. Thus, there are some possible additional associations of the Boiotian Herakles to the 12th-Dynasty Egypt.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has been concerned with only a small fraction of the evidence suggesting close and long-lasting connections between Boiotia, Arkadia and the Near East during the Bronze Age. Later in this volume. I shall consider the plausible Egyptian and Semitic etymologies for many centrally important Boiotian place names including Kopais, Kephissos, Orchomenos, Minyan and Thebes itself. In Volume 4, 1 shall be looking at the equally intricate mythological parallels between such creatures as the Egyptian and Boiotian sphinxes, between the solar cults of Horus/Hpr1 and Apollo and between Tm and Artemis, as well as those between Oedipus and the Egyptian Ki Mwt.f (Bull of his

Mother). Here, we have merely been concerned with those around underground water, irrigation and drainage

As we have seen, the ancient cults of Athena on the shore of the Lake Kopais and at Thebes would seem to parallel myths surrounding Neit as a goddess of the marshes and their reclamation. There would also appear to be similarities between her rivalry with Poseidon and the struggles between cultivation and nature in Egypt and Lihya. The cult of Athena Onka at Thebes suggests an assimilation of Neit/Athena with Nephthys Persephone Ermys through the Egyptian Anukis and connections with the flow and control of water. There also appear to be relations between takt Onka and takinike connecting the names Onka and Alkmene. The related cults of Athena at Itônia and Alakomena inclicate an identification of Athena with Alkmene, the consort of Amon/Zeus and mother of Herakles; in Egypt, Neit was represented as the divine mother of the rath-Dynasty pharaoh Menthotpe H.

It is also clear that the Theban hero Herakles is a complicated figure created from many sources and that, although they may not have been the oldest—as the Greeks supposed—the Egyptian sources were fundamental to his formation. On the one hand, there were the gods Shu and Hry & Arsaphes and on the other the Middle Kingdom pharaohs. Arsaphes and the pharaohs, as we have seen, provide most of the background to Herakles' exploits as a hydraulic engineer.

Thus, there are not only the parallels between Lake Kopais and Egypt as seen in Hellenistic times, there are also complex similarities between Egyptian mythology and the Boiotian cults of Athena, as well as parallels between the legends of Herakles as a hydraulic engineer and the image and reality of the achievements of Middle Kingdom pharaohs in drainage and irrigation. All in all there would seem to be ample evidence for supposing that the ancient waterworks of Boiotia in general and of Take Kopais in particular were in some way connected to those in Egypt.

Some of the myths that have been discussed would seem to belong to the Late Bronze Age. They are mentioned by Homer or Hesiod, showing that they at least existed by the 10th century; but they give other indications that they could not be much earlier than the 17th century BC. The clearest examples of this are the myths referring to Poseidon and Ermys as horses, since, as mentioned above, horses were not present in significant numbers in the Middle East and the Aegean before the 17th century BC. The same is probably true of the name. Telphousa/Thelpousa with its association with the names. Islbyw, Rb.

and Libu. Although Libya had been known to Aegean peoples since at least the beginning of the 3rd millennium, this name and the country's association with horses could have occurred only in the second half of the 2rd millennium. Similarly, the apparently Hurrian names Thisbe. Thespia and Hebe could have been introduced only after the arrival of the Hyksos, which, I shall argue in Chapter IX, took place at the end of the 18th century BC. It is also likely that the fiery myths around Ogygos developed only after the eruption of Thera in 1628 BC.

For reasons that will become clear below, we are looking for mythic and cultic traces of still earlier ages. Here all that can be said is that it is likely that the basic myths around Herakles. Alkmene and Rhadamanthys come from the turn of the 2nd millennium. On the other hand, some, such as the first worship of Athena and Poseidon in Boiotia, could be even older. To assess then probable age it is necessary to look at the archaeological evidence which will be discussed in the next chapter.

EGYPT'S INFLUENCE ON BOIOTIA AND THE PELOPONNESE IN THE 3RD MILLENNIUM, II The archaeological evidence

N THE LAST CHAPTER I tried to disentangle some of the myths and legends about Boiotia. These were seen to have close parallels in other parts of Greece, particularly in Arkadia in the Peloponnese. Parallels between the two regions can also be seen in the similarity of place names and in the physical evidence of considerable drainage schemes—often thought to have been inspired by Egyptian

hydraulic engineering.

In Volume 1, I argued that the crucial period in which Egypt and the Levant influenced Greece was the 2nd millennium and, in particular, the period between 1730 and 1600 BC, when I maintain that there were Hyksos settlements or 'colonies' in the Aegean. Further enquiry has led me to believe that there were significant influences much earlier. One cluster of these was transmitted to Mainland Greece in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC, the Early Helladic II ceramic period, which coincides with the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Other influences passed chiefly to Crete but also elsewhere in the Aegean during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom between 2100 and 1800 BC, the Cretan ceramic periods EMIII—MMHI. In this chapter, we shall consider the first of these, and we shall look at the others later in the volume.

Although there is no doubt that the irrigation works found in Boiotia go back to the Bronze Age, there is considerable debate as to which period in the Bronze Age they belong. There is increasing evidence suggesting that, in Boiotia, they began to be constructed in the

Early Helladic period. The dating of the Arkadian dams is less sectife but they may well be equally old. At Orchomenos to the north of Lake Kopais, what appear to have been granaries of Egyptian type have been found that seem to date from the Early Bronze Age. This picture of a sophisticated Boiotian economy based on irrigation and heavily influenced by Egypt is strengthened by the existence of a massive tomb at Thebes, which its excavator Theodore Spyropoulos sees as a 'Pyramid' dating from the Early Helladic II period.

Although no Bronze Age pyramid has been found in the Argolid in the northeast of the Peloponnese, a massive Egyptian-style granary dating to the Early Helladic period as well as a huge Bronze Age dam have been discovered near Tiryns. These and the considerable remains of a substantial Early Bronze Age building less than 20 kilometres away at Lerna, at the head of the Gulf of Argos, suggest that here too there may have been a sophisticated state heavily influenced by Egypt in the Argolid. The discovery of several 'Houses of Tiles' in different parts of Southern and Central Greece indicates some degree of political organization or at least of social cohesion in these regions.

Taken together, the cultic, mythical, toponymic and archaeological evidence make it quite clear that Boiotia and other regions of Greece were massively influenced by Egypt and the Levant during the Bronze Age. It is also virtually certain that these influences began in the Early Helladic period. However, although there may have been a form of Egyptian suzerainty over some of the Aegean states at this time, there is little apart from some legendary evidence to indicate that the influences were the result of Egyptian or Levantine colonization in the early period. Thus, while there are many parallels between the situation of the Near East and the Aegean in the Early Bronze Age in the 3rd millennium and that of the Late Bronze Age in the 2nd millennium, the only substantial suggestions of direct control by rulers from Egypt or the Levant come in the latter

SPARTAN ARCHAEOLOGY THE TOMB OF ALKMENE

Before examining the archaeological evidence from the 2nd and 31d millenniums, I should like to begin with a report of an ancient archaeological discovery.

Platarch, writing in the 2nd century AD, cited what he claimed to be a contemporary description of a find made over four hundred years earlier. Between 382 and 380 BC, during the Spartan occupation of Boiotia, some Spartans were ordered by their king, Agesilaus II, to

dig in what was believed to be the tomb of Alkméně situated near the city of Haliartos on the south shore of Lake Kopais.

In the tomb itself no remains were found but only a stone Jother interpretations of the text suggest that there may have been a skeleton) together with a bronze bracelet of no great size and two pottery urns containing earth which had then become a petrified and a solid mass. Before the tomb, however, lay a bronze tablet with a long inscription on it of such amazing antiquity that nothing could be made of it, although it came out clear when the bronze was washed; but the characters had a peculiar and foreign conformation greatly resembling that of Egyptian writing. Agestlaus accordingly, it was said, dispatched copies to the king [the pharaoh Nht nbf, Nektanebės 379–303 BC] — The Spartan came to Memphis with a long document from Agesilaus for the Spokesman of the God Chonuphis with whom Plato, Fllopion of Peparethos and I Simmas had many philosophical discussions in these days. He brought orders from the king that Chonuphis should translate the writing if he could make anything of it and send the translation to him at once. Chonuphis shut hinself up for three days conning scripts of all kinds in ancient books and then wrote his answer to the king, of which he also informed us. The document, he said, ordered the celebration of a contest in honour of the Muses; the characters had the forms of the script current in the time of King Proteus, which Herakles, the son of Amphitivon, had learned; and the god was using the inscription to instruct and urge the Greeks to live in the enjoyment of feisure and peace by always taking philosophy as their held of contention, laving their arms aside and settling their disputes about right and wrong by an appeal to the Muses and discussion 1

What, if anything, can be made of this passage? There is no doubt that the Spatians were in control of Boiotia at this time and that King Agestlaus II commanded their forces. Agestlaus' motives in ordering the tomb opened are unknown, but they were very likely connected to the fact that his patron and lover, the famous and brutal Spatian General Lysander, had been killed at Hahartos sixteen years earlier in 395. Pausamas, the guide, wrote that Lysander's tomb was near Haliartos. However, the contemporary scholar Peter Levi maintains that Lysander's name became attached to an ancient tumulus. Although the logic of the situation is not clear, it is probable that any excavation of the tomb of Alkmene would have been in some way connected to the promotion of Spartan interests through the 'heroic' cult

of Lysander. In any event, the connection with Lysander adds credi

bility to this part of Plutarch's citation.

The detailed description and prosac nature of the objects found in the tomb make the report of their discovery seem very plausible. There is no tale here of serpents, gigantic bones or great treasures. To readers of Black Athena Volume 1, it will come as no surprise to learn that Greeks of the 4th century BC—accepting the Ancient Model should have assumed that the ancient remains and the tablet were Egyptian. Reasons why this should have been particularly likely for the tomb of Alkmene in Boiotia will be discussed below. Thus, even the sceptical J. Schwartz, who has written the standard article on the discovery, accepts this part of Plutarch's story.

It is also known that Agesilaus had a lifelong involvement with Egypt. In 396 BC the pharaoh Nepherités I had sent supplies to Agesilaus II to aid a Spartan expedition against Persia. At the end of his long, active life, the Spartan king died on a mercenary expedition to help Egypt against the Persians in 364 BC. The biographer of the philosophers, Diogenes Lacrtios, also reports of the mathematician and astronomer Eudoxos of Knidos that he proceeded to Egypt with Chrysippus the Physician bearing letters of introduction from Agesilaus to Nectanabis, who recommended him to the priests'. Eudoxos and Chrysippos were from Knidos, a Spartan colony in Caria which had been taken by Sparta in 300 Bc. Thus, despite the fact that Eudoxos had spent time in Athens it is quite possible that the two could have been on a Spartan delegation to the new pharaoh. However, there is a problem with the dating, because, according to Diogenes, Endoxos went to Egypt immediately after his stay in Athens when he was twenty-three, which must have been before 381 BC Nevertheless, the dates fit well enough for this to have been the same delegation. The discrepancy could be explained either by a mistake in his age or by the omission of some travel between his stays in Athens and Egypt. It would seem very likely indeed that Agesilaus had communications with Nht nb f, Nektanabes, 379-363, at the beginning as well as the end of his reign.6 Indeed, the year 379 BC was particularly significant. It was at this time that Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis in Cyprus who had previously led the opposition to the Persians, submitted to them. In the same year, Nektanabes overthrew the last pharaoh of the 20th Dynasty, which had been founded by Agesilaus' old ally Nepherites I. Thus, in the absence of other allies, it was critical to cement relations between Sparta, the most powerful state in Greece, and the new dynasty in Egypt if the Persians were to be kept at bay Connections between Eudoxos, the delegation and the transcribed

inscription are tightened by a strong ancient tradition that Eudoxos had studied with a priest named Chonuphis. It is also very likely that Plato had had philosophical discussions with Chonuphis when he was in Egypt e 300 BC. This adds credibility to the reports both of Eudoxos' introduction and of Agestlaus' request for a translation. It would seem overwhelmingly likely that the story is accurate where it refers to the Spartans' sending of a document to the Egyptian pharaoh who referred it to Chonuphis.

All this, however, does not mean that the objects found in the tomb were Egyptian. Indeed, it is unlikely that they were. The bronze bracelet and the pottery urns strongly suggest that they were Early or Maddle Helladic (3300 - 1700 BC) of Mycenaean (1700-1200 BC). The bronze tablet in front of the tomb presents more of a problem because nothing like it has been found from Egyptian, Levantine or Aegean cultures. There is, however, no reason to distrust the report because of this. Any one of these cultures could very well have had bronze tablets in front of tombs. It is also unlikely that the signs on it were in fact hieroglyphs. It would seem most probable that 'the characters [which] had the forms of the script current in the time of King Proteus, which Herakles, the son of Amphitiyon, had learned' were in fact Linear B, or possibly Linear A or cuneiform.' If the inscription had been in any form of Egyptian hieroglyphs it would be impossible to explain Chonuphis' apparent difficulty in reading the tablet, which should have been relatively easy for an educated Egyptian priest.

The least plausible part of the story is the report of Chonuphus'

translation of the text's meaning in that Herakles had

ordered the celebration of a contest in honour of the Muses ... and the god was using the inscription to instruct and urge the Greeks to live in the enjoyment of leisure and peace by always taking philosophy as then field of contention, laying their arms aside and settling then disputes about right and wrong by an appeal to the Muses and discussion.

We should not, however, dismiss this as uninteresting. Given the centrality of the cult of the Muses in the region of Haliartos, it would seem likely, if the report is accurate, that Chonuplus knew something about Boiotia. The Egyptian priest's choice of Herakles was also very significant and certainly deliberate. As we have seen, there were fundamental ancient links between Egypt and the Boiotian Herakles Furthermore, apart from a possible attempt to make a piece of Boiotia 'forever Spartan' by appropriating a Bronze Age tomb for Lysander, it is possible that the reference to Herakles, who was both the

hero of Thebes and the legendary ancestor of the Spartan 'Heraklid' kings, could be seen as giving legitimacy to the Spartan presence in Borotia. The Spartan occupation was in fact extremely shaky from a religious point of view, because of the sacrilege involved in the recent Spartan seizure of the Theban acropolis, which had had Agesilaus' approval. On the other hand, Chonuphis' text does not read like Spartan propaganda, as Sparta was at that stage very active in the internecime warfare. In fact, it reads more like the orator Isokrates' Panegyric, made in 380, calling for Pan-Hellenic political and cultural unity against Persia. The least unlikely explanation is that the 'translation' was an Egyptian appeal for Greek unity against Persia, possibly under Spartan hegemony. In the event, however, aid came to Egypt in 377 from the Athenian admiral Chabrias who arrived from having fortified the Boiotian Thebes against Sparta.

It is not difficult to explain why the inscription was thought to be Egyptian. In addition to the prevalence of the Ancient Model in 4th-century Greece, there were specific reasons (as we have seen in Chapter II) for associating Fgypt with Alkmene, her husband Rhadamanthys, her son Herakles, the location of the tomb at Haliartos on Lake Kopais, as well as with Thebes and Boiotia as a whole.

THE TOMB OF AMPHION AND ZETROS

I want now to turn from ancient to modern archaeology. The fact that Thebes is still a living city makes it extremely difficult to carry out excavations there. This has hampered understanding of all periods of its history and prehistory and it is particularly hard to reconstruct its nature in the Early Helladic period. There are traces of some houses from Early Helladic II (3000–2400 BC) and Early Helladic III (2400–2050 BC) and it is possible that there are the remains of a 'House of Tiles' similar to those found at Lerna in the Argolid and elsewhere, which appear to have functioned as palaces and/or houses of assembly ¹² Probably Thebes was already a significant centre in the 3rd inflemnium. This impression is strengthened by the presence at Thebes of a monument that it would be reasonable to describe as a pyramid.

In the early 1970s Theodore Spyropoulos, the Ephor or archaeological superintendent of Boiotia, wrote a considerable number of articles on his excavations and surveys. Two of these articles are directly relevant to the possibility of Egyptian presence or influence in Boiotia; the first was entitled 'Egyptian colonization of Boiotia' and the second 'Introduction to the study of the Copaic area'. Spyropoulos's

case for Egyptian colonization in Boiotia was based on two important archaeological sites—the so called Tomb of Amphion and Zethos and the complicated and sophisticated network of dikes and channels used to drain the Kopais.

The first of these sites, about which Spyropoulos published a book in 1981, is a large mound to the north of the city of Thebes, on the escarpment dominating the junction of two of the streams surrounding the city. The mound was traditionally known as the Tomb of Ampluon and Zéthos. Hesiod is supposed to have written that Amphion. and Zethos 'built the walls of Thebes by playing on a lyre' Given Thebes' links with necklaces and Harmonia mentioned in the last chapter, it is interesting to note the image of a stringed instrument.15 According to Homer, it was the twins 'Amphion and Zethos, who first established the seat of seven-gated. Thebe, and fenced it with walls, for they could not dwell in spacious. Thebe unfenced, how mighty soever they were' ! It is clear that then enemies were barbarian tribes - the Aones, Temmikes, Hvantes, Leleges and Pelasgians who were either indigenous or from Attica just to the south." (There are long discussions on the Pelasgians and a derivation of the names Aones and Hyantes from the Egyptian lwn((t)vw) [batbarian] in Volume (of this work) "It would seem likely, then, that in Homer's view Amphion and Zethos were outsiders colonizing the area. Hesiod and other early writers, as well as the mythographer Pherekydes in the 6th century BC, saw the twins as the first founders of Thebes (Ogygos, who was discussed in Chapter II, was the first mythical king of the territory later known as Boiotia, but he was not a founder of Thebes)." According to Pherekydes' version of Theban history, Amphion and Zéthos' city was built as a defence against the Phlegyans. The Phlegyans appear to have come from Thessals to the north and destroyed the city after the twins' death. There is in fact a possible Egyptian etymology for the name Phlegyan in Prirk(v)w (the enemy), Kadmos and his Kadmeans were then supposed to have re founded Thebes much later on the deserted site 28

There was also a strong tradition, however, that Kadmos the Phoenician was not just a founder of Thebes but the founder of the city. In West Semitic queen did not mean only 'eastern', it also meant 'ancient'. In any event, there were other traditions only attested later that Kadmos had been the first colonizer of Thebes. These then had the problem of what to do with Amphion and Zethos. Some, like historian Hellanikos of the 5th century be and Philochoros of the 4th, simply reversed the order and placed the twins after Kadmos. Pausanias followed this version but claimed that the Thebes constructed by Am-

phion and Zethos was below the Kadmeia built by Kadmos.²⁰ This and similar versions, however, encountered the difficulty that the later kings of Thebes were certainly considered to be descendants of Kadmos, and for this to be possible a restoration of the Kadmids was necessary. This complication was avoided by the early 5th-century writer Hekataios of Miletos and the 4th-century historian Ephoros, who were followed by Strabo in the 1st century BC. These simply defined the Homeric version and claimed that Amphion and Zēthos had not founded. Thebes but Eutresis to the southwest.²¹

It seems then that there is no reason for denying the plausibility of the earliest attested version of the tradition of Amphion and Zethos, despite the clearly folkloric motif of twins founding a city, which is seen, for instance, in the legends of Romulus and Remus' foundation of Rome. Although there is no evidence to show that the later 'Tomb of Amphion and Zethos' was called that in the Bronze Age, no earlier name for it is known. Aischylos seems to refer to it and it was deeply revered at the time of Pausanias 22 In fact, as the modern scholars Ioannis and Eveline Loucas emphasize, the site was considered holy throughout Antiquity and was not built on for almost three thousand years.25 There is also little doubt that it is by far the most ancient large structure in the city. The hill has been dug several times this century and a number of Early and Late Helladic graves have been found in it.4 Theodore Spyropoulos, who excavated it in 1971, saw the structime as a stepped pyramid with three levels of earth topped by a core of sun-dried bricks in which there was a stone-lined tomb. Startlingly, in the light of the tradition of the twins, Spyropoulos saw traces of two indentations for burial in the tomb.

The tomb had been plundered in Antiquity but three small gold pendants of a necklace, in the form of a lily, with double spirals topped with 'papyroid' forms and some pearls, had escaped the robbers. The jewels' geographical provenance is uncertain. As I shall show in the next chapter, there was considerable Egyptian influence on Cretan and Aegean jewellery in the Bronze Age Specifically, the papyriform decoration derives ultimately from Egypt, but since this multiply was widely used in Crete at this time it cannot be used to locate its manufacture in Egypt. There is somewhat less problem with the date, which would also seem to be 3rd millennium. Spyropoulos uses the jewels, together with shards of pottery found there, to place the tumulus in the EHII ceramic period, which in this book is from 3000–2400 Bt. Sarantis Symeonoglou, an assistant curator of antiquities of Boiotia, who has written a detailed Topography of Thebes, denies this early dating and puts the pottery inside the tomb in the

Middle Helladic period; he does not specify which section of this period.28 Most scholars, however, have accepted Spyropoulos's conclusion that it is Early Bronze Age and there would seem to me no reason

to challenge this.29

While his date for the tomb has been accepted, there has been no such willingness to accept Spyropoulos's attribution of its origin to Egypt. Despite its construction before the most common dating of the arrival of the Indo-Europeans at the end of EHII, Aryanists have attempted to describe it as a Kingan - the kind of burial mound found in Southern Russia and the Balkans and supposed to have been characteristic of the speakers of Proto-Indo-European. The comparison is forced because Kurgans are plain tumuli which are always made with stone and earth. In complete contrast to this pattern, the tomb of Amphion and Zethos is carefully stepped, topped with brick-work, built on an existing hill and has a number of galleries cut into it which seem to be associated with a funerary cult.

Spyropoulos sees a space in front of the cist containing the two niches as a vestibule corresponding to the access shaft—or sloping dromos—which he compares with tombs at Lapithos and Enkomi in Cyprus. Ingo Pini, who has written the standard book on Cretan burial, believes that the Cretan tombs with dromo were influenced by Egypt. Spyropoulos also sees direct relations with Cretan rectangular tombs with shafts, which clearly had their prototypes in Egypt. Here, however, he is on shakier ground, because the Cretan tombs come from the Old Palace Period of the early 2nd millennium and therefore well after his dating of the tomb of Amphion and Zethos.

Attempts to draw parallels between the tomb of Amphion and Zēthos and contempory tumuli on Leukas and at Charonea, further north in Greece, are not very convincing and there seems little doubt that it is unique in Greece. Strangely enough, the nearest European parallel is Silbin'y Hill, just outside the major Megalithic stone circle of Avebury. This stepped pyramid carefully constructed from chalk is rather older and seems to date to the 28th or 27th century BC, very much the same time as the tomb of Amphion and Zéthos, and two of three centuries after the building of the Great Pyramids in Egypt, which would now seem to be between 3000 and 2800 BC. Despite the scorn poured on the idea by scholars of the early and mid-20th century, there is no doubt in my mind that the builders of Silbury were aware of the contemporary Egyptian pyramids. On the other hand, it is extremely unlikely—to say the least—that Wessex was colonized by Egyptians of the 3rd or 4th Dynasties.

In the case of the tomb of Amphion and Zethos, it is equally clear

that its builders knew about the pyramids of Egypt. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that in FHII, when the tomb of Amphion and Zethos appears to have been built, stepped pyramids were no longer in fashion in Egypt. " This objection is not as serious as it might appear. This is, firstly, because it is impossible to say when in the long ceramic period (3000 2400 BC) the tomb was built; if it was at its beginning, it would have been contemporary with the 31d Dynasty (3000 - 2020 BC) when the greatest stepped pyramids were constructed. Secondly, there is the fact that stepped pyramids retained their great religious significance after the development of the smoothsided type. What is more they continued to be built. The sun temple of the 5th-Dynasty pharaoh Niuserret (c. 2700) was built in steps and there are good reasons for supposing that the great stepped pyramid of the 31d-Dynasty pharaoh Djoser (c. 3000) still had exceptional sanctity centuries later in the 5th Dynasty "Thirdly, and simply, it is quite possible for fashions to be taken up abroad when they have been discontinued at home.

Nevertheless, Ioannis and Eveline Loucas are clearly right to consider the possibility of Mesopotamian influence as stepped ziggurats were still being constructed. Like the pyramids, which may have derived from them, ziggurats were sacred constructions which symbolically enabled man to reach heaven. There would seem little doubt that it was in this function and as the real or supposed burial place of royal heroes that the tomb of Amphion and Zêthos retained its extraordinary sanctity for so many millenniums. It would also seem clear that it was seen as a source of the millenniums for the plains of Boiotia.

According to Pausanias:

The common memorial to Zethos and Amphion is a small tumulus of earth. Men from Tithorea in Phokis want to take earth away from it, the idea to take it while the sun is in the bill of heaven (Taurus). If they can take the earth from here and lay it on the tumulus of Antiope [the twins' mythical mother] the ground will bear crops at Tithorea but not at Thebes.

Pausamas then cited the oracle Bakis of the 7th and 6th centuries BC to show the antiquity of this tradition.

In Pausanias' time (the 2nd century AD). Lithorea contained the holiest shrine built in Greece for Isis, where Egyptian rites were strictly followed 47. There is no way of telling how old this custom was and it may well have been established in the Hellemstic or even the Roman period as part of the Egyptianizing movement mentioned in Volume

1.45 Nevertheless, it is interesting that this particular cult should have 'gone Egyptian'. Pausamas' quotation from Bakis, however, is paralleled by references from the Homeric Hymn to Ge and a fragment from Euripides' lost tragedy Antiope, all of which suggest that the tradition of rivalry and the magical power of soil from the tomb of Amohion and Zéthos could well go back to the Bronze Age.14

It should be noted here that Middle Kingdom pharaohs were still constructing pyramids, most of them overlooking the marshy lake of the Fayum which they were draining and turning into a plain of extraordinary fertility. Though later than the tomb of Amphion and Zēthos, these pyramids provide interesting parallels with the tomb of Amphion and Zéthos dominating the Theban Plain, though not Lake Kopais, the Greek counterpart to the Faviim. Nevertheless, the fact that the builders of the Thebaii tomb constructed an imitation pyramid - apparently as a royal tomb and that this involved considerable wealth and ability to mobilize labour does not prove that they were Egyptian colonists, and, as we have seen, there is no object associated with it that can be definitively derived from Egypt Spyropoulos, however, does not base his case for Egyptian colonization on the tomb alone; even more important for him are the massive water works in the Kopais which he places in the same ceramic period FHII, which he sees as c. 2000-2300 BC, but which in this book is put at c 3000-2400 BC.

THE DRAINING OF THE KOPAIS

Lake Kopais is a flat basin of about 350 square kilometres in the northwest of Boiotia. The Kephissos and other smaller rivers flow intoit, but the route to the east and the sea is blocked by the Ptoon massif. However, the limestone mountains are riddled with caves so that with. and sometimes without, human intervention underground channels, or katavothres, can drain Kopais into the sea. There is no doubt that for some extended periods during the Bronze Age, much of the lakebed was drained in winter and irrigated in summer, by an intricate series of dams and polders guiding the Kephissos along the northern edge of the plain to the improved katavothris and the sea. This system broke down, probably at the end of Late Helladic III (c. 1150 BC), when the northern tribes of Dorians and Boiotians were reported to have swept south. Thus, although some of the polders were repaired in Classical times, during the Iron Age after 1100 BC the basin was flooded and became an unproductive marsh. This explains the contrast between the great wealth and political power of Thebes and the northern Boiotian city of Orchomenos during the Bronze Age and

the backwardness of the region in Archaic and Classical times (that is,

from the 8th to the 4th century BC).

At the end of the 4th century BC, Alexander the Great tried to drain the lake once more and a huge channel was dug through the middle of the basin. However, the work was not completed, for either political or technical reasons or both. In any event, Kopais remained a marshy lake or became an even bigger one over the next two nullenniums. A French company tried and failed to drain it in the 1870s and it was not until the 1890s that an English company was able to equal the achievements of the Bronze Age and turn the Kopais once more into a productive agricultural region.

It seems that the Bronze Age drainage and regation began piecemeal with the building of polders enclosing various 'bays' or 'gulfs' on the northern shore of the lake. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that these operations required hydraulic engineering of great sophistication and involved social stability and large-scale political organization.

One of the greatest question these works pose is the date of their construction. The archaeologists Fossey and Wallace tend to see them as Mycenaean (c. 1700-1200 BC)." On the other hand, the German hydraulic engineers and archaeologists who have been working on the constructions for fifty years claim that the earliest works are much earlier. The grand old man of these studies, S. Lauffer, saw them as Early Helladic.17 His successors, such as Knauss, tend to see them as 'Minyan'. According to tradition, the Minyans were responsible for the drainage (the derivation of this name from the Egyptian Mnlw [herdsmen] will be discussed in Volume 3). In Greek legends, 'Minyan' referred to an early tribe living in Orchomenos, the city north of Lake Kopais. The name was later attached to a style of pottery well represented from Orchomenos that is considered typical of the Middle Helladic period. It should be emphasized that this modern association is entirely arbitrary and there is no reason within the Ancient Model to see the Minyans as exclusively Middle Helladic

In any event, the first volume of a massive work by Knauss and his colleagues is entitled *The Hydraulic Constructions of the Minyans in the Kopais - the Oldest River Control in Europe*, and the second *The Improvement of the Kopais Basin by the Minyans in the Second Millennium B C.* Thus there is no doubt in their minds or that of other contemporary scholars that the work started in the Middle Bronze Age (2050–1675 BC), later than Spyropoulos maintains but *before* the Mycenaean Period of the Late Bronze Age. The German scholars are quite rightly very cautious in being more precise than this. In their book published in 1984, Knauss and his colleagues estimated that the dramage began

somewhere between 2100 and 1900 BC. In 1987, however, Knauss describes what he sees as the earliest works as beginning at 'sometime, probably in the second half of the Middle Helladic 50 This, according to the chronology proposed here, would be somewhere between 1840 and 1675 BC.

However, Knauss does not consider the ceramic evidence presented by Spyropoulos, that pottery found on a bank to the north of the lake dated back to the Early Helladic period possibly contemporaneous with the tomb of Amphion and Zethos. 1 This earlier dating has been accepted by the Greek archaeologists D. Konsola and Joannis and Eveline Loucas, ' Spyropoulos argues that the traditional Minyans should be identified with Minoans and hence Egyptians. While I do not accept his identification of Minyan with the neologism Minoan, Spyropoulos is clearly quite right to suggest that Egypt at the height of the Old Kingdom was the obvious place from which one would expect the high level of hydraulic engineering found around the Kopais to derive 59 I hus, his argument that the tomb of Amphion and Zethos and the earliest dikes on the Kopais were in some way connected and date back to the 31d millennium would seem plausible despite the lack of any definitively Egyptian objects from Boiotia in that period

There is, however, considerable circumstantial evidence to back Spyropoulos's hypothesis. Firstly, there is the general wealth and tiches of the region during the EHII period. Unfortunately, not many settlement sites have been well dug and published for this period. However, during this time there was a largish village at Eutresis. ten kilometres to the southeast of Thebes, and recent excavations at Lithares, seven kilometres north of the city on the shores of Lake Hylike, have revealed a prosperous EHII settlement with clear-cut town planning and proven trading contacts with Anatolia, Macedonia and the Cyclades

GRANARIES

The possibility that the Boiotian hydraulic works were begun by the middle of the grd millennium is increased by the existence at Orchomenos of the remains of a number of found buildings of Rundbauten, varying in size from 8 to 250 metres in diameter. Spyridon Marmatos, who later became the dominant figure in Greek Bronze Age archaeology, argued in 1946 that these buildings were not tombs, temples or dwellings but granaries closely resembling those illustrated from Egypt and a model found on the Cycladic island of Melos. He argued that their size indicated that they held grain from a large area of land and that such massive storage of grain indicated political organization on a large scale. Marinatos dated them ceramically to Early Helladic Land II. He further pointed out that there seems to have been an even more massive or 'truly gigantic' circular brick building with a circumference of 88 metres and an estimated doined height of 26.4 metres at Triyns in the Argolid in the Northeastern Peloponnese also dating to EHII. If, as seems likely, it was a granary, it would have served the grain produced in the whole Argive plain. ⁵⁶

Marmatos's article seems to have been an embarrassment to the profession. On the one hand, it was written by the scholar who dominated the archaeology of ancient Greece in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, on the other, its suggestions of Egyptian influence and large-scale political and economic organization on Mainland Greece in the 3rd millennium BC went against the whole spirit of Northern Euro-

pean research on Greece in these decades

Like many others, Colin Renfrew, the champion of isolationism, is clearly confused by the buildings, since their huge size, if they were granaries, would severely weaken his ecological model of small-scale local farming for Early Bronze Age Greek agriculture. At one point in his *The Emergence of Civilisation*, he doubted that the *Rundbauten* were granaries, arguing that 'they should probably be regarded as dwellings'. Elsewhere, however, Renfrew admitted that they and the building at Tiryns may have been grain stores. Nevertheless, he still refuses to see this as damaging to his scheme according to which Greek agriculture in the 3rd millennium was based on a 'subsistence system'. 58

Given the Kopais draining and the existence of a similar, shorter but more massive dam near Triyns, it would seem plausible to associate such large granaries with the hydraulic works

As we have seen, the granaries have dated to EHI and H (c. 3300-2400 BC). The date of the Tilvins dam is debatable. The American scholar Jack Martin Balcer supposes it to be Late Mycenaean by analogies with the Kopais dams. However, Knauss argues that the Tilvins dam is so much bigger than the Boiotian ones that no parallel can be drawn between it and the Kopais dikes. In any event, he puts the Kopais dikes between 1830 and 1680 BC. Interestingly, however, he believes that the Tilyins dam may be earlier, with a terminus post quem of Early Helladic H. Hous, this could correspond to the Tilvins granary. On the other hand, Knauss's date for the Kopais polders is long after the EHII date for the granaries. Spyropoulos, however, associates the granaries with the irrigation—going back to EHII. Let

thus seems likely that the Rundbauten were granaries, and that they may well have been influenced by Egypt, and that then early dating may be accurate. On the other hand, because of the uncertainties involved, it can only be suggested that the drainage of the Kopais (and in the Peloponnese) occurred under Egyptian influence during the period of the Egyptian Old Kingdom (2000–2470 BC) especially since it is just possible that such granaries could have served the rich banks of the Kephissos river or occasional cropping of the lake-bed in years when it drained naturally.

The existence of a 'House of Tiles' or small palace dating from the EHII period at Lerna a few kilometres from Trivis provides another piece of circumstantial evidence in favour of agricultural surplus and irrigation at this time. Nevertheless, the presence of 'Houses of Tiles' at Lerna and Thebes should not be taken to mean that such small palaces were exclusively associated with irrigation. There is no trace of damining near the one found in Messenia in the Southwest Peloponnese, though this would be a region where urigation could be expected. However, there is also a 'House of Tiles' on the island of Aigma, where there is little or no question of irrigation.'

IRRIGATION AND SETTLEMENT IN THE ARGOLID

In Volume 1, I referred to the irrigation supposedly carried out by the colonizing founder of Argos, Danaos, whom I conventionally saw as coming from Egypt in the Hyksos period in the 2nd millennium. The emphasis on Danaos' irrigation may come from his name and its derivation from or paranomasia with the Egyptian dni (allocate, irrigate). If this is the case, it could be that some aspects of his character derive from the irrigation of the 3rd, not that of the 2nd millennium. However, for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 1X, I still maintain that the people and events from which his legendary character is compounded belong at least predominantly to the later period.

On the other hand, the legendary if not mythical ligure of Inachos, first king of Argos and father of To was generally thought to have lived well before Danaos. Inachos could be interpreted simply as the personification of the river Inachos, which was the largest in Argos However, this toponym has no conventional explanation and, in Volume 1, 1 proposed that it came from the Egyptian inhi (life), sometimes used to describe living waters and frequently in the formula the dt (may be live forever) — as an epither for the living pharaoli.

luachos was generally thought to be autochthonous or locally born

However, the church father Eusebius referred to a tradition that Inachos, like Danaos, was a settler from Egypt and this tradition was taken up by the 18th-century French scholars Nicolas Fréret and the Abbé Barthélemy, who actually argued that Inachos and Phoroneus, his mythical son, were Egyptian settlers in the Argolid in the 20th century BC. Oven the possible Egyptian origin of his name, and its clear connotations of royalty, water and great antiquity, there may be some folk memory of Egyptian irrigation and possibly even colonization connected to the dam and Rundbau at Trivins and the 'House of Tiles' which seems to have served as a 'palace' of Lerna in the 31d nullennium. This, however, must remain in the realin of speculation

DRAINAGE AND IRRIGATION IN ARKADIA

While the drainage and it rigation of the dam above Tiryns and of the Kopais were the largest operations of their kind, there were other examples of this type of hydraulic engineering in Greece, not only at

Tiryns but also in Arkadia at the centre of the Peloponnese.

Some of Arkadia's natural features have been mentioned in Chapter II when I discussed Thelpousa and the Ladón flowing out of Lake Pheneos. Lake Pheneos also flowed out through a katavothia (underground channel) to Lake Stymphalos. According to Pausanias, local tradition attributed this channel to Herakles." The idea that this was made or at least improved by man has been strengthened by modern surveys. These have been carried out most recently by Knauss and his team, in Lake Pheneos and Lake Stymphalos, as well as at the basins of Kaphyai and the Peloponnesian Orchomenos just to the south and Lake Takka near Tegea southwest of the Arkadian Tripoli. All of these have shown that there was considerable construction of dams and improvement of natural katavothires in the region."

The dating of these works is very uncertain. Some were constructed in Hellenistic or Roman times. Most, however, existed in the late Bronze Age. Evidence for this comes from nearby settlements dated to Mycenaean times.⁵⁹ There is also Homei's statement that at the time of the Trojan War the Arkadian Orchomenos was 'rich in herds'.⁷

In general, the contrast between the wealth of Bronze Age Arkadia and its backwardness in Classical times would seem to indicate that drainage and irrigation were more effective in the earlier period. Another indication that the dams and channels date back to the Bronze Age is their association with the legendary Herakles, who for all the uncertainties surrounding him clearly belongs to this period.⁷¹ An

even surer indication of the antiquity of the Arkadian hydraulic engineering is the point, made by Knauss and his team, that the dams in Arkadia are very similar to that at Trivins and those in Boiotia. As these certainly existed in Mycenaean times, there is no reason to suppose that the Arkadian dams are any later. However, as Knauss and his colleagues point out that the Peloponnesian dams resemble the 'Minyan' work in the Kopais, this raises the possibility that they were begin in the Early or Middle rather than the Late Helladic periods "

PARALLELS BETWEEN BOIOTIAN AND ARKADIAN PLACE NAMES

Modern archaeologists have been struck by the great similarities between the Boiotian and Arkadian techniques of damming and channelling Even more remarkable, however, are the extraordinary parallels found between the place names around the two areas of waterworks. The presence in both regions of a river Ladón has been mentioned in Chapter II, as have the similarities of the names Tilphousa and Thelpousa and Onka and Onkaios. 'Even more striking is the presence of an Orchomenos, close to what seem to be the earliest polders on Eake Kopais and one set strategically above the channel between the ancient lakes Kaphyai and Orchomenos in Arkadia. There was also an Orchomenos on the edge of the plain of Phriotis in Thessaly.

There is little doubt that the name is an ancient one. The forms Okomeno and Ekomeno appear in Linear B. Although Chadwick insists that these do not refer to the Arkadian Orchomenos - he does not consider the possibility of the Bojotian one - he admits that they ht meely with the two variants found in Classical times, Orchomenos and Erchomenos 7 According to Chantraine, the etymology of Orchomenos is 'obscure'. However, there is a general belief that it is derived from the stem orth, meaning 'a row of vines or fruit trees'. This can be taken in two related senses, as a 'hedge' or 'garden' or as an enclosure. Knauss therefore follows the scholarly tradition that sees the toponym as meaning 'enclosed place'. 'He admits a problem with this in that both cities were above and not in the midst of the irrigation works. However, he argues on the basis of statements by Strabo and Pausamas - that the original Boiotian Orchomenos was in the Kopaic Plain and was moved to its later site only after the flooding at the end of the Bronze Age. 9 There is, on the other hand, no comparable evidence for the Arkadian Orchomenos

There is a proposed Indo-European etymology for the root orch-

from a reconstructed *uer-gh (close) found in the Lithuanian verim (enclose) and the Old Norse virgill (chord). However, there would seem to be an equally or more plausible etymology for it in the Canaamite root 'rk. The basic meaning of this verb is to 'arrange in order' to 'set in rows', but it is most frequently used in military organization in the sense of 'draw up a battle line'. There is a slight phonetic problem in that it is uncertain when Canaamite first began to show the phenomenon known as begadkephat or spirantization or softening of non-emphatic plosives, stops like b, g, d, and k, p, and t in post-vocalic position, which would render 'rk as 'rkh. Nevertheless, the transcription of the Semitic k as the Greek di is common enough to justify the equation. The spirantization may well have been promoted by confusion with another Semitic root 'rh, from an earlier 'rh (road, to journey, come, arrive). 'Rh would seem to be the origin of the Greek erchomai (journey, come, go) which has no Indo-European etymology.

The two roots 'ik and ith would seem to have many derivatives in Greek. In the sense of 'arranging a 'battle order', 'rh is probably the origin of the extraordinarily rich Greek cluster of words beginning arch-, which have no Indo-European etymologies. Chantraine gives as its basic meaning 'to go first, take the initiative, begin', he also translates archem as 'to command' in a military sense so that from these can be derived the many meanings of arch, as 'leading' and 'early'.' It thus seems likely that orcho- and ercho- were loans from the Senntic. This, if anything, strengthens the hypothesis that Orchomenos or Erchomenos means 'regulated' or 'enclosed place' and refers to the dikes and channels of water control. Despite the ultimate Semitic origin of the first element, the final -menos would seem to be the Greek passive participle indicating that the toponym itself was Greek. It is possible, however, that there is contamination here from the Semitic mayin in Canaanite - or mayin in Aramaic "waters" As in many other languages, the diphthong ay was frequently monophthongized or reduced to 8 in Semitic 18 'Regulated waters' would lit the context exactly.

At this point, we should consider two etymologies of Greek words associated with irrigation. The first of these is the word used by ancient writers for the dams and embankments, khoma. This is strikingly similar to the Hebrew hôma (wall) used for walls surrounding cities and other large areas. However, as hôma is more isolated in Semitic than khôma is in Greek, the loan here is probably from the west to the east. The second word is gephyra. The classicist James Hooker has argued for a Semitic origin for this word, which he reasonably takes to have originally meant 'embankment rather than its later sense of

'bridge'. He suggests deriving it from a Semitic root like (gb which has the meanings of 'dig' and 'dike' and 'bulwark'. 'I will argue in Volume 3 that it might be better on phonetic grounds to trace *gephyra* to the Semitic *q*b* (burs). In any event, the Semitic connotations of the word are strengthened by Herodotos' report.

The Gephyrar . . . came, by their own account, originally from Eretria, but I myself have looked into the matter and find that they were really Phoenicians, descendants of those who came with Kadmos to what is now Boiotia, where they were alloited the district of Tanagra to make their homes in. After the expulsion of the Kadmeans by the Argives, the Gephyrai were expelled by the Boiotians and took refuge in Athens.⁸⁰

Thus, a clain with the name 'Embaukment', which had arrived with the invading Kadmos in the Bronze Age, was specifically labelled as a Phoenician one. This provides an interesting hint of the involvement of Semitic-speakers in the irrigation works in Boiona. These plausibly Semitic toponyms, words and personal names would fit well with the cultic and invthical evidence of Semitic influence on Boiotia and Arkadia in the Bronze Age.⁸¹

The German scholars Kalcyk and Heinrich point out that Mount Oryxis, close to Orchomenos in Arkadia, is connected to the word oryso (to dig a canal), and means 'Digging Mountain' ¹⁷ The stem orsg/k has no satisfactory Indo-European etymology ¹⁸ On the other hand, there is the Semitic root , 19 (to gnaw) attested in the book of Job as 'gnaw the dry ground' ¹⁸ Mount Oryxis was close to Mount Satis. Neit/Athena's home city of Sats and its connections with water control have been mentioned above ' Both were close to Orchomenos on the shores of Lake Pheneos.

The name Pheneos shows the influence of Egypt on the toponyms of water and registion in Boiotia and Arkadia. The derivation of Pheneos and Péneios from Ps. Nw(v) (the flood)—possibly the Coptic Panau — has been referred to above " Péneios was the name of the river in Elis in the Northwestern Peloponnese into which the Ladón flowed. It was also the name of the main river in Thessaly which flowed through the Thessalian plain, believed in Antiquity to have originally been a lake. However, as a result of an earthquake, or Poseidon's work, the Thessalian Péneios had broken through to the sea " The Egyptian epic poet Noimos, writing in the 5th century an — but on the basis of ancient material — linked this dramatic event to the end of the cataclysmic world flood." The suggestions of a flood are equally strong with the Pheneos in Arkadia. The frequent seismic

blockages of its outlet to the Ladon have been mentioned above and the other natural or man-made *katavothres* must have been equally vulnerable.** Plmy reported that there had been five floods there in historic times.** Pausanias wrote the following about it:

The Pheneau Plain lies below Karvai, and they say it was once flooded and the ancient Pheneos was drowned, so that even today there are signs left on the mountains where they say the water rose to.⁵¹

James Frazer and later scholars have seen traces of this line, which Knauss and his colleagues attribute to the waterline of a man-made lake. (Pheneos/Peneios should not be confused with the personal name Phinea/es. This, like the Hebrew Pinhas, is derived from the Egyptian P3 Nhs [the Nubian or Black], for which see Chapter VIII below.) (3)

Another Arkadian lake that would appear to have an Egyptian cty-mology is Kaphyai. Kbh(w) is one of the most common Egyptian toponyms used for streams, rivers and other bodies of water. It is clearly linked to the roots kbb (cool) and kbh (purify). Kbb was one of the names of the two caverns near Elephantine whence the Nile was sup-

posed to spring - the two pegai referred to by Herodotos."

The Egyptian association of Kbh(w) with cool, pure water springing from caverns in the ground would fit very well with Lake Kaphyai fed by mysterious springs and katavothres, with the common Aegean toponymic suffix -issos, it would also fit with Kephissos, the name of the chief river flowing into Lake Kopais and one of the most frequently used river names in Greece. Many -if not most—of these came from caves and were used for ritual purification. Written with the determinatives of A. Kbh(w) was used as a toponym for ponds or lakes on which lived aquatic birds." This may have been applicable for Kaphyai and it was certainly appropriate for Lake Kopais itself.

Knauss, however, has a different proposal. He quotes Pliny's statement that 'Kopai discovered the oar. Plataia the rudder, fkaros the sail and Daidalos the mast and main-yard '* The statement is clearly learned and cannot be easily dismissed. The wordplay between Plataia and platê (oat or rudder) is obvious and the legendary wings of Ikaros would seem to fit the 'sail'. Pausamas and Plutaich describe the cult of Daidala which involved the citizens of Plataia on the border of Boiotia and Attica chopping down the tallest oak trees to make huge wooden idols. This may in fact be related to the Egyptian making of the Ded, wooden 'stability figures'. These would explain Daidalos' alleged invention of the mast.* However, the association between Kopais and

the oar is less easy to understand or accept. Knauss links his ety mology of Kopai from 'oar' to his belief that the canals in the Kopais were used not merely for dramage and irrigation but for inland navigation. ¹⁸⁰ But the plausibility of this last point does not make up for the flunsiness of his etymological argument and the unlikelihood of a place being called 'oar'.

It would seem, therefore, much more plausible to derive the name Kopais—like Kaphyai—from the amply attested Egyptian toponym Kbh, which was precisely appropriate for a shallow marshy lake. Thus, with Kopais and Kaphyai we have yet another example of the parallels between place names associated with irrigation in Boiotia and Arkadia, and one that has a striking connection with Egypt.

What can be made of these various etymologies. The fact that so many of them appear to originate from Egyptian and West Semitic would seem to suggest the presence of Egyptian and West Semitic speakers when the names were given. This, however, is not certain because the toponyms could have been taken from Egypt and the Levant without involving any impration. Another problem concerns dating: were the names given before, during or after the waterworks were constructed?

This is further complicated by the relative timing of the hydraulic engineering in Boiotia and the Peloponnese. The discussion above indicates that in Boiotia and the Argolid the hydraulic works may well have begun in the Farly Helladic period and that by analogy the same could be true for those in Arkadia, though these could have been started many centuries later. Should we deduce from this that the similarity of techniques in Boiotia and Arkadia was the result of the application of Boiotian experience further south, and hence that the toponyms came to the Peloponnese from Boiotia and not directly from the Middle East? Furthermore, although at least one of the toponyms, Orchomenos, was in use in the Late Bronze Age, if the hydraulic systems are dated much earlier, there is no necessary link between the beginning of their construction and the giving of the place names.

The whole subject of these toponyms is extremely complicated. On the one hand, as with some of the myths, it is almost certain that some place names of Middle Eastern origin, such as Thisbe and Thespiai, were introduced in the Late Bronze Age—that is, after the first construction of waterworks. Others, however, would seem to be earlier. All I can say with any certainty is that by the end of the Bronze Age there were a number of place names connected with hydraulic engineering and that most of these have plausible Egyptian and West Se-

mitic etymologies. Thus, while the toponymic evidence is by no means certain, it would seem most economical to suppose that the names came in with the dams and canals themselves and that speakers of West Semitic and Egyptian were involved in their construction, probably in the Early Bronze Age and almost certainly in Mycenaean times.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN EARLY HELIADIC GREECE

The first 'state' in Greece I should like to consider is that based on Tiryus and Lerna in the Argolid. It should be emphasized at this point that the Argive Plain is a considerable area and, although it was sometimes disturbed during the middle of the 3rd millennium, it

clearly had periods of great prosperity.

Lerna, at the head of the Gulf of Argos, was a considerable settlement with many houses, an elaborate city wall and even 'the House of Tiles', a small 'palace', during EHII of It is also possible that Lerna was smaller than Trryns itself and there were probably other large cities in the area. Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, other 'Houses of Tiles' similar to that of Lerna have been found in Messenia. the island of Aigina between Attica and the Aigolid and possibly Thebes, 92 Thus, there is little doubt that, when looking at the Argolid in the Early Bronze Age, we are considering a rich and sophisticated society. Furthermore, given the scale of the Tirvins granary and the dam - if it belongs to this period - the region appears to have had some political unity. Emily Vermeule merely suggests that the coordination was 'communal' which leaves the type of social organization vague. However, given the social organization and state formation in the contemporary Near East, it would seem likely that the Argolid was either a kingdom or principality, as in Egypt and Byblos, the great trading city on the Levantine coast, or had an aristocratic or plutocratic 'Venetian' government as at the massive contemporary Syrian city of Ebla. 108

Although the Kopais was not completely drained at this time and the granaties there were smaller than that at Firyns, it would seem that there must have been a principality or small 'republic' at the Boiotian Orchomenos. The huge scale and pretension of the tomb of Amphion and Zéthos would suggest that there was also a considerable state at Thebes. The forms of social organization behind the Arkadian dams are even more difficult to speculate about, but in general it would seem clear that Mainland Greece of EHII contained a number of states, some of which were quite considerable.

It is also clear that, at least in Attica and the Cycladic island of Syph-

nos, there was commercial mining. Lead from mines in both places has been found in sites of the EHII period in Crete and Bolotia.104 The discovery of two lead ingots from the wreck of the EHII period, at Dokos off the Argolid, points clearly to the lead and silver nunes of Laurion near the up of Attica eighty kilometres away.15 We shall see in the next chapter that silver from Laurion was being exported to Egypt at the turn of the 2nd millennium. "The Dokos ship appears to have been quite substantial and it would seem likely that it was capable of reaching the Levant or Egypt. There is no indication that either of these was its destination, however. Indeed, the locality of the wreck would suggest that the ship was heading for the Argive Plain, Southern Peloponnese or Grete. It can be said, however, that in the first half of the 3rd millennium lead was probably already a commercial product in the Aegean. The recent metallurgical research also indicates that the conventional belief that the Laurion mines began to be worked only in the 5th century BC is wrong by at least two thousand vears.107

The postulation of large states on the Greek mainland at this time would appear to present a number of problems. Firstly, it would seem difficult to explain why Early Bronze Age Crete, which appears to have absorbed so much more Egyptian and Levanune influence, should - as we have seen in the last chapter - not have had palaces or states, when they seem to have existed far to the north in the Argolid and Boiotia. The most convincing explanation would seem to be geographical in that, with the possible exception of the Messara, Crete had no substantial marshes or plains suitable for drainage and irrigation and so no large social organizations to handle such operations. Thus, while, as we can see, Crete could support a palatial economic structure in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, the prosperity and high culture of Early Minoan or Prepalatial Crete shows it could do very well without one. The Cycladic islands, which also had a flourishing economy and culture in the Early Bronze Age and were in touch with Near Eastern civilizations, had - as far as is known - no palaces at any stage.108 The dramage of the Kopais and the wealth of Bronze Age Boiotia in fact provide strong cases for the argument that the plains of Mamland Greece required large-scale social organization to make the most of their agricultural potential.

Another problem would seem to be that if such sophisticated states existed and writing was well established throughout the Near East, the 'Greek' states would surely have had to be literate. Yet no traces of script exist. It used to be thought, on the basis of the argument from silence, that seals were not made or used in Early Helladic Greece. It is now clear, however, that they were manufactured there and that there was in fact a lively tradition of glyptic carving on seals.¹⁷ This shows that there was a strong sense of private and/or institutional property in the society. There are also ample examples of potters' marks from the Early Helladic II. None of these signs, however, resemble those of the Linear syllabaries, and there are no other indications of local writing at this period.¹⁷

I have argued at length elsewhere that we should be particularly wary of the 'argument from silence' when it applies to writing, as this generally consists of slight marks on perishable or fragile surfaces. 111 Thus, I am not troubled by the failure to find traces of script from Early Helladic Greece. However, if there was writing in the area at this period, it would almost certainly have been similar to either the Cretan hieroglyphic or to the prototype of Linears A and B. As will be shown in the next chapter, Linear B cannot be directly derived from Linear A and scholars have argued that Linear B diverged from pre-Linear A around 1600 BC. 12 In order to explain the divergences between the related Cypriot, Linear A and Linear B syllabaries, I argue that their common prototype could hardly have existed later than the middle of the 3rd millennium. In support of my supposition here, given the literacy of neighbouring societies, it is likely that at least the larger states, if not the smaller communities, of the Aegean and Anatolia would have used writing. If - as I argue - the alphabet was introduced to the region in the mid-2nd millennium, these deep roots would explain why the syllabaries should have remained the official scripts in Crete and Mainland Greece.

Such speculation goes against Spyropoulos's theory of Egyptian colonization, which, if it was as sweeping as he seems to suggest, would surely have introduced hieroglyphics or the Egyptian cursive script, hieratic, to Boiotia. The likelihood that the script most commonly used in Early Helladic Greece was either Aegean or Anatolian suggests that other cultural attributes were as well. This I believe was definitely the case with the spoken language. On the other hand, the indications of profound Egyptian influence on the Early Bronze Age states of the Aegean provided by the 'pyramid', the irrigation works and the granaries are not the only archaeological evidence for the argument that Egyptians were present in the region in significant numbers at the time.

OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRACES OF OLD KINGDOM EGYPT IN THE AEGLAN

Before looking at Egyptian contacts with the Aegean around the middle of the 3rd millennium, it should be stressed that this was a pe-

riod of flourishing civilization in the Near East which had diplomatic and trading contacts that spread far beyond it. We know that by this time the Syrian city of Ebla was corresponding with a kingdom in the modern Kurdistan and that Mesopotamia was certainly receiving lapis lazuli and quite possibly un from Afghanistan 113 Lead isotope analysis indicates that at this time Mesopotamia was receiving silver and copper from Almeria in Southeast Spain 114 Given such a scale of operations, contacts between Fgypt and the Aegean can be seen in

many ways as local traffic.

Third-millennium Egyptian influences on Crete were discussed in Chapter I and possible Egyptian references to the Aegean from the Old Kingdom will be examined in Chapter X, so that here we shall consider only archaeological evidence from elsewhere in the region. Two Predynastic or early dynastic Egyptian stone bowls have been found at Mycenae and Asine in the Argolid that is, in the same region as Tityns. However, the one from Mycenae was found in a context of Late Helladic pottery and that from Asine is also probably from the Mycenaean period, that is, 1,500 to 2,000 years after they were made. The Egyptologist and archaeologist of Crete J.D.S. Pendlebury suggested that these extraordinarily beautiful and durable objects may have come by way of Crete or that they came as the result of later Greek tomb robbing 114 Given the suggestions of Egyptian influence in the Argolid in the 3rd millenmum, the possibility that the bowls arrived then and were buried or preserved as herrlooms on Mainland Greece cannot be discounted. Similarly, a button seal. found in an EHIII context at Asine and identified by the excavator as Egyptian, cannot simply be dismissed on the ideological grounds that it is 'much too early for any such contact'. " On the other hand, this can only be a possibility and too much weight should not be put on the seal as additional evidence.

Another and undoubted Old Kingdom object is a marble cup inscribed with the name of the sun-temple of the founder of the 5th Dynasty, Userkat, who probably reigned in the 26th century BC. The cup was found on the island of Kythera, off the southeastern tip of the Peloponnese. The likelihood is that this relatively delicate object was transported to the island not long after its manufacture. Helck argues that it must have arrived after the fall of the 5th Dynasty because an object could never have 'disappeared' from its dynastic temple before then 118. The strong Semitic associations of the island would allow for its having been transported by Levantines at some point in the 2nd millennium. For instance, there is a cuneiform dedication on the island by the king Naiam Sin of Eshnuna, who reigned about the turn of that millennium. The name Ku-te-ra appears in

an Egyptian list of Aegean toponyms from the mid-2nd millennium discussed in Chapter X. The Semitic origin of the name Kythera from the *ktrt* (crown), as well as the Egyptian derivation of Kythera's other or 'doublet' name, Skandeia, from shmty (the double crown of Egypt), were referred to in Volume 1. 120

All this, however, does not tell us whether or not the cup can be used as evidence of Egyptian contact with the Aegean in EHIL. Here again, the evidence though suggestive remains shaky. It also provides no clear-cut evidence of Egyptian influence on Mainland Greece as it would seem that for that period Kythera was in the Cretan rather than the Mainland sphere of influence.

There are two other finds of Old Kingdom objects from the Aegean that provide a completely different set of difficulties. This is because they are from gold hoards dug up by commercial treasure hunters who have attempted to sell or succeeded in selling them to unscrupu-

lous dealers.

The most notorious of these is the so-called 'Dorak Treasure'. This appears to have been dug up at Dorak near the Sea of Marmara 160 kilometres east of Troy. It is supposed to have contained a number of gold objects of the local Yortan culture, the remains of an iron sword – remarkable for the early Bronze Age – and some gold sheet panels apparently of a throne and with the fitulary of the 5th-Dynasty paraoh. Sahurer. The 'Treasure' has disappeared since it was described and illustrated with drawings in *The London Illustrated News* in 1959 and some doubts have even been expressed as to its authenticity. However, I am prepared to accept the judgement of James Mellaart, who wrote the original short article and claims to have examined the objects. If they are authentic, the panels would seem to have been an official Egyptian gift to a local ruler, presumably the ruler of Dorak, possibly indicating some kind of Egyptian suzerainty over the area.

This is not the only archaeological evidence indicating Egyptian contact with Anatolia in the Old Kingdom. Jugs from Cilicia were found in an Egyptian 4th-Dynasty tomb at Giza and a 6th-Dynasty Egyptian button seal has been found at Taisus in Cilicia. While there was a surprising amount of contact between Cilicia in the southeast of Anatolia and Troy and Dorak in the northwest and such finds do indicate Egyptian trading and official contacts beyond Syria, unlike the Dorak Treasure itself, they do not demonstrate Egyptian presence in the Aegean.

Such a presence is indicated, however, by another gold hoard, which would seem to be the grave goods of a princess. Although there

seems no doubt that it comes from the Aegean region, the specific provenance of this hoard is unknown. Helck believes that it, like the Dorak Hoard, comes from Northwest Anatoha, possibly Trov itself, and is a single collection dating from the Early Bronze Age. 5 The most sensational object contained in the hoard is a large gold cylinder seal, belonging to a very high official in the reigns of the 5th-Dynasty pharaohs Menkauhor and Izozi. How did this personal seal reach the Northern Aegean? Emily and Cornelius Vermeule speculate: 'Did they send an official as a diplomatic or commercial ambassador to the shores of the Mediterranean beyond Egypt. . . . Did he carry his seal as credentials to be married, or murdered or perhaps robbed abroad? 3th They support their image of Egyptian officials sailing the East Mediterranean in the 3rd millennium BC by pointing out that the names of Menkauhor and Izozi as well as that of Sahurer have been found on alabaster rars at Byblos. Thus the idea of Egyptian concernwith overseas territories at this time is by no means absurd and the loss of such a precious personal belonging certainly requires explanation Emily Vermeule has written elsewhere of the extent of Cycladic and other 'Greek' maritime trade in the Early Helladic period, more recent work has demonstrated the flourishing state of Boiotian ports at this time, and now there is the evidence from the Dokos wreck. Thus, there is no reason to suppose that Greece would have been any more backward than Northwest Anatolia.127

For those who accept the Ancient Model in general and in particular the idea that the Greek cult of Dionysos derived from that of Osiris in Egypt, there is further evidence of 3rd-millennium contact between Egypt and the Aegean—the existence of the cult of Dionysos as a god of fertility found from late 3rd-millennium strata on the island of Keos, off the point of Attica 125

Linking all these scraps of evidence, however, is the strong probability expressed by the Egyptologist and comparative historian of art

William Stevenson Smith:

the expansion of royal trade by land and by sea which we begin to see more clearly in the Fifth Dynasty would suggest that the period from Sneletu [beginning of the 4th Dynasty, ϵ , 2900 BC] to Phiops II [end of the 6th, ϵ 2450 BC] would have been . . . a propitious time for Egypt to become aware of the Aegean World. ϵ^0

To put it another way, given the wealth of Egypt during the Old Kingdom, the political strength of its pharaohs, their known concern with trading with and plundering their southern neighbours, as well as their constant commercial and political connections with Byblos and

the Levantine coast, it would be surprising if there were no contact between Egypt and the Aegean at this time. Furthermore, there would seem little doubt that the consequence of such contact would be Egyptian influence on Greece rather than vice versa. Thus, I believe that one can place some significance on the relatively few Old Kingdom objects found in Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean. Never theless, I see the evidence of Egyptian influence from the Theban 'pyramid' and from the irrigation works and granaries as even more impressive.

THE END OF EARLY BRONZE AGE 'HIGH' CIVILIZATION

It is generally maintained that the culture and prosperity of Greece in Early Helladic II ended with a series of destructions in the 231d century BC (I believe this should be dated to the 25th century). It is with this break that most historians associate the introduction of Indo-European speech to the peninsula. Although I am inclined to see the superimposition of an Indo-European language over an Indo-Huttte one as having taken place earlier, I am reluctant to commit myself on this. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that northern tribes were involved in the destructions and successive settlement so that this could have been the time when Indo-European speech was introduced to Greece 36 There is no doubt that Lerna was destroyed and the Aigolid devastated at this time and that, as Emily Vermeule puts it, 'Atter the House of Tiles [in Lerna] was burned, it took Greece over half a millennium to approach the same level of civilisation again." Nevertheless, just as in the 'dark ages' following the destruction of Mycendean civilization in the 12th century BC, the situation was not umformly bleak. Some districts seem to have been untouched and others actually gained from their neighbours' losses. Furthermore, there appears to have been a general shift of populations in different directions. For instance, the destruction in the 2 ith century seems to have been less severe in Bolotia, although most authorities see a drop in population and prosperity there after the end of EHH similar to that found in the rest of Greece. 22 Against this, Symeonoglou actually sees a dramatic increase in the population and the level of sophistication of Thebes and Boiotia as a whole in the EHIII period. He tentatively links this to an outside 'intrusion' not from the north but from the south, though - as a convinced 'Aryanist' - he hastens to add that this came from 'population movements within the Aegean' 184

Symeonoglon links the 'intrusion' during FHIII with the legends concerning Kadmos, whom he sees as coming from Crete at this time. 154 While I do not wish to contest Sarantis Symeonoglou's archaeological conclusions, there are a number of difficulties with this scheme, as there are with Spyropoulos's belief that the legends of Kadmos and Danaos refer to the foreign, largely Egyptian influences he sees in the Early Helladic period. 257

Firstly, there are the many specific references in the tradition to Kadmos' being a Phoenician and to the very plausible Semitic origin of his name; these issues will be taken up in more detail in Chapter XII. Secondly, the schemes of both Symeonoglou and Spyropoulos involve the demal of the Homeric tradition according to which Amphion and Zethos founded. Thebes and Kadmos refounded it Pherikydes, the 6th-century logographer, glossed the story to show that the older city had fallen into ruins before Kadmos' arrival. Symeonoglou prefers instead to follow the later traditions according to which the order was reversed and Kadmos was the original founder. The older tradition would agree with the conventional archaeological view that prosperity was at a low ebb during EHIII and the early part of the Middle Helladic period, but this will be discussed in Chapter XII.

The destruction of Early Helladic II in Greece appears to have coincided with the collapse of the Egyptian Old Kingdom and the 1st Intermediate Period of political and social disintegration in Egypt. As with the invasions that ended Late Bronze Age civilization in the 13th and 12th centuries, Egypt and the Levant recovered quickly but peripheral regions like the Aegean went through extended 'dark ages'

lasting many centuries.

Conclusion

Seen in the context of the dense and intricate evidence from toponyms, religious cults and local traditions, discussed in Chapter 1I, it is virtually certain that Boiotia and parts of the Peloponnese received massive cultural influence from Egypt and the Semitic-speaking Levant during the Bronze Age.

It is difficult to be more precise. Some of the myths, possibly including those associated with Athena and Poseidon, which. I believe a relate to the struggle to tame the marshes, could come from the Early Bronze Age and Egyptian involvement in the dramage and irrigation at that time. Others, such as those around Zeus, Alkmene and Herakles. In his many aspects a could have arrived only in the 2nd mil-

lennium, while others, especially those concerned with horses, must have originated after the actual arrival of horses and chariots in Greece in the 18th century BC. Although they undoubtedly contain much older material, the legends concerning Kadmos would also seem to come from this later period.

Taken together, the myths, legends and toponyms show a massive and sustained influence by Egyptian and West Semitic speakers on

Boiotia, the Argolid and Arkadia 188

Such a picture would seem to fit the archaeological record relatively well. The likelihood of substantial Egyptian influence on the construction of the 'pyramid' of Amphion and Zethos and the earliest dramage projects in the Kopais in the Early Bronze Age has been discussed at length, as have the 'Egyptian granaries' in nearby Orchomenos. The Egyptian and Levantine influences on the Mycenaean palace of Thebes and the spectacular hoard of Near Eastern objects found in the Kadmeon from the 13th century, which will be discussed in Chapter XII, attest to the continuity of such contact and influence.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the type of relationship that existed between Boiotia and Egypt in the period with which we are concerned. The chances that it took the form of a direct colonization are very low, despite the dangers of the argument from silence, it has to be noted that not only is there the lack of Egyptian objects, and of Egyptian attestation of such colonies, but there is the strong likelihood that Boiotia's writing system was an Aegean one rather than hieroglyphics or hieratic. Nevertheless, the archaeological indications of Egyptian technology in Boiotia from this period, the depth and density of Egyptian and Semitic penetration of the cult, mythology, legends and toponym of Boiotia and the probability that Egyptian officials were present in the Aegean in the 3rd millennium make some kind of suzerainty quite possible.

To what extent can we extend this picture of Boiotia to the rest of Greece? The archaeological pattern is revealing of a sophisticated coordinated polity in the Argolid using an Egyptian-style granary and possibly hydraulic engineering of a style found in Egypt. This would seem to make suzeramty a possibility and diplomatic relations between Argos and Egypt a virtual certainty. The extraordinary parallels between Boiotian and Arkadian dramage and irrigation, as well as between the mythology and toponomy surrounding the constructions in both regions, would suggest that if the Arkadian waterworks began as early as the Early Helladic period there would have been Egyptian and Semitic influence there too. Thus, from very early indeed, possibly even before the arrival of Indo-European — as opposed to Indo-

Hittite - speech, the Bronze Age civilizations of Egypt and the Levant had exerted a massive influence on the Aggean.

The picture in Crete and the Cyclades in the Early Bronze Age is significantly different from that on Mainland Greece. In the islands one sees a very attractive and sophisticated material culture with some traces of urban life but without any indication of strong state power. As I showed in Chapter 1, archaeological evidence leaves no doubt, for Crete at least, that there was significant Egyptian and Levantine influence on these cultures. We shall see in Chapter X that evidence from Egyptian documents would seem to back this up. In fact there seems to be a basic similarity between relations between the Aegean and the Near East in the Early Bronze Age at the height of the Egyptian Old Kingdom and those in the Late Bronze Age when the New Kingdom was powerful.

There are also, of course, many striking differences. First of all, there is the fact that – after the disunity and confusion of the 1st Intermediate Period – the revival of Egyptian power with the Middle Kingdom in the 21st century appears to have played an important role in transforming Crete into a territory with palaces and states. By contrast, the impact of the rise of the Middle Kingdom on the Mainland and the more northerly islands seems to have been less

significant.

The existence of a culturally and probably politically powerful 'Minoan' Crete after 2000 BC made that island the most important single mediator between the Near East and the Aegean during the first half of the 2nd millenmum BC, which, as we shall see, was critical in the development of 'Greek' civilization. The other critical difference between the Aegean in the Early Bronze Age and in the Late Bronze Age is that there is little or no evidence of direct colonization there in the 3rd millennium. On the other hand, as we shall see in Chapter IX, there is a strong possibility that Hyksos princes of Egypto-Semitic culture and language actually established colonies in Greece and set up long-lasting dynasties in the 18th and 17th centuries BC.

THE OLD PALACE PERIOD IN CRETE AND THE EGYPTIAN MIDDLE KINGDOM, 2100 TO 1730 BC

A THIS CHAPTER we return to consider Crete as it changed from a prosperous and cultivated society of small communities into a group of centralized states ruled from palaces. This change brought it into line with a pattern that had been common through much of the Middle Fast many centuries earlier. The Cretan development with its own particular features is of great significance, both in itself and because it provided many of the most important components in the later. Mycenaean civilization that dominated the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age and formed the basis of the civilizations of Archaic and Classical Greece.

This chapter emphasizes the Egyptian influence behind the rise of the palaces, which, though referred to in the Ancient tradition, has been very much played down in the 20th century since Arthur Evanss finds at Knossos in the years around 1900. The discovery of the startlingly refined and beautiful culture of 'Minoan' Crete made it in tolerable for adherents of the Arvan Model to accept it as a mere stepping stone between the 'Fast and 'Europe'. Crete thus came to be seen as one of the parents of Hellenic civilization and hence all Western civilization, the other being the steppes and mountains of Central Asia that had produced the virile Indo-Europeans.

EARLY MINOAN III - THE PREPALATIAL PERIOD

The ceramic period Early Minoan III ended and Middle Minoan labegan some time around the turn of the 2nd millennium. This change

also marks the beginning of the Palatial Period in Cretan history. Where in the Early Minoan period Crete was largely rural with relatively little social differentiation, Middle Minoan society was one of

states controlled from central palaces.

Not surprisingly, the isolationist Colin Renfrey does not want to stress the extent of any changes that could involve outside influences. Thus, he claims that 'the continuity in the transition from prepalatial to protopalatial Crete must be emphasised. There is a terminological difficulty here in that the word prepalatial can be used both for the whole Early Minoan Period or as I use it for the decades that immediately preceded the building of the palaces. Recently, younger scholars have begun to reaffirm the significance of demarcation between the non-palatial Early Minoan Period and the Prepalatial one Their doubts about the picture of smooth evolution have been focused on the site of Myrlos on the southern coast of Eastern Crete, which had been seen as a late Faily Minoan settlement on the brink of becoming a palace. In a detailed study of the site, a young archaeologist, T. M. Whitelaw, has shown that Myrtos does not provide a bridge between the Early Minoan and Prepalatial Gretan society. Other scholars have tended to accept this. As one Cambridge archaeologist has put it, 'after the reinterpretation of Myrtos it is clear that MM palaces cannot be said to be merely a quantitatively different manifestation of any FM prototype'. 'John Cherry, another Cambridge atchaeologist, appears to have come to the same conclusion. He insists in his article 'Evolution, revolution and the origins of complex society in Minoan Crete' that he is only raising the possibility that 'the transition to palace society in the centuries on either side of 2000 B.C. was in several important respects a quantum leap beyond anything that had gone before'. This caution is hardly surprising in a university where the dynamic Disney Professor of Archaeology is Colin Renfrew. However, it is clear where Cherry's heart lies. Not only does he make a perceptive criticism of the progressive evolutionism of the founder of Cretan archaeology Arthur Evans and his contemporaries and set Renfrew firmly in this tradition, he also places this tradition alongside the greatest Victorian evolutionary system, Daiwinism. Thus, he applies to Cretan archaeology the recent biological rejections of Darwinist evolution as a smooth progression in favour of punctuated equilibria, sudden changes followed by relative stasis. Cherry's argument is based on the startling differentiation of Cretan society between town and country and social classes, and the sophistication of palatial organization. He also emphasizes the archaeological evidence for a sharp increase at this point of communications between Crete and the Near Last.6

Before examining this phenomenon, we should look at the relative chronologies of the two regions. Arthur Evans originally established his ceramic chronology of Crete on the basis of the three kingdoms of Ancient Egypt. His Early Minoan Period corresponded to the Old Kingdom, the Middle Minoan Period to the Middle Kingdom and the Late Minoan Period to the New Kingdom. This overall scheme has lasted remarkably well. Over the last fifty years, however, some adjustments have had to be made.' One of these came from the recognition that, as William Ward, the American Egyptologist who has devoted much time to Fast Mediterranean relations, put it, 'The majority of Aegean specialists who use ceramic chronology now place the beginning of MMIa at ca. 2000 B.C., or the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, 8 Thus, according to him, EMHI, which preceded it, seems to have begun in the last decades of the 22nd century. More recently, Professor Cadogan has placed the beginning of MMIa at around 2050 BC, which would seem to lit the carbon dates. However, he and other specialists generally agree that the palaces were first constructed some decades after the beginning of the ceramic period. Either way, it would seem that the great Cretan palaces were built within twenty-five years of the turn of the 2nd millennium. "However, there was clearly a Prepalatial Period that lasted approximately a century before this and the line between the ceramic periods is very unclear at this point. There is, in fact, an overlap between MMIa pottery at Knossos and the old EMIII pottery in Eastern Crete. It would seem likely that, as Ward has argued, much of the latter part of FMIII and its architectural equivalent, the Prepalatial Period, does not correspond to the Egyptian 1st Intermediate Period, but, rather, was contemporary with the 11th Dynasty, the first of the Middle Kingdom which began in the middle of the 22nd century and flowered in the 21st.11

During EMIII, there was a sharp increase of contact between Crete and the Middle East in general and Egypt in particular. The archaeologist Keith Braingan has noted a new wave of Syrian influence in Crete. For instance, he points out that while there were clear continuities, Cretan inetallurgy was at this time 'considerably influenced by types and techniques used in Syria and Cilicia and in this and the following period there are some actual imports of Syrian daggers'. Another archaeologist, O. Krzyszkowska, notes a significant increase during EMIII in the import of elephant ivory which could have come from either Egypt or Syria and possibly of hippopotamus ivory which must have come from Egypt. 13

Peter Warren has shown that small cylindrical jars and miniature amphorae, found in pottery from EMIH Crete, derive from Egyptian

stone prototypes.14

The art historian L. Vance Watrous has pointed out that: 'In MMI, a number of new vase shapes, which include the goblet, carmated cup, conical cup, fluted cantharos, and theriomorphic rhyta, appear on Crete in imitiation of Near Eastern Vessels with a long prior history.' He also sees connections between the specific cultic uses of these vessels in Crete, Egypt and the Levant. 'He also makes the interesting and plausible suggestion that the fast (socketed) potters' wheel, which first appears in Southern Crete in MMI–II, was first introduced from the Near East 'to meet the demands for specialization and quantity required by the palace system'.'

LEAD AND SPIRALS

Actual Egyptian objects from this period have also been found in Crete. Six Egyptian scarabs have been found in EMIII and MMI contexts in tholor in the Messara in Southern Crete. Their significance is far greater than their size or number would indicate, because they confirm connections made on detailed stylistic grounds between Egyptian and Cretan seals which began in EMIII, * As Pendlebury wrote, 'Many of the parallels are too close especially when taken together with the actual imports to be taken to be anything but direct contact between Egypt and the Messara at this period. Before Pendlebury wrote this, Evans's view of the connections between Egypt and Crete had been attacked by F. Matz in a publication which appeared in 1928 in Berlin. He saw Cretan glyptic art of this period as having Balkan or even Danubian connections 40 Other German and Austrian scholars have favoured an Anatolian origin for Cretan sealmaking 4 However, Ward, who is also inclined to this view, admits. In spite of the arguments of these scholars even in the more recent works there is a surprising amount of support for Evans' original ideas' "

Now to look at connections from north to south, there is the fascinating likelihood—shown by lead isotope analysis — that two 11th-Dynasty statues from the 21st century BC were made with silver from the mines of Laution in Attica. It is possible that the analysis is wrong or that the silver had been imported some centuries earlier during the Old Kingdom, through possible contacts that were mentioned in the last chapter, and later imports from Laution to Egypt will be discussed in Chapter XI. The most probable explanation, however, is that there were direct or indirect trading or political contacts between Early Middle Kingdom Egypt and the Aegean.²⁸

The most frequently cited example of northern influence is that of

spirals. What German scholars have called the *Spiralenproblem* comes from the fact that spiral decorations were frequently used in both Crete and Egypt in the 21st and 20th centuries. One solution to this problem, proposed by German scholars such as Finmen and Helck, is to suppose that these decorations derived from the north, probably from the Cyclades. Another solution has been more popular in the antidiffusionist atmosphere after the Second World Warr it is to postulate independent invention in all three areas. Ward has elaborated on this and, after stressing the ease of independent invention, he tentatively proposes three centres of diffusion – the Cyclades, Eastern Turkey and Iran. This would seem to be acceptable.

However, it should be noted that spirals were in fact common throughout the Middle Fast and Aegean from at least the middle of the 3rd inflemium. Furthermore, motifs with winding lines existed in Old Kingdom Egypt. What is more, two examples of these – the 'winding wall' — of Mnevis and the 'tinwinding spiral and horns'. For the fiwt or sacred emblem of Min – were specifically linked to bull cults, which on other grounds would seem to have been introduced from Egypt to Crete at this time (see below). Thus, although the forms of the Egypto-Cretan spirals at the turn of the 2nd millennium may well be those of the Cyclades or Anatolia, the significance of their symbolic use may well come from Egypt.

THE CRETAN PALACES

Before discussing the origins of the Cretan bull cult we should consider the palaces in which it flourished. These palaces were first built in the last decades of the 21st century and seem to have lasted until the 12th century BC, by which time they appear to have been under Mycenaeau Greek control for over 250 years.

As Crete is situated in a region of intense seismic activity, there appear to have been many more destructions from earthquakes than one would expect from inilitary activity or accidental burnings. Nevertheless, the only significant cultural break – apart from the arrival of the Greeks c. 1450 – seems to have happened near the end of the 18th century BC, between the ceramic periods MMH and MMHH, which has been architecturally demarcated as the division between the Early and Late Palace Periods. "Although there were changes in the palaces," structure and use of symbolism, some of which will be discussed below, there seems to have been a remarkable continuity throughout the more than eight hundred years of the Palatial Period. Thus it would seem justified to look at many of their early character.

istics by analogy with the considerable amount that we know about the palatial bureaucracy and economy at the end of the Late Palatial Period.

There is no doubt that the building of the Cretan palaces around 2000 BC represented an extension to the Southern Aegean of an economic and social system that had been established over much of the Middle Fast for over a millennium. Furthermore, their introduction was not merely on a general level but involved specifics. James Walter Graham has devoted much of his scholarly life to the architectural study of the palaces, and in his *The Puluces of Crete*, which remains the standard work on the subject, he writes

That resemblances do exist between the Cretan and Near Fastern palaces in some respects can scarcely be demed, and likewise —, between Cretan and Egyptian architecture.

There are resemblances of a general nature, especially between the Mari palace [on the Upper Fuphrates] and the Minoan: rooms are arranged round courts; different quarters of the palaces are used for different purposes . . . there are bathrooms with clay bathtubs, audience halls and so on. But within the limits of this broad likeness the differences are so profound and so deep rooted that who can say whether one type of palace architecture is really influencing the other to any significant degree? Certain general methods of construction are also widely spread, such as 'half timbering' and the use of orthostats. . . .

There are also some resemblances in detail, between for example the clay pipe sections at Mari and Knossos . or between Cretan fluted column shafts and possibly some capitals . and Egyptian columns; mural painting is also an area of contact to a limited extent. . . .

The available evidence suggests to my mind, that when the palaces first came into being around 2000 B.C. the Cretan architects though aware in a general way of palace architecture elsewhere, created forms suited to, and determined by, Cretan needs and the Cretan environment, and employed constructional techniques traditional to the eastern Mediterranean and with which they were generally familiar. [They] developed more efficient and more peculiarly local forms, forms which were in some measure affected by the architecture of their overseas neighbors. For new decorative forms they turned especially to Egypt.... The possible adoption of the Egyptian type of banqueting hall when Minoan kings wished, in imitation of the pharaohs, to add this luxury feature.....³¹

The grudging quality of even this admission of Near Eastern and Egyptian influence can be seen in a later article in which he detailed very specific Egyptian architectural influences on the Late Palatial palace at Phaistos in South Central Crete:

In a previous article I argued that there is no reason to see strong formative influences from a culture outside the island itself affecting the architecture of Crete at any stage in their development. I am still of this opinion. But the importation of isolated luxury trappings, such as details of decoration, or such splendid features as monumental reception or banquet halls is not only possible but likely.³²

Luxury trappings and so on are not superfluous to palaces, they and the sense of splendout they produce are essential to the running of the polity and economy. Many such 'details' are found in the Cretan palaces from their first foundation. For instance, the striking resemblances between Egyptian and Cretan jewellery can only mean considerable borrowings in both subjects and techniques which began in the Old Palace Period Many of the decorative motifs of Cretan painting can be found in Middle Kingdom Egypt. For instance, the 'Minoans' took on the Egyptian convention of painting women yellow white and men red/brown. Representations of the Egyptian goddess of child-birth T3 wit (the Great One) as an upright hippopotamus with a crocodile skin over her back seem to have arrived at this time in Crete to begin her iconographic transformation into kinds of insects known to Aegean archaeologists as 'genii'; these became ubiquitous in Cretan art. Cretan art.

The relationship of other 'Cretan' decorative and religious symbols found in the palaces to those in Egypt will be discussed in this chapter and later in this volume. Similarly, some of the striking and detailed parallels between the official and economic structures of Cretan and Middle Eastern palaces will be considered in Chapter X.

Recently, Watrous has argued that the many artistic and architectural innovations of oriental origin in EMIII, linked to the introduction of the palaces and bureaucratic systems, must be seen as a unified introduction to Crete as 'part of the institution of Kingship'. He explicitly — and to my mind effectively — demolishes Renfrew's isolationism. He also points out that many historical parallels demonstrate that increasing wealth and urbanization do not in themselves lead to the very specific forms of palace society found in both Crete and the Near East. Watrous's ideas are distinctly unfashionable among Aegean archaeologists even though they seem unexceptionable to

scholars from other disciplines and the Aegeanists find it hard to ar-

gue with his conclusions. 57

In any event, two major points are clear firstly, that both the general pattern of the palaces and the societies of which they formed the centres as well as many details came to Crete from the Middle East; and, secondly, that most scholars of the 20th century AD have been reluctant to concede this fact.

I have already cited Graham as being hostile to the notion of Cretan borrowings from the Near East and this is evident throughout his work. A still clearer example of this attitude comes from Keith Branigan, who has been referred to above as remarkably open to the idea

of outside influences on Crete:

But above all, the whole conception of a Minoan palace is totally different from that of the palatial architecture anywhere else in the Bronze Age. A Minoan palace had as its focal point the central court. The palace was laid out around this court and grew from the centre outwards. Thus we find that the architect was not obliged to lit his scheme into a predetermined space or shape. ³⁸

Here we have clear implications of the ideological belief that in some ways the Minoans were 'Proto-Europeans' and therefore free in a way that Asians and Africans were not. The lack of palace walls is frequently referred to in this way, it is also used to illustrate the idyllic and pacific nature of Minoan society, which in many ways can be seen as akin to Winckelmann's picture of serene and childlike Greeks that was so popular in the 18th and 19th centuries. Similarly, it has been shown recently that Arthur Evans was heavily influenced by his cultivated and upper-class background in his reconstruction of the happy and peaceful Cretans. ³⁹

Having said all this, there is something distinctively 'Cretan' about the palaces and the civilization they contained. A similar local distinctiveness, however, is true of all the regions in which there were Middle Eastern palaces. Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, etc. In all of these, the palaces reflected the local geographic, social, economic and cultural conditions. Recent discoveries strongly suggestive of human sacrifice, some of which will be discussed in Volume 3, demonstrate that the Minoan society was not as idyllic as Arthur Evans wanted it to be. Nevertheless, in the Early Palace Period there appears to have been relatively little concern with defence and violence, although this situation seems to have changed considerably in the Late Palace Period. This would suggest relative harmony between the palatial 'states'

on the island in the early period, between 2000 and 1730 BC, and also that there was a lack of outside threats.

Other Cretan characteristics, such as the prominence of maritime decorative techniques, can be simply explained by geography. The geographical centrality of Crete is also what distinguishes its palatial culture from those of its contemporaries. In this period the island was a meeting point of Levantine, Egyptian and local influences. For, despite the sharpness of the break at the beginning of the Prepalatial Period, Rendrew is right to point out that there were considerable continuities from the Early Minoan to the Middle Minoan periods. While it should be remembered that these too were not the result of isolation but of frequent cultural mixture, there is no doubt that Early Minoan Crete had been a cultivated society with its own cultural identity.

CRETAN WRITING SYSTEMS

This independence is reflected in the fact that palatial Crete did not adopt Egyptian hieroglyphics, cuneiform or a Byblian script, but used its own hieroglyphic and syllabic systems. The conventional picture of the development of writing in Crete is that in MML soon after the foundation of the palaces, signs that had been in use since EML were regularized to form a pictographic script. The script was used for the next few centuries until the beginning of MMHL, in the later 18th century BC, when it began to be replaced by the phonetic syllabary Linear A. This linear syllabary continued to be written in Crete until replaced by Linear B, a similar script adapted for writing Greek, which came into use at Knossos with the arrival of Greeks there around 1450.

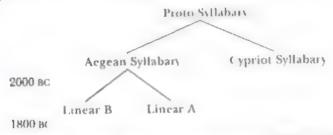
It is admitted that there are some difficulties with this scheme. The first of these stems from the fact that Linear B cannot be derived directly from I mear A. This necessitates postulating that Linear B branched off from a predecessor of Linear A, something not allowed for in the scheme of direct development from pictograph to Linear A given above. It also makes it impossible to hold the attractively simple theory that Linear B was developed in Crete when Greeks conquered the palace at Knossos. To explain the epigraphic evidence, it is necessary to maintain that I inear B existed well before this on Mainland Greece.

The American classicist Sterling Dow suggests that the syllabary was created around 1600 BC. This poses two problems for conventional historians: firstly, why should Greeks have required such a script before they had palaces? and, secondly, how could it have been unat-

tested for so many centuries? Neither of these problems seems serious to me. Societies with quite simple political and economic structures have used and developed quite complicated and sophisticated scripts; see, for instance, the Xixia script developed in Western Xinjiang in the late 1st millennium ad. In any event it was argued in the last chapter that Mainland Greece contained some considerable states as early as the middle of the 3rd millennium be. As for the lack of attestation for some centuries in 2nd-millennium Greece, to my mind fear of the argument from silence shows a quite unwarranted faith in archaeology; there are many examples of even longer apparent gaps in the record of scripts. (2)

Another difficulty with the conventional scheme comes from the relationship between Linears A and B and the Cypriot syllabary. The last probably derives from an ancestor even more ancient than the prototype of the two Aegean syllabaries. Thus, one has the following

scheme:



There is evidence from the Southern Cretan palace of Phaistos that a form of Linear A was already in use in the MMLA period at the end of the 3rd millennium. The notion that I mear A uself was already old by the 17th and 16th centuries be is strengthened by the fact that it was written in several different regional dialects by MMIIIB (c. 1700 bc) from which most of the first surviving tablets come. It Linear A emerged around the turn of the 2nd millennium bc, its prototype from which Linear B derived must have existed in the 3rd millennium. In this case, the ancestor of these and the Cypriot syllabaries must have developed well before this in the middle of the 3rd millennium or earlier. The possibility that it developed before 2500 bc is increased by the fact that cuneiform, which was adaptable and adapted to many languages, was well established in the Levant by then.

The most plausible hypothesis therefore would seem to be that the ancestor of these syllabaries developed somewhere in the range from Cyprus through South Anatolia to Crete soon after the development of pictographic scripts there, near the beginning of the Farly Bronze

Age. It was created for a language which – unlike Greek, but like most of those of Anatolia and the Cretan Semitic postulated by the Semitist Cyrus Gordon – made no distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants.

Thus, despite the lack of attestation, it is probable that both the pictographic and syllabic scripts were well established in Crete by the Prepalatial Period. This would explain why, despite the cultural break between non- and Prepalatial Crete and the massive influences from the Levant and Fgypt in the 21st century BC, the Cretan palaces did not adopt cuneiform, hieroglyphics or hieratic. Paradoxically, such a historical scheme would tend—in the important area of script—to confirm Renfrew's argument for cultural continuity from the Farly Minoan to the Middle Minoan periods.

CULTIC SYMBOLS IN EARLY PALATIAL CRETE

In other important ways, however, there were significant innovations in the Prepalatial and Early Palatial Periods and it is striking how many of these would seem to have Levantine or Egyptian origins Among the religious symbols there are the 3/25 (shoulder knot) and the tit 🌡 (tie). The latter doubled the Ded 🎚 which represented both a cultic construction of reeds and the bull's spinal chord with ribs with the (nh $\frac{9}{4}$, the Ankh sign of life possibly representing a sandal strapbut more plausibly the vertebra of an aurochs." The use of more explicitly bovine Egyptian religious symbols in Crete in the early 2nd millennium can be seen in the 'horns of consectation', a sacred moufused so frequently that its function sometimes seems merely decorative in Gretan palatial culture. These were recognized by the early 20th-century Egyptologists Newberry and Gaerte as coming from the synthesis of two Egyptian symbols: horns, V, wpl, and two mountains divided by a valley, ω , dw^* . The visual merging of the two symbols, which first appears in the MMH period appears to be a local Cretan one. Conceptually, however, the fusion had far older Egyptian roots. In the Pyramid Texts, inscribed in the 5th and 6th Dynasties in the 28th and 27th centuries but clearly much older, there is the passage showing this synthesis:

Wpy 'The two mountains are split apart this king comes into being, this king has power in his body.' 67

Wpy is clearly linked to wpi, $\bigcup s$ (open, especially of the womb in childbirth). The relationship with the two mountains would seem to

come from another symbol, that of ψ_t , $\otimes_{\mathbb{Z}} \supset$ or ψ_t , the sun on the horizon between two mountains, the place where the sun sets and the symbol of death and rebirth. The connection between this and the relationship between immortality and the revival of vegetation in Egyptian and Faily Minoan religion (see Chapter I) can be seen in the verbal cluster ψ_t (mundation), ψ_t or ψ_t (arable land), ψ_t (papyrus thicket) and ψ_t (to be or become a spirit). This would seem to appear in the Greek root hakh (vegetable, green). hakh (to grow green) would seem to appear in Raman, a name of the sacred fertile plain of Eleusis, more commonly known as the Orgas.

The identification of these Egyptian symbols with the Cretan 'horns of consectation' was rejected by Nilsson, though he conceded a 'similarity of form'. He argued that the Egyptian sign ≥ was a symbol, whereas the Minoan examples were metely cult objects used to designate places or objects of consectation. He also maintained that the Cretan symbol was not attached to any particular divinity." However, the modern scholar Barry B. Powell points out that the same was true of the two mountains and he rejects Nilsson's other even vaguer objections. There is httle doubt, then, that 'horns of consectation' too can be added to the repertory of Egyptian religious symbols found in pallatial Crete.

POSSIBLE ANATOLIAN ORIGINS OF THE BUIL CULT

From a discussion of horns, we turn to the bull cult of palatial Crete and to considering the possibility that this originated from early Middle Kingdom Egypt. Bulls are attractive and powerful animals both in fact and as symbols. Thus, bull cults exist in many places and seem frequently to be of local origin. However, mountainous Crete, the very name of which may well come from the common Egyptian toponym K3yt (high land) is a country pre-eminently suitable for goats and wild goats or agrimi rather than bulls. Given this fact, where did the bull cult come from? As is customary, when obliged to find an oriental origin, the favourite candidate is Anatolia. For instance, Walter Burkert writes in his now canonical Greek Religion.

The finds from the Neolithic town of Catal Huyuk now make it almost impossible to doubt that the horned symbol which Evans called 'horns of consecration' does indeed derive from real bull horns. The serried ranks of genuine bull horns discovered in the house shrines of Catal Huyuk are hunting trophies won from the

then still wild bull and set up in the precinct of the goddess. Intermediate stations on the journey from Catal Huvuk to Crete are now beginning to appear. Models of sanctuaries from Cyprus dating from the end of the third millennium...*

As with the succession he drew up for the derivation of the double-headed axe, Burkert has serious problems with his scheme for the origins of the Cretan bull cult." The bull cult at Catal Huyuk is indeed impressive but he fails to make the point that it flourished and disappeared in the 6th millennium BC, that is, over three thousand years before the 'horns of consecration' are first attested in Cyprus or Crete, Indeed, there appears to have been an equally striking tradition—or sporadic occurrences—in Egypt of marking human burials with bulls' heads with the horns sticking out of the ground from the 11th millennium BC to the early dynastic period in the 4th millennium."

I have frequently argued that one should not pay too much attention to the 'argument from silence' and it is possible that the cultic use of bulls' horns existed in Anatolia without any attestation for three thousand years. Nevertheless, Anatolia seems far-fetched as a source, not merely for the 'horns of consecration' for which a reasonably plausible Egypto-Cretan origin has been given in the last section, but

also for the Cretan bull cult as a whole

There is an almost complete absence of any bovine iconography in Neolithic or Farly Bronze Age Grete." In Cyprus there are bull cults at the end of the 3rd millennium. During the same centuries, at the beginning of the Palatial Period, bulls become centrally important to Cretan religious life.

THUNDER AND SEX: MIN, PAN AND B"ÄZÄ

In this section, we shall make an excursion away from archaeology and examine another possible origin for the Cretan bull cult that appears to have spring up so suddenly on the island in the 21st and 20th centuries BC. I maintain that this did not derive from an Anatolian tradition, attested only three thousand years earlier, but from contemporary 11th-Dynasty Egypt. Before going into the bull cult of the Early Middle Kingdom, however, we should look at some earlier African bull cults and their Cretan connections.

We shall begin with the Egyptian god Min, the counterpart of the Greek Pan, who, Herodotos maintained, is very ancient and of the eight gods who existed before the rest ** The historian Diodoros Sikeliotes, writing in the 1st century BC, named the gods of the Ethio-

pians of Meroe – the great political and cultural centre on the Upper Nile, a hundred miles north of the present Khartoum—as Isis, Pan, Herakles and Zeus. His vounger contemporary the geographer Strabo maintained that they worshipped Herakles, Pan, Isis and another barbarian god. The precise identities of the others will be discussed in Volume 4. Our concern here is with Pan, the Egyptian Min

Min can be traced back to the oldest stages of Egyptian history at the two southern cities of Koptos and Akhmin. However, from very early times, Min, whose name was probably first pronounced * Minw, was also associated with Nubia, the country immediately up the Nile from Egypt, and Plint, an East African territory still farther south reached by sea." In the Middle Kingdom Min was called the 'young stranger' and the direction he came from was clearly the south." In Ptolemaic texts, Min was frequently linked with the Mid, the Beja people who lived and still live in the deserts east of the Nile in what is now Southern Egypt and the Eastern Sudan, as well as with Punt, and he was seen as a dispenser of tropical luxuries. As the French Egyptologist Chassinat and others have postulated, the Beja may well have acted as middlemen in trade between the coast and the Nile Valley.

Min was associated with fertility and growth in Egypt, which does not appear to fit his cult as a divinity of the desert. I believe that this can be reconciled by drawing parallels between him and the modern East African divinity B*aza, who represented the fertilizing power of

thunder followed by rain.

With the possible exceptions of the Yazidis and the Alawi, in fraq and Syria, the non-Christians or non-Muslims among the Gurage of South-Central Ethiopia are today the only Semitic-speaking 'pagans' Among them, B*aza or Bazo is still worshipped for his arbitrary violence and his sexual appetite. As a Gurage hymn puts it.

Oh B*aza, is there a place you do not descend to.

A Keyae [household] you do not visit,

Where you do not slay father and son,

Where you do not clope with the mother and the daughter el-

Interestingly, these two apparently contradictory aspects seem to be reflected etymologically in the name B*aza itself. This comes from a Semitic or Afroasiatic biconsonantal root, BZ with many different forms, which the lexicographer David Cohen groups into two semantic clusters, 'split, divide, distribute' and 'inflate, inseminate and abound'.65

I shall argue in Volume 3 that the name B*aza appears in Canaanite culture as Bo'az. In the Book of Ruth Bo'az was the name of Naomi's kinsman whose association with fertility is shown by his con-

summation of his marriage to Ruth, on a threshing floor at harvest time in Bethlehem, 'House of Bread'.' The thundering aspect of Braza is paralleled in the biblical use of the name Bô'az as the name of one of the pair of pillars placed in front of the temple of Yahweh Bo'az was presumably also the name of the similar pillars known to have been placed before other Canaamte temples. The practice of placing free-standing pillars in front of temples has a counterpart in the cult of B*aza among the Gurage. The priests of B*aza called maga a name that is interestingly but mexplicably close to the Iranian mage - distribute for profit small strips of wood, sana, from trees struck by lightning. These are placed on the ground close to the entrance of a compound or outside a hut and, as the anthropologist William Shack puts it, 'Wherever the sana is displayed, it symbolizes that the land and property is blessed and others respect it for fear of Boza's (B*aza's) reprisals'. This type of spiritual lightning conductor in front of houses would seem to be a Gurage parallel on a domestic scale to the Bo'az placed in front of temples. The need for protection from this fierce but creative divinity in West Semitic religion can be seen in the Ugaritic hymns and epics of Ba'al, who punishes without mercy while fertilizing the land and, like a storm, tears out and brandishes trees 69

There are interesting possible Cretan connections to this cult. Klearkhos, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote that in the 5th century BC the people of Tarantum in Southern Italy conquered the nearby city of Kausina, inhabited by a people called Iapvges. As a punishment for this they were struck by lightning. The Iarantines, therefore, set up pillars in front of their doors for those who had been struck and made sacrifices to the pillars dedicated to Zeus Katabaites, 'the Descender'

The English classicist A. B. Cook plausibly argued that this type of worship 'points in the direction of Crete'. In fact, Kleackhos gave a number of details to support the legendary belief that Japvx, the eponym of the Japyges, originated from Crete.' Cook also suggested that the thunderbolt wielded by Zeus Katabaites could well be related to the Cretan double-axes, which he believed should be seen as symbols of Zeus Katabaites.⁷¹

The iconographic trail of the double-axe Burkert followed to 4th-millennium Mesopotamia gives no clear indication of its religious meaning. However, as I mentioned in Chapter I, there also appears to have been a cult of the double-axe in Archaic Egypt. If one accepts Cook's suggestion, it could be that at least one of the religious purposes of the Cretan double-axes, some of which lined parapets while others were free-standing, was that of the Tapygian pillars, to ward off actual and spiritual thunderbolts. We shall see below that the shape of

the double-axe loosely resembles that of Zeus's thunderbolt. Thus, rather in the way the Gurage use the sana taken from a free struck by lightning to serve as a protection from B*aza, the double-axe would

have symbolized both the striking and protection from it.

It is not clear that Zeus' Egyptian counterpart Amon had thunderbolts. However, Min, who was early and often associated with both Amon and Mntw, clearly possessed one, the Hm, -- The Hin was a symbol of Min, used in the names of two of his cult cities, Akhmin, Panopolis and Koptos, and also possibly for the name of the 9th nome of Upper Egypt, known in Greek as Khemmis. The significance of this mysterious sign, which dates back at least to the 1st Dynasty (3400 -3200 BC) is obscure. Gardiner tentatively called it 'two fossil belemmites'. However, he pointed out that 'the earliest [examples of the symbol) resemble a double-headed arrow." The Egyptologist G. A. Wainwright claimed that the Hm was a conventionalized thunderbolt taken over from Min by Amon after the fusion of the bull with the ram thunder god.70 Thus, belemnites, which were mexplicable in terms of contemporary natural history, were probably interpreted in the same way in both Egypt and Greece - as thunderbolts. In Greece, an Archaic status of Zeus holds a belemmite 'thunderbolt' in one hand and a crook looking very like an ammonite in the other? The Hm, 'two or double belemnites', also closely resembles representations from the 7th century of Zeus about to hurl his thunderbolt."

It is interesting to note that, while many of the Egyptian gods had flags. Min was the one in front of whose temples ceremonial poles were crected. These were the Bt of Bwt T. The symbol seems to represent a bull's head of horns on a staff together with an unwinding spiral, as already mentioned above. The spiral's significance is unclear. It could be a herder's crook and or, more likely, an ammonite, one of the commonest fossilized gastropods, shaped like a coiled—though naturally headless—snake which may itself have been seen as a thunderbolt. The ammonite was named after Amon and it is almost certain that others saw the resemblance and hence connection between the ram's horn of Am(m)on and the ammonites before medieval scholars called the fossil Cornu Ammonis from which the modern name comes.—The Bt could also have symbolized the uterus, written

and hence possibly the spiral and labyrinth.28

There are also interesting indications that the double beleminte Hm may have been used in similar ways. Although the words hm (shrine) and hm (sacred image) have been attested as being written with a — only since the Middle Kingdom, there would seem to be a possibility that the phonetic hm meant 'sacred', and the 'two belemintes' as a sign of divine power was used more as a general symbol of

sanctity rather in the way the double-axe was used in Crete.19 This taises the possibility that the ritual double-axes found in Predynastic and Old Kingdom Egypt were developments or variants of the Hm which became an important source if not the most important origin of the Cretan 'double-axe'.

To return to Min, the Egyptologists Gauthier and Chassinat, who studied his cult, have tried to explain his two aspects, as the god of the dry wilderness and of fertility of the cultivated soil, by claiming that his worship began in tropical Punt and was transmitted through the Fastern Desert to Upper Egypt, where it became assimilated to that of the ancient fertility god of Koptos, Ki mwt f (Bull of his Mother) * If such a merger took place, it would have had to have been in the 4th millennium, as there are statues of Min at Koptos dating back to before the beginning of the Old Kingdom 8 I believe that, in this case, one should avoid misplaced precision and simply agree that there was a cult of a god of the Min type over a wide belt of East Africa, including Upper Egypt, associated with livestock, and that in wet areas this cult tended to be associated with fertility in crops and in dry ones with the constant rainless thunder of the region. Min had a special association with the mountainous countries of strangers,82

There is no doubt that Min's principal animal was a bull. Not only was he called K3 mwt.f but also K3 nft (Beautiful Bull) and K3 nbt (Mighty Bull). He was also sometimes represented with bull's horns. 83 Furthermore, his massive phallus came like that of a bull not from lus groin but from his abdomen. Nevertheless, as the German Egyptologist Eberhard Otto put it, there has always been a fundamental afbuity' between Min and the ram god Amon." The two gods were associated at Thebes since the 11th Dynasty and by the New Kingdom Amon and Re seem in many cults to have been fused with Min as a single massively endowed ithyphallic figure *

The Greek god Pan's identification as a goat can be explained as a result of this fusion with Amon the ram/goat. Pan's derivation from Mm would seem to be confirmed, not only by his great phallus, his association with the fertility of stock and his living in the wilderness, but also because of the whips both carried and the negroid blackness with which he, like his attendant satyrs, was often portrayed. The Egyptian name and theological position of his mother Kallisto will be

discussed in Volume 4.

In the early 19th century, Niebuhr's patron the Romantic poet and mythologist Johann Heinrich Voss speculated that the name Pan derived from a European 100t *pa(s) (to guard, protect) from which we derive 'pasture', 'pastor', etc 86. The French classicist Philippe Borgeaud, who has written a book on Pan, believes that Voss's view is confirmed by the discovery of a 6th-century dedication to Pan addressed as Paoul. This, Borgeaud claims, came from *Pawon and ultimately *Pa(s)on which provides the required v* Chantraine is sceptical of this and follows a proposal made by the Dutch scholar C. H. Rujgh that the name Pan is 'Pre-Hellenic' and may well simply be a doublet of the name Pauaon seen as an ancient name for Apollo * The relation between the names Iôn, Iaôn and Paion and their derivation from the Egyptian iwn and priwn, 'barbarian' and 'the barbarian', have been mentioned in Volume 1. Such a name would seem altogether suitable for the wild Pan

However, this would seem not to be the only source of the name. and the abbreviation of *Paraon to Pan may well have been influenced. by sacred, invsterious paranomasia or puns with which ancient Sear-Eastern and Mediterranean cultures were riddled.* The first of these is from the Greek pan (all, everything). Two others, however, may well be Egyptian, linking him to Min. For instance, it could be related to P3 hm, 'The Hm' itself. Another and stronger possibility is that the development of the name Pan was influenced by the Egyptian by im-(the groan). A phonetic parallel comes in the derivation of the Greek word pan, panos (a Nile fish) from the Egyptian pt In (the fish).4 Semantically, there is a similarity between ps lm (the groan) and R (groan) and A (cedar); both were applied to Osnis in the invihical scenes in which he was in a tree." The association of a divine name with groans can also be seen in the names Bakchos, from the Semitic Bakur (bewailed), and his counterpart Pentheus (bewailed) from the Indo-European 4 The association of Pan with groaning can be seen from the words panikos and panismos (panic and terror). Plutarch made the link explicit in his story about Thamus. Thamus is clearly Dumuzi Lammúz, the Mesopotamian and Syrian god of Terribty of crops and herds who was bewailed annually for his premature death. " He was in many ways equivalent to the Egyptian Osiris. According to Plutarch, Thamus was instructed to go in his boat to Palodes and callout 'Great Pan is dead!' He did so and 'even before he had finished there was a great cry of lamentation, not of one person but of many, mingled with exclamations of amazement'

MIN AND MINOS

Following this digression on the relationship between the Egyptian lecherous bull Min and the Greek lecherous goat Pan, let us now look at the possible presence of Egyptian 'Mins in the Aegean under the name of Minos.

According to a Greek tradition dating back at least to Hesiod,

Minos was a Cretan king and lawgiver, 'the most kingly of mortal kings'." Homer too saw him as a judge of the dead.' This very Egyptian role would seem to equate him with Osiris. However, by the New Kingdom. Amon was seen as an aspect of or, to be more precise, as the bror 'spirit' of Osiris. A Saite version of the Book of the Dead of the 7th century BC contains appeals to Amon, who by this time was assimulated with Osiris, as the judge of the dead man.' In this respect then, the Cretan Minos resembled both Osiris and Amon, he also resembles Min, through Min's assimilation with Amon.

In Chapter X, I shall consider the hypothesis suggested by Albright that the Egyptian toponym Milws, used for a foreign country, should be identified with Crete through Millos. I shall also be looking at the possibility that Millos might be related to Millw, the mountain of the sunset, with which Re, who was also assimilated to Amon, was directly associated. Unfortunately, however, we have no vocalization for Millws and Millos their identification with Millos must remain tentative, especially as the Greek name did not refer directly to the island of Crete but merely to its legendary king.

A more plausible derivation of the name Minos is from that of the first Egyptian pharaoli Min (c. 3400 BC), generally known by the later Greek transcription of his name as Měněs, but whom Herodotos some centuries earlier had called Min (m. There is considerable difficulty over this name, as the official Egyptian king-lists of the New Kingdom used one kind of name (the Nbty-name) for the early rulers of the 1st Dynasty, while contemporaries referred to living monarchs by another, then Horus-name. Thus, although the Nbty-name Min appears in the king-lists, the name Min has been found on only one or two contemporary inscriptions. It is therefore difficult to know which Horus name to attach. Gardiner and Lloyd are probably right to identify Min with the first pharaoh of the Dynasty whose Horus-name was Namemer.

This problem, however, does not concern us as the name was clearly used by an important pharaoh early in the 1st Dynasty and in later times Mn(i) was universally considered to be the founder of dynastic rule. It is also possible that there was punning here with the word mn (be firm, established) which was sometimes used transitively (to establish). In this case, the Cretan Minos could just have been the title of the local 'founder' and umfier ¹⁰² In classical times it would seem that Mil was seen not only as the first pharaoh but as a pioneer of coherent government anywhere. Diodoros drew an explicit parallel between Mil and the Cretan Milios. According to him, the Egyptian was:

spirited of all lawgivers whose names are recorded. According to the tradition he claimed that Hermes had given the laws to him with the assurance that he would be the cause of great blessings, just as among the Greeks they say that Minos did in Crete and Lycingus among the Lacedaimomans, the former saying that he had received his laws from Zeus and the latter his from Apollo.

Interestingly, as we are now considering the Cretan bull cult, a latetradition associated Min/Mênés with bulls. Achan, the Roman writer of the 2nd and 31d centuries AD, claimed that Menés had founded the bull cult of Apis 24 The Egyptian historian Manetho maintained that this was established in the 2nd Dynasty, but this has been disproved by a reference to the cult from the reign of the 1st-Dynasty pharaoh th. 105 Furthermore, there are many connections between Min/Menes and Mn nfr, Memphis, the site of the Apis cult 18 Thus, there would seem every reason to accept Achan's claim, even though the foundation of the cult took place over three thousand years before he wrote. This is a remarkable, and I believe instructive, example of the strength and durability of traditions over this huge expanse of time. In short, given the similarity of name, the connection with a bull cult and the image of the Egyptian ruler as the political founder it would seem plausible to derive Minos as a lawgiver and judge of the dead from Min/Menes.

However, Min/Menes was not the only source of King Minos; there are at least two others. The first of these is Mnevis. In the passage quoted above from Diodoros, the writer was clearly referring to Mēnēs. The name he used, however, was Mnevis. This was the Greek name for the sacred built at lwn or Heliopolis, now a suburb of Cairo, which was discussed in Volume 1.102. The bull's name was normally written in Egyptian as Mi Wi, 'Great Mi'. In the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom, however, it appears as Nim Wi. 108. The early 20th-century German Egyptologist Kurt Sethe derived Mnevis from a postulated Egyptian form *Mnewe, which has since been confirmed by the discovery of a late writing Mnl. 109.

In fact, from the earliest times, there has been considerable confusion in Egyptian among the three biconsonantals mr, mn and nm. It should be noted that during the Middle Kingdom ℓs in Semitic names were transcribed into Egyptian almost indiscriminately as r, s, and n. The best-known example of the last is the Egyptian name. Kbn for the city known to its Semitic-speaking inhabitants as Gubla and to the later Greeks as Byblos. ^{1,6} All three sounds, mr, mn and nm, have asso-

ciations with cattle. mrw means 'bulls' and mry 'fighting bull'. Apart from Mni there are the words mniw (herdsmen), must (milch cow) and minmit (cattle). Minmi mwt.f (Bull of his Mother) was an epithet of Min. Nmiw, which looks very much like mniw, means 'Bedoum'. Nmnm means 'quake' as does mnmn, but the former also signifies 'go back and forth like herds'. It is interesting to note that two meanings for nml - A. traverse' - 'travel around in Late Egyptian - and Man (lowing of cattle) both contain a which Gardiner believes should be read 'for some unknown reason' as the phonetic nm. However, the same sign occurs in the writing of mirt \\ \colon \colon \in \tau \) (street) and of the name Mnevis Bull Mr Wi & A CT of De San. However, the phonetic nm and the meaning of 'winding wall' are seen together in the Late Egyptian nme (secout, lay down walls). The origination from this Egyptian semantic cluster around non of the Greek one surrounding the root nom, found in both nomadités (nomads) and nomos (law) will be discussed in Volume 2,112

Putting this altogether, we see a triple parallel in Egypt there was a bull cult associated with the name Mn, the founding pharaoh and a winding wall. In Crete there was a bull cult associated with a founding king Minos and a labyrinth. The parallels can be made even closer The classicist and Egyptologist Alan Lloyd has shown that a description by Strabo of fights between bulls in a dromos by the temples of Apis and Hephaistos (Ptah) in Memphis was of an Egyptian fradition going back to the Old Kingdom, which seems to have symbolized the struggles between Horus and Seth.113 Translation of dromos into English is difficult. It is clearly a place for running but its shape is indeterminate. It could be a circular theatre but more often it was an avenue or racecourse - with winding walls: The lighting bulls were often called mry, a term that was clearly linked to Ma Wa. What is more, Mr Wr/Mnevis was sometimes represented as a bull but also, though possibly only in later times, as a man with a bull's head, thus strikingly resembling the Minotaur in his labyrinth, "

There was an ancient tradition that Minos' architect Daidalos built the labyrinth at Knossos on an Egyptian model. It is also noteworthy that the earliest extant use of the word labyrinthos, in Herodotos, is in reference not to the Cretan edifice but to the huge complex built as funerary temple by the 12th-Dynasty pharaoh Ammenemes III (Amenembe III, 1859–1814 BC) at the present Hawwâra, a few miles west of El Lâhûn at the mouth of the Fayum. Remarkably, the massive building was still standing even after Herodotos' time and may possibly have been seen by Strabo in the 1st century BC.

Heinrich Brugsch, an Egyptologist employed by the Egyptian

Khedive Ismai'il (1866--1879 AD), became the first professor of Egyptology at Gottingen after Champollion. He also wrote a magnificent Dictionnaire geographique de l'ancienne Egypte, which was published in 1879. In this, he proposed that the Greek labyinithus derived from a name of the Egyptian building *R-pr R-hnt (Temple at the mouth of the lake). The name is not attested but 1-pr is a common term for 'temple' and R-hiit was the name for the region which appeared in Coptic as Lehone or Lihone, preserved today in the village name El Lahûn. For obvious reasons, this hypothesis did not find favour in the following decades and it was energetically denied in the 1930s by Gauthier in his Dictionnaire geographique.1 * At the turn of the century, the derivation from *R-pr R-hnt was completely ousted by an etymology from the Lydian word labrys (double-axe) which increased in plausibility when that symbol was found with great frequency at Knossos 1.3 As mentioned above, it is true that the double-axe was an important religious symbol in Minoan Crete, but it is not so easy to see why it should give the name to a building. In any event, it is far from certain that Lydian or any other Anatolian language was ever spoken m Crete. There is certainly no major tradition connecting the labyrinth with Lydia. The reason for this tar-fetched hypothesis would seem to come from the sociology of knowledge and the unthinkability of Egyptian or Semitic origins among most German and British scholars after 1880 and their preference for Anatolian 'Asiamic' influences over anything from the Near East.

In Volume 1, I accepted Brugsch's proposal of a derivation from *R-pr R-hnt which had been recently revived by the Semitist Robert Stieglitz. 120 I still believe that this name may have influenced the Greek word. However, I now prefer an etymology endorsed by Maspero, Spiegelberg and Arthur Evans but treated sceptically by the historian H. R. Hall in 1920 and rejected more recently by Alan I loyd, 4 This is that the origin of labsymthos lies in the prenomen Ny-mir t-Re of the pharaoh Amenembe III, the builder of the original Egyptian 'labyrinth'. Classical writers rendered Ny-mir t-Re in a number of different ways which include Marés, Lamarés, Lamaris and Labarés and Labaris. 6 The coincidence of the name of the building labyrinth and the name of the pharaoli to whom it was dedicated seems to me too remarkable for chance. I believe that the widespread final nithos, commonly believed to be Pre-Hellenic, has many different sources, including simple nasalization before dentals. In some cases, however, as with the word anthos (flower, growth) itself, I think that it comes from the Egyptian ntr (divine [in a pantheist sense] growth). 21 This could well be the case with the final inthos of labsimthos

As has been mentioned above, there are strong connections between labyrinths and Egypt. Furthermore, there are the many clear Egyptian influences on the construction and decoration of the Cretan palaces. By contrast, there are only tenuous connections between Bronze Age Crete and Anatolia and none at all with Lydia. It is for these reasons, as well as for the better semantic lit, that I prefer an Egyptian etymology for labyrinthus to a Lydian one

Even if the name 'labyrinth' did not come from Egypt, and despite the obvious confusion among later Greeks and others between a dromos for the bulls, a functary temple and the Cretan palaces themselves, it is clear that there are striking similarities between the Egyptian bull cults and those of palatial Crete. There is also no doubt which cult developed first, as in Egypt it went back to the 4th millennium, whereas in Crete it seems to have begun only around 2000 BC Before going on to the specifics of transmission, it would be useful to tie up some more mythological parallels.

The Cretan Minos had certain qualities that do not fit his image as a majestic lawgiver. He was renowned for his rapes and seductions of nymphs and mortal women.¹²⁴ In this, of course, he could be compared to Zeus, but Minos was not so clearly an immortal and above human morality. These aspects do however correspond to the Egyptian god Min rather than to the pharaoh of the same name.

First of all there are the apparent correspondences referred to above between the god Min's emblem, the Hm (double beleminte) and the double-axe so prevalent in Minoan Crete. There is, furthermore, the story of Minos' dazzling white bull, which he admired and took as the chief of his herd. It then impregnated his wife Pasiphau, who crouched in a contraption she had commissioned Daidalos to construct for her It was from this union that the Minotaur was born. The Egyptian bullgood Min had a white bull consecrated to him which has been associated with his epither K3 mwt f (Bull [who impregnates] of his mother). Thus, to the extent that Minos and Pasiphai's son the Minotaur acrehis white bull, they can be identified with Min. It is also striking that Min's cult contained a sacred black cow, the kint. Given the close pairing between Min and Amon in Egypt and Zeus and Minos on Crete it is also interesting to note the strong possibility, discussed in Volume 1, that Zeus' paramour Tō derived her name from thit (cow).

The synthesis of the two Mins, the god and the pharaoh, would not be a purely Cretan phenomenon. There were occasions in Egypt when the two were worshipped together. In the great feast of the god Min at Thebes as celebrated in the 19th Dynasty (13th century BC), the first statue to follow that of the divinity was that of Min Menes.

Thus, if there was not an actual connection between the two, as some scholars maintain, the ancient spirit of punning led worshippers to see a significant religious connection. 128 It would seem, therefore, that between them the royal Min/Menes, the divine Min and the sacred bull Mnevis make up all the legendary characteristics of Minos.

THE CASE AGAINST EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE

Demonstrating the striking similarities between Min and Minos has been a matter of comparative mythology rather than one of archaeology. Furthermore, there is a considerable time gap between Greek legends about Crete extant in the Geometric ceramic period 1000 700 BC and the Archaic age 776–500 BC and the appearance of the bull cult in the Cretan palaces a thousand years earlier. Taken together, it would seem possible to argue with Karl Otfried Muller and his many followers that the parallels between Crete and Egypt were merely the result of later 'combinations' and 'haisons' between Greek

and 'barbarian', that is, Egyptian, priesthoods. 25

There are, however, two major difficulties with this interpretation. Firstly, there is the extraordinary intricacy of the parallels. Secondly, there is the fact that, although fuller versions of the legends about King Minos appear only later, fragmentary references to them in the works of Hestod and Homer make it clear that they were known in their time. Thus, modern proponents of the view that the parallels were later inventions—if, unlike Muller, they are systematic—would have to place the concoction before the 10th century, when I place Hesiod, whom I believe to be the earlier poet. * That is to say, the chief concoctions must have taken place either in the sub-Mycenaean period r. 1150-1000 BC which was one of little sophistication and relatively little friendly contact between the Aegean and the Middle East, or in the Late Bronze Age. In the latter case it would have meant the weaving of a tissue of fabrication when not only were there highly literate priesthoods in Egypt and the Levant but the Cretan and/or the Mycenaean palaces were still flourishing and presumably had some kind of historical records. This would seem likely to limit the possibilities of historical fiction. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the creation of such myths is possible at this period. Furthermore, given the close relationship between Egypt and the Aegean in the 15th and 14th centuries BC, one could even detect motives for such fabrications so as to link the two regions and establish Egypt's preeminence over the north.

However, there is further evidence to support the simpler case that the legends reflected some historical reality and that, just as the Cretan palaces evolved as a result of Near Eastern influences, the bull cult that played such an important role in the palaces derived from Egypt specifically at precisely the same time, the 21st century BC.

MONT AND RHADAMANTHYS

To examine this other source of evidence, it would seem useful to begin by considering one of Minos' legendary brothers. King Rhadamanthys. Robert Graves tentatively suggested that this striking name came from *Rhabda Mantis (He who rules with a wand) and Wilamowitz rather vaguely that it was Carian. 'Chantraine, on the other hand, dismissed this and other speculations as 'baseless'. I believe that one can fruitfully see the name as deriving from the Egyptian *Rdi Mntw ('Mntw or Mont gives' or 'whom Mntw or Mont has given'). Although this form is unattested, the construction is standard and both elements, Rdi + divine name and the divine name Mntw, are very common in the extant Egyptian onomastica. The very form Rhadamanthys suggests that the hypothetical loan is early because the verb rdi began to drop its initial reven in the Middle Kingdom, although one should never underestimate the power of archaistic revival in Egyptian culture.¹⁹³

Let us first consider the possibility that Rhadamanthys Rdl Mntw stood for the divinity Mntw or the syncretic Mntw Re (Re) himself Mntw was yet another solar god associated with Amon and Re. He was mentioned as a solar or stellar deity in the Pyramid Texts. 15 He was the god of the Theban nome, or province, in Upper Egypt. His rise came with that of his territory in the 11th Dynasty (2153-1979 BC). During the later half of this period, his cult, attached to the royal court, became dominant throughout the whole country. With the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, however, it began to be superseded by that of Amon, with whom Mitty tended to be identified. Nevertheless, even after this, Mntw remained important in the Theban nome and was generally popular as a god of war associated with the reunification of Egypt in the 11th Dynasty, after the three hundred years of distinity of the 1st Intermediate Period. As we shall see in more detail in Chapter V, the god also remained particularly associated with the subjugation of northern barbarians. 155

Mntw originally had two consorts. The first was lwnvt (She of the southern lwn), this being the name of his cult centre, the city of Armant or Hermonthis, twenty kilometres upstream of Thebes. It was

the counterpart to lwn, Heliopolis in Lower Egypt ¹³⁶ The second consort was Trinyt, whose name is the feminine of Trin, the ancient chthoric creator god who merged with the creative smith god Ptah, lwnyt and Trinyt later lost their separate identities and were replaced by Ret twy (Ria of the two lands). ¹⁵ Ret is clearly a feminine form of Re and it is equally clearly the Egyptian prototype for the name Rhea. The phonetic fit is perfect, as we know that in the New Kingdom Ret was transcribed into Akkadian as Riva or Ri'a. ³⁵ Ria became assimilated with Nut, who in Hellenistic times was seen as the Egyptian counterpart of Rhea.

The apparent discrepancies between the Nut's character as a sky goddess and Rhea's as pre-emmently an earthly deity protecting the young in caves and grottoes are resolved by the fact that in Egyptian ritual the starry Nut's chief function was to arch over the mummy inside the coffin and to guard tombs and coffins. Some scholars claim to have traced her descent from being a sky goddess to being one of death with strong chthonic associations; others, however, believe that the subterranean associations were there from the earliest times. When looking at Mntw's consort Ret in relation to Rhadamanthys, it is particularly interesting to note that Rhea was one of the most important divinities in Crete, thus strengthening the Egyptian god's connec-

tions with the island.

The commonly used name Mntw Rr shows the links between him and the sun as Re, and the name Mntw H1 demonstrates the connection with the young warrior god Horus. Like the latter and as a predatory war god, Mntw was sometimes portrayed with a hawk's head. From the 11th Dynasty, however, he was identified with a raging bull and his worship as a bull, or with bulls, is attested at all his cult centres by the 12th Dynasty By this time, the sacred bull's colour was often seen as white and Mntw's bull was closely associated with the white bull of Min. Mntw too was linked to the 'black cow', lht km, whose correspondence to 15 has been considered above. * In late times after 700 BC, there were four bull cults of Mntw. One of these was oracular and all of them appear to have included rituals, processions and fights involving bulls. 41 It has been suggested that such a warlike deity could not have played an important role as a judge of the dead in funerary religion However, ferocity has seldom been a disqualification for judges anywhere, especially in the underworld, and in fact the Book of Coming Forth by Day, commonly known as the Book of the Dead, does include Mntw among the other gods in Elysium. 142

How do these characteristics tally with those of Rhadamanthys? The Cretan was known as a lawgiver. His stepson Herakles was

supposed to have invoked one of his laws on murder, which seems to have been on the principle of 'an eye for an eye'. Together with Minos, Rhadamanthys was seen by Hesiod, Homer and later writers as a judge of the dead. (4) In the Odyssey he was called xanthos which, it will be argued in Volume 3, should often be rendered as 'sacred' rather than 'fair-haired', '11 'Sacred' would certainly fit better with antitheos (godlike), the epithet given him in the Iliad. 'In the Odyssey, Rhadamanthys was seen as able to go to the furthest point in the west and return in one day, which strongly suggests solar associations. (4)

It should be reiterated here that Rhadamanthys' reputation as a lawgiver and judge did not make him pacific. He was supposed to have gained empire over the Ionian islands, not only because of his reputation for justice but also because of his 'mexorable punishment upon ... malefactors'. "Rhadamanthys' legendary flight from Crete to Boiotia and his associations with Zeus and his 'fatherhood' of Herakles were discussed in Chapter II. Thus, to the extent that Herakles was a Middle Kingdom pharaoh, Rhadamanthys parallels Mntw as patron of 11th-Dynasty and later pharaohs. 18

In general, therefore, there are good grounds for associating Rhadamanthys and Mntw: both were warlike and in some way father to a wandering hero-pharaoh. In Chapter 11, I noted the representation of Mntw as the protector of Mntw Htp II $^{\rm co}$ Both Rhadamanthys and Mntw were closely connected to Amon Zeus and were more or less connected to bulls. Phonetically, there is no difficulty in deriving the element *manthys from Mntw. We know from the Assyrian transcription of the personal name Mntw in list as Mantimehe that Mntw was originally vocalized with an a^{++} .

Mntw's connections with Crete are not restricted to Rhadamanthys Given the centrality of Rhea in the island's later religion, it is striking to find that Rft Ria, who was not a prominent figure in Egyptian theology, should have been Mntw's consort. There is also the coincidence of the white bull, which would seem to link Mntw and Rhadamanthys to the latter's brother Minos and the divine Min. Furthermore, there is the possibility that Mntw like Mnevis was represented as a man with a bull's head. This was certainly the case in late times. "A unique three-sided seal from Karnak near Thebes, dated to the 1st Intermediate Period or the 11th Dynasty, portrays a man with a bull's head." Given the prominence of Mntw at this time it could well represent him, but there is no way of being certain. It is also interesting to note that 'bull men' are represented on two of the Mesopotamian seals in the Tôd Treasure from the reign of Amenembe II (1917–1882 BC) found under a sanctuary of Mntw, which will be discussed in Chap

ter V. It is worth speculating whether they were considered especially suitable for Mntw.¹⁵³

Nevertheless, although firmly associated with bulls in the Middle Kingdom, Mntw was at that time generally represented with the head of a falcon. (5) However, in Crete there are no representations of a taurocephalus Minotaur from the Palatial Period and the image which is so powerful in Greek tradition may have emerged only after the massive contact with Egypt in the 15th century BC. In any event, there is no doubt that Mntw's raging bull, which like that of Min was indirectly identified with Amon, would fit nicely with the Minotaur, son of Minos, nephew of Rhadamanthys and grandson of Zeus.

At this point it would seem useful to consider the possibility that Rhadamanthys did not derive merely from an Egyptian god but from an Egyptian monarch as well (it will be remembered that Minos would seem to have been identified with both the divine Min and the royal

Min/Mênēs).

Min/Ménés, as the official founder of the 1st Dynasty, was always renowned as a conqueror and a lawgiver. The only other Egyptian rulers who came close to equalling his reputation were the reunifiers of the country and the founders of the Middle Kingdom. Although Mitty http://www.mished.around.2150.bc.does not appear technically to have been a pharaoh, he was honoured as an ancestor of the 11th Dynasty and as one of the Black family who had reunited Egypt from their base in the Theban nome. Mitty http://www.mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.iii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished.ii.com/mished

Menthotpe, a name that signifies 'Mont is content': And contented the local god had good reason to be for . . . [he] witnessed, after many years of conflict, the reunion of all Egypt under a single ruler. 157

In Egyptian tradition the two great Mntw htps were frequently merged as the founder of the Middle Kingdom and paralleled with Min/Mēnes. For instance, statues of Min/Menes and Mntw htp were given special prominence at the great festival of the god Min held at the Ramesseum near Thebes in the reign of Ramesses II in the 19th Dynasty. Thus we find the pharaohs Min/Menes and Mntw htp playing important roles specifically in the bull cult of the god Min

The theological parallels between the Egyptian and Cretan cults are both intricate and neat. In Egypt, Min and Mntw are associated with white bulls and identified with Amon. In Crete Minos and Rhada-

manthys are brothers, the former is associated with a white bull and both are sons of Amon's counterpart Zeus. An identification of Rhadamanthys with Mntw htp would elegantly complete the square. Where Minos combined the bull god Min with the pharaonic founder. Min Menes, Rhadamanthys would combine the bull god Mntw with the founding pharaoh Mntw htp. In Egypt the two pharaohs were stern rulers and lawgivers just as Minos and Rhadamanthys combined both characteristics in Crete. There was also the Cretan view of the two royal heroes' role in that essentially Egyptian institution, the Court of the Dead.

Although such a conflation of god and monarch might seem strange, as we have seen in the case of Min, it was perfectly normal in Egypt and a very close parallel can be seen in a reference to the 12th-Dynasty pharaoh Sesostris I, who will be considered in detail in Chapter V. Sesostris is described as the 'White Bull' who puts the 'intyw [barbarians] to flight'. 15 The German Egyptologist Otto, who has written extensively on Egyptian bull cults, commented on this.

This would seem to provide a connection to the warlike character of the Month (Mntw) bull and similarly a new proof of how tight the connection was between the warlike king and the Upper Egyptian bull cult.¹⁶⁰

What is striking about these elaborate cultic parallels between Egypt and Crete is that the cult of the royal white bull flourished in Egypt in the 21st century BC, precisely when, on the archaeological grounds given above, the Cretan palaces were first founded and the Cretan bull cult is first attested 161 As mentioned above, it is also a period in which several scholars have noted Egyptian and Levantine influence. on the island. Pendlebury argued that Crete was heavily influenced by Egyptian and Levantine culture via the Nile Delta, parts of which were dominated by Semitic speakers in the 1st Intermediate Period. (5) William Ward prefers on what seem to be good grounds to see the phenomenon as having taken place in the early Middle Kingdom with the Egyptian influence coming to Crete by way of Phoenicia in general and particularly Byblos." Byblos was always heavily Egyptianized: many Egyptian inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom have been found there and at that time Egyptian texts refer to its prince as hill (mayor), not as hki hisut. 'Hyksos' or 'foreign princes', as the other rulers of Syro-Palestine were called. 161

We know that not merely did Mntw htp II reunite Egypt but that his generals campaigned abroad in Nubia, Smar and possibly further north. We also know from documentary sources that at least one

official maritime expedition was sent to Byblos (**). This picture is confirmed by archaeological evidence. Syrian wood was used in 11th-Dynasty boxes and coffins. Furthermore, the 'Montet Jar', a huge hoard of mainly Egyptian objects found at Byblos, has been dated to the 21st century. Evidence that Egyptians of the 11th Dynasty may have penetrated the Aegean, together with suggestions of a motive for such voyages, comes from the silver from the imnes of Laurion in Attica found in the two Egyptian statues of this period mentioned above. It seems likely, then, that Crete received considerable Egyptian and West Semitic influence from the Levant in the 21st century, when the dominant figure in both Egypt and Syro-Palestine was Mitty htp whose royal cult was that of Mitty and his ferocious bull.

There is no documentary evidence of any Egyptian expeditions to the Aegean at this time, but the Mit Rahma inscription, with its descriptions of previously unknown Egyptian expeditions by both land and sea - discussed in detail in Chapter V provides a dramatic warning against the argument from silence in this kind of situation. Thereis no need of conquest, however, to explain such an expansion of cultural influence, the fact that pharaohs with the name Mntw htp had reunited Egypt and established it as the dominant power in the Levant, and that they desired metals unavailable in Northeast Africa and Southwest Asia would be quite sufficient for this. If one accepts an identification of Rhadamanthys with Migw htp there are even some legendary indications that there was an expansion of political power Diodoros wrote about Rhadamanthys. He came also to possess no small number of islands and a large part of the seacoast of Asia, all men delivering themselves into his hands of their own free will because of his justice" At another point, Diodoros specified the islands of Carra and Jonia ". The probable origin of the Greek ethnic name Ioman from the Egyptian lwn (bowman, barbarian) has been described in Volume 1. It is interesting to note in this respect that Mutw, who was specifically concerned with warfate against northern barbarians, had the title Nb list limiting (Lord who represses the barbarians) - Apart from the Laurion silver, there is no archaeological confirmation of any 11th-Dynasty penetration of the Aegean. As far as I am aware, the only Egyptian objects from the Middle Kingdom found around the Aegean outside Crete are a scarab from Sparta and a wooden figure from the Heraion on Samos. "These, however, are much more likely to have been imported during the Archaic period. (776-500 BC) of intense Sannan trade with Egypt. Rhadamanthys was also associated with Boiotia, and, as we have seen in Chapters II and III, this area was strongly influenced by Egypt in the 3rd millennium.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE BULL CULT — CRETAN CONSERVATISM

Although the bull cults in general and that of Mntw in particular remained important in Fgypt until the collapse of its religion in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, there is no doubt that they reached a peak in the 11th Dynasty but diminished during the 12th with the 11se of the new royal cult of the ram- or human-headed Amon. In the Cretan bull cult we seem to have an example of the important point made by the Aegean archaeologist Sinclan Hood, 'Conservatism', . . is a key to many aspects of the Minoan civilization of Crete, where beliefs and customs originally prevalent elsewhere in the Near East tended to linger'. 173 By retaining the centrality of the bull cult for many centuries throughout the Palatial Period, the Cretans preserved the religion of Early Middle Kingdom Egypt. A parallel for such a pattern can be seen in East Asia. Korea and Japan borrowed massively from China in the Sur and Lang dynasties. They preserved many aspects of this culture while Chinese civilization moved on. Within a few hundred vears, these Chinese archaisms, modified by the local culture, came to be considered as peculiarly Korean or Japanese. For example, even today the Korean 'national dress' for women preserves Chinese fashions of the 7th and 8th centuries AD. A more immediately relevant religious parallel can be seen in the virtual disappearance of Buddhism in its original home in India and its survival in Six Lanka. Libet and Southeast Asia, in all of which it has become thoroughly distinctive and local

CONCLUSION

To return to the topic of this chapter, what does the archaeological evidence from Crete before ϵ 2000 BC lead us to believe? Let me begin by reminding the reader of my arguments in Chapter I. Firstly, the evidence strongly suggests that Neolithic Crete received its agriculture and pottery from Anatolia but that it was already in contact with North Africa and the Levant. Secondly, the culture of Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Crete was an amalgam formed by local, Libyan, Egyptian, Levantine, Anatolian and northern influences. It is probable but unprovable that the new form of trading society which developed in the Southern Aegean at the turn of the 3rd inflemnium was stimulated directly or indirectly by similar and earlier developments in the Near East. In any event, there is little doubt that the Aegean region received the potter's wheel, as well as pottery styles

and burial customs, from the Near East. Work on material remains of religious symbolism of Early Minoan Crete indicates very close paral-

lels to Egyptian religion of the contemporary Old Kingdom

It is clear that the Cretan palaces did not emerge gradually and spontaneously from Early Minoan society but represent a break from what went before. The introduction of the palaces and then methods of social organization from patterns that had existed several centuries earlier in the Near East in itself shows clear evidence of Levantine influence. Furthermore, many of the specifics of the construction and decoration of the palaces can have come only from Egypt. It is also striking that in the 21st century BC, just as palatial society was emerging in Crete, the bull cult which was to remain central to it was the state cult of 11th-Dynasty Egypt.

Archaeology can show this only as an array of remarkable concidences. However, when evidence from it is combined with information preserved in Greek tradition and Egyptian inscriptions, a number of intricate and detailed parallels emerge that can be satisfactorily explained only if the cult was in fact borrowed from Egypt at that time. Thus, it is from this contemporary Egyptian royal bull cult and not from any dim chain leading back to Gatal Huyuk in Anatolia more than three thousand years earlier that palatial Crete seems to have gained its most characteristic cult around which the legends of

Minos and the Minotaur were woven.

The social and cultural transformations of Crete in the 21st century 8c coincide with the reunification of Egypt under the 11th Dynasty and the spread of Egyptian influence to the Levant and possibly beyond. The apparent adoption of the dynastic cult would seem to suggest direct Egyptian influence at this critical stage. Some legends, recorded only in Hellenistic times, seem to suggest that there could have been Egyptian rule or suzeramty over Crete and some of the islands at this time, but, given then lateness and the indirectness of the indications contained in them, such a suggestion must remain purely speculative. There is no doubt, however, that Crete was heavily influenced by Egypt in the 21st century.

The massive Near Fastern and particularly Egyptian influence postulated here does not mean that the 'Mimoans' merely copied from their neighbours. Like most other peoples, the Cretans had considerable cultural originality. There is no doubt that, just as they seem to have developed the 'horns of consectation' out of two Egyptian symbols, they made their own developments of the bull cult. For instance, there is only slight evidence that Egyptians practised bull leaping, which became so common in Crete. 'I Similarly, while styles and

motifs were frequently borrowed from Egypt and the Levant, no one has any difficulty in identifying Cretan art, particularly when it contains representations of marine life which were largely absent from the artistic repertoires of the continental Near Fast. Nevertheless, the evidence given in this chapter shows that, although like other regions it had a number of distinctive local characteristics, Early Palatial Crete was definitely part of the civilized world of the Middle East, borrowing most heavily from Egypt and the Levant.

SESŌSTRIS, I The archaeological and documentary evidence for the Greek accounts of his conquests

The odd figure of Sesastrix is one of the problems of the second book of Herodotos.
(Levi, 1971, vol. 1, p. 117, n. 245)

A 1 HOPE I HAVE SHOWN, there are many methods available for studying the Ancient Mediterranean, including archaeology, language, proper names and traditions current among peoples of the region in later times, there are also contemporary documents. These are particularly relevant here because by the beginning of the 3rd millennium be Egypt was certainly, and the Levant was almost certainly, literate. It is also clear that writing was used in both Anatolia and the Aegean during the 2nd millennium, the period with which we are largely concerned.

Here again, it should be made clear that, as with the archaeological evidence, there are no 'smoking guis'. There are no contemporary documents of the type 'X' the Egyptian Phoenician arrived at this place in Greece and established a city-kingdom (t)here', explicitly confirming the Ancient Model. Nor, for that matter, are there others denying it. All one can do in their absence is to look at the circumstantial evidence that Bronze Age documents can provide concerning contacts between the Levant and the Aegean during the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

This chapter focuses on a single text from the richest source of documentary evidence, that from Egypt. His text does not mention Greece directly, we shall be considering documents that do so in Chapter X. Nevertheless, the Mit Rahma inscription and its relationship to the reports by Herodotos and others about the huge conquests

of the Pharaoh Sesostris is, I believe, one of extraordinary importance not only for checking the credibility of Classical sources but also for understanding changes in Anatolia, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Aegean at the end of the Early Bronze Age

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MIT RAHINA INSCRIPTION

For some years, Gerhard Haeny, director of the Swiss Archaeological Institute in Cairo, had suspected that there was a large inscription under one of the colosis of Ramessés II (1200—1224 BC) which had stood in front of the Temple of Prah, built—or enlarged — by the pharaolis of the 19th Dynasty on the site of a 12th-Dynasty one, at Memphis near the present village of Mit Rahma. In 1974 Sami Farag, the inspector of antiquities, extracted the inscription carved on a large slab of stone.

When he saw it, Labib Habachi, the doven of Egyptian Egyptology, immediately recognized the inscription as resembling a much smaller fragment discovered nearby and published by Flinders Petrie in 1909. It was quickly accepted that both belonged to the same 'exceptionally long' inscription. Even though the new 'fragment' was 2 by 2½ metres square, the two pieces make up only a portion of the whole. Both the beginning and the end of the original inscription are missing, as are the tops of all the lines. The text is made still less clear by the fact that the left side of the photograph from which the transcription has been made was out of focus, and it has been impossible to take a new one Nevertheless, Farag and the Belgian Egyptologist Georges Posener quite rightly believed that the inscription was so important that, despite these imperfections, it should be published as soon as possible, and this was done in the Review d Egyptologie in 1980.

Not surprisingly, there has been no complete translation but Posener and Farag have both written notes on some of the inscription's contents. The text refers most frequently to the two Middle Kingdom pharaohs Senwosre I and his son Amenembe II in the early 12th Dynasty between 1959 and 1882 is and it was almost certainly made soon after the reign of the latter. It is largely concerned with expeditions beyond Egypt by both land and sca. Some of these were to Africa but most were to Asia. One expedition went to Smai, two went to Hitty-§ (Lebanon) but another, in which the pharaoh himself took part, was to Stt.

Stt is the name of a country in the far north. It was used during the New Kingdom to represent Nahi in, or the Kingdom of the Mitanni in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, but its use for an Asiatic country has been attested since the 11th Dynasty. The Mit Rahma inscription also referred to expeditions that destroyed other countries to the north, the names of which have not appeared elsewhere in Egyptian geographical texts. The results of these campaigns or raids was the sending back to Egypt of huge quantities of special goods, most frequently livestock, slaves and metals.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INSCRIPTION AS EVIDENCE FOR AN EGYPTIAN EMPIRE IN ASIA DURING THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

What is so startling about this text? Firstly, as we shall see, it appears to provide strong evidence to support much later Greek traditions that Senwore I and Amenembe II did conduct major campaigns far to the north of Egypt. Secondly, it greatly strengthens the case of those Egyptologists and ancient historians who have argued that Middle Kingdom Egypt had an empire or at least a sphere of influence in the Levant. Thirdly, it provides a salutary chastening to Egyptology and ancient history as disciplines because this new and remarkable evidence of many massive campaigns comes from a period that was generally thought to be well reported in both official and literary documents. From these it was known that Egypt was rich and powerful during the early 12th Dynasty, after the seizure of power by its founder Amenembe I.

The dynastic family was from the extreme south. Amenembe's father seems to have come from the Theban nome, or district, and his mother from 13 Sty, the border city of Elephantine or Nubia beyond. Either way, there is little doubt that the Dynasty came from places where, as Gardiner put it, 'the population was at least partly of Nubian race'.' I hus, it would seem reasonable to accept the accuracy of sculptures portraying these pharaohs as Blacks, although there are others that give them a more Asiatic appearance. Despite their southern origin, the Dynasty moved their capital away from Thebes, the capital of the rith Dynasty, to Lisht in Northern Upper Egypt.

Under Senwosie 1 there was a extraordinary amount of construction. As the Egyptologist W. K. Simpson puts it: 'Few sites do not attest the extensive monument-building activity of the king.'. It is particularly interesting that the inscription would seem to have been connected to the great temple of Ptah at Memphis, with which — as we shall see below — the Greek writers specifically linked Sesostris.'

We know that the generals of Amenembe I were active in major campaigns in Nubia and to the west against the Libyans. Senworre I himself appears to have been leading one of the latter when there was an attempt on the life of his father. It is not clear exactly when this took place or even whether it was successful, though it probably was. If this was the case and it took place at the end of the ten-year coregency between the two, Senwosie quickly restored order and the wealth and power of Egypt continued to expand.

Scholars have been divided on the interests and power of the 12th Dynasty in Asia. Up to now, the only direct documentary evidence of conquests in Asia was the stela or commemorative pillar - of the general Nsw Mntw, recording a victorious campaign against Asiat ics and the destruction of their fortresses during the co-regency of Amenembe I and Senwosie In There is, however, considerable indirect evidence of such conquests. Interestingly, Egyptologists' information about Egyptian relations with Asia at this time comes primarily from a literary text of this period, the Story of Similar's

This vivid story, which for many centuries remained one of the most popular in Egypt, is about Smuhe, a courtier who overheard state secrets on the death of Amenembe I. Fearing for his life, he fled into Canaan. He went north as far as Byblos. He then turned 'homewards' and finally settled in Upper Rtnw, which seems to have been inland in Southern Syria." There he became first an adviser to the local king and then a rich chief in his own right. After many years there, the pharaoh Senwosie I gave him permission to return to Egypt and welcomed him back to the court, and his body was buried

No one doubts that the story contains both historical fact and creative fiction; the difficulty lies in distinguishing the two. The story of Simule's life in Rtnw contains few descriptions of warfare, in fact, the generally friendly relations between Egyptians and the natives of the region, the comings and goings of Senwoste I's messengers through Rtnw and the Syran princes' humble approaches to Egyptian authority would all seem to indicate some kind of Egyptian suzerainty over the region. On the other hand, the Story describes Senwoste Las being 'created to smite the Bedouin and to crush the sandfarers' and as 'the one who severs the neck of those who are among the Asiatics' Scenes from the funerary temple of Senwoste I show livestock and booty from vanquished foreigners with files of prisoners including a Syrian. How can one reconcile these contrasting pictures of war and peace? One possibility would be to postulate peace within the sphere of Egypuan suzerainty and warfare beyond it. Before developing this

idea, however, we should look at the very different interpretations that have been made from the archaeological evidence as to whether Middle Kingdom Egypt did or did not have an Asiatic empire

We know that there was intense activity in the mines of Smai. More monuments of Egyptian activities there have been found from the 12th Dynasty than from all the other dynastics put together. Furthermore, relations seem, in contrast to those of other periods, to have been friendly. Unlike the monuments from the Old Kingdom, there are few indications from the Middle Kingdom that the mining expeditions were armed.²

But archaeological evidence of contact with Egypt exists far beyond Sinai. Large numbers of objects from the reign of Senwosre I have been found not only in Syro-Palestine but also in Anatolia. Then significance has, however, been hotly debated during the 20th century AD, as we shall see in this and the following chapter. The Semitist and archaeologist of Palestine William Foxwell Albright summarized the conclusions of British and American archaeology between the wars when he wrote:

Western Palestine, Phoenicia and parts of Syria were dominated by Egyptian power and material culture. . . Monuments attesting to direct connections with the Egyptian court as far back as the early 19th century B.C. [which is when Albright places the 12th Dynasty], have been found far north at Ugarit and far east at Qatna north east of Hums. The finds at Byblus give a vivid idea of the extent to which the art and craftsmanship of Phoenicia were influenced by Egypt. The Execution Texts [from the end of the 12th Dynasty denouncing enemies of Egypt] even enable us to draw the boundary of the direct sphere of Egyptian control across central Syria north of Damascus to the Eleutherus Valley in central Phoenicia. "

This general picture has been maintained and developed by Georges Posener and the Israeli archaeologist Raphael Giveon. Posener drew attention to indications of an Egyptian 'empire' in Syro-Paiestine with tegular communications and transport of boots. He quotes a line from Sinuhe while the latter was living in Rtink, 'the messenger who went to the north or to the south towards the residence (of the Pharaoh) stopped because I was there,' Posener pointed out that Sinuhe lound Egyptians in many of the places he visited. Posener also refers to the famous contemporary text generally known as the Satire of the Trades. This school text, which encouraged boys to study by describing the unpleasantness of all occupations except for that of the scribe, contains the following verse:

The courier goes into the desert, Leaving his goods to his children; Fearful of lions and Asiatics [13mw], He knows lumself [only] when he is in Egypt. 10

The name sum is generally conceded to be non-Egyptian and is probably Semitic. However, specialists are uncertain of its origin. The most likely source would seem to be 'arami (Arami in Assyrian texts), the nomad Aramaeans. There is a semantic difficulty in that the comw appear in Egyptian texts for over a thousand years before we first hear of Aramaeans from Semitic sources in the late 12th-century BC annals of the Assyrian conqueror Tiglath-Pileser 1 17 This, I believe, is overcome by the known persistence of ethnic names and by the striking similarities between the two groups. Both the simw and the 'aramî appear as nomads inhabiting the deserts of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. As the term camw is first found at the end of the Old Kingdom and is common in the Middle, when we know that I was used to transcribe foreign r's and l's, this provides no problem. The distinction between the Egyptian agin and the West Semitic 'aleph at the beginning of the names is more serious. Nevertheless, there are many examples of interchange between them within Semitic, so confusion in a loan would seem quite possible, especially with the possibility of contamination of the Egyptian name from arab, another Semitic name for desert nomads, 18

As the mythologist Fonteniose has pointed out, Homer seems to have known about Aramaeans when he referred to the Arimoi. The context in the *Ihad* in which this occurs is particularly fascinating:

the earth groaned beneath them [the Achaean host] as beneath Zeus that hurleth the thunderbolt in his wrath, when he scourgeth the land about Typhōeos in the country of the Arimoi, where men say is the couch of Typhōeos,¹⁹

The extreme Aryanist Francis Vian, in his systematic attempts to remove all Semitic influences on Greece, placed Homer's Arimoi in a completely mythical fairyland. Fontenrose is much more plausible when he links the land of Typhōeos or Typhōn to Cilicia or Northern Syria, where Aramaeans did become dominant in the 9th century BC. In this context, it is interesting to note that Typhōeos was the counterpart of the Egyptian (5th) Seth, who was the god of disturbance and the desert, notably in the land of Stt. There seems to have been a punning relationship between the two names. Stt was generally seen as Syro-Palestine and points north (see p. 231) – the land of the

rmw Seth's struggle with Horus is clearly reflected in the Greek myths about one between Typhoeos/Typhon and Zeus.

The likelihood of early Greek knowledge of Gmw/Aramaeans is increased by the attestation in Homer of the word eremos from the root eremo, meaning 'solitary or abandoned of place or persons' with special connotations of deserts and their inhabitants, one of its derivatives was eremites, from which comes our 'hermit'. The plausibility of an Afroasiatic etymology for this word is increased by the mability of lexicographers to find an Indo-European one?'

To return to Posener's arguments in Jayour of Egyptian control over Syro Palestine at this time, he interpreted the 1gth-Dynasty golden pectorals or jewels for the chest and royal sphinxes, found not merely in Byblos and Beirut but also at Ugarit, Aleppo and other places, as ceremonial gifts to vassal kings, 1 Stevenson Smith and William Ward have pointed out that there are also statues of private Egyptians from Palestine and Syria and as far away as Crete and southern Anatolia dedicated to local temples and therefore suggesting some long-term presence in these regions? On the other side of the coin, Posener showed that the Asiatics in a tomb painting from Beni Hasan in Central Egypt of the early 19th century BC were not starving Bedouin, as they are commonly supposed to have been, but a prosperous chief with his entourage, probably on a trading and/orofficial mission. He connected this to the many Asiatic imports and slaves in Egypt during the 12th Dynasty. Other paintings from early in the reign of Senwosie I show not merely Egyptian and Nubian but also Asiatic soldiers. 20

Other scholars, however, have been more more sceptical of this Asiatic 'empire'. Wolfgang Elekk, who has dominated German Egyptology for the last thirty years, dismisses any information about Syria from Sinuhe's claims, suggesting that the author may have merely been in South Palestine." Disregarding the idea of an Egyptian 'empire' in Asia, Helck admitted there were close contacts of an almost colonial type with Byblos but believes the undoubted exchange of material goods with places as far away as Afghanistan and the considerable number of Asian slaves in Egypt during the 12th Dynasty were the result of indirect trade largely through Syrian middlemen.

The American scholar and great champion of the Lebanese and Phoenicians, William Ward, is equally sceptical of any Asiatic 'empire' of the Middle Kingdom. He concedes that evidence from Smuhe indicates the presence of Egyptians in Palestine, but makes the point that Smuhe wrote that he had to sneak past a defensive wall built on the eastern frontier of Egypt, which would make Egyptian control of the territory many miles beyond this line seem unlikely." However, even

when they were well maintained and guarded, the walls of traditional empires such as China and Rome seldom marked their frontiers but usually divided their settled from their nomadic zones. I see no rea-

son to deny this possibility in Egypt

There seemed to be stalemate on this issue, with the leading figures of French and German Egyptology fixed in opposition to each other. Posener immediately recognized the help the discovery of the Mit Rahma inscription could give to his case and wrote in his note describing it:

Besides much interesting information in the fields of vocabulary, geography and economy, the inscription from Mit Rahma casts a new light on the foreign policy of the early kings of the twelfth dynasty. I would like to mist on this point. Some scholars like Helck and recently Frandsen, writing on the relations of Egypt with the neighbouring countries, have strongly reduced the impact of the twelfth dynasty on Syria and Palestine.

We do not know the exact nature of the relations. Even if they were strictly reduced to commerce, the parties were not equal. A big and powerful state such as Egypt inevitably exercised a strong pressure on the small principalities of Asia. This led to a certain degree of domination propped up by some military expeditions.

Now with the testimony of the Mit Rahma inscription, we see that we should not minimise the hold of Egypt over Syria and Palestine

from the beginning of the twelfth dynasty."

Unfortunately, Posener has since died and never published any development of the implications of the discovery. Wolfgang Helck, however, has shown an open-mindedness and disinterested commitment to the pursuit of knowledge, which is rare even among the greatest scholars. In a short article he accepted that Posener's challenge to him and other minimalists on the basis of the Mit Rahina inscription was correct, 'at least in the geographical extent' of Egyptian power in Syria and Palestine during the Middle Kingdom. What is more, Helck now maintains that Senwosre I or at least his son and hen Amenemhet II made expeditions still further north.'

SENWOSRE AND SESÓSTRIS

The Mit Rahma inscription raises even more important issues than the existence or non-existence of a Middle Kingdom 'empire' in Syro-Palestine. These concern the strengthening of the identification of Senwosre I with Sesostris. Sesostris was described by Herodotos and other Greek writers as the great Egyptian conqueror and was placed by Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian of the 3rd century BC, in the 12th Dynasty.

The ordering of signs within cartouches, the ovals of rope drawn round the names of pharaohs, is very naegular. Initially Egyptologists. rendered the common pharaoh's name of the 12th Dynasty as Wsit sn. Champollion and a number of his students were unable to see a resemblance between this and Sesostris, Sesoosis or Sesonchosis and the other variants of the name given by the Greeks to the Egyptian. world conqueror. Thus, they maintained that Sesostris was fictitious and that his supposed conquests were exaggerations of those made by the later pharaohs Ramesses II in the 13th century BC and Sheshonk in the 9th. Such a solution was congenial for a number of reasons Firstly, it confirmed the Beneralisen or 'knowing better' of scientific modern Egyptologists over Herodotos and the creditions flate' Greeks Secondly, it limited the number and scope of foreign conquests by the African and supposedly passive Egyptians. It is also possible that the reluctance to link the names came from the early 19th-century Christian dislike of early Egyptian history, where it threatened biblical chronology, this attitude was expressed by the German ancient historian Barthold Niebulu, when he denied the actuality of Egyptian history before the Hyksos."

However, there were different opinions and a number of scholars, including Niebuhi's secretary Christian Bunsen, were impressed by the fact that Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian of the 3rd tentury BC, had clearly placed Sesostris in the 12th Dynasty. Thus, they wanted to identify him with one or all of the three pharaohis thought to be called Wist sn. 'In 1900, the German Egyptologist Kurt Sethe solved the problem by reading the royal name not as Wirt sn but as S n Wirt (Man of the Goddess Wirt). He argued that this name, conventionally rendered as Senwosre, was the origin of Sesostris.' The plausibility of this identification of Sesostris with Senwosre was so overwhelming that it was accepted almost immediately and it has not been challenged in the last seventy-five years.

While the name imm in list (Amon to the fore) is an obvious one for pharaohs whose known cult was of Amon, S-n Wsrt is both pizzling and interesting. The name Wsrt was derived from the adjective *test* meaning 'strong, wealthy and influential'. She was an ancient but obscure goddess, probably a local Theban form of Hathor, the cow goddess of beauty: both goddesses were associated with far away places and Hathor was specifically the patron deity of precious innerals and their sources." The pharaoh's association with Hathor would seem to be preserved by Diodoros when he refers to Sesostris' daughter Athyrtis who guided her father on his conquests.

As we shall see, an association with Hathor/Wsrt would be particularly appropriate in the light of Senwoste's later conquests and concern with precious metals and stones. It is unclear, however, whether the name Senwoste was given before or after these activities had begun. Technically, Senwoste was what Egyptologists call the nomen within the pharaoh's long titulary. Usually this was given to him before his accession to the throne and this was certainly the case with later pharaohs with the same nomen. This could be the case here, as it seems that Ameneithe I was also very concerned with foreign conquest. It is also possible that the name was given after some of Senwoste's conquests, while ruling in conjunction with his father. At the very least the name was a remarkably apt precursor of the most notable activities of his reign.

Manetho's Sesõstris

At this point, in order to examine the identification further, I shall first look at the Greek and late Egyptian writers' descriptions of Sesostris before turning to the Egyptian archaeological and inscriptional evidence about Senwosre I.

This identification has, however, left some problems. Firstly, Manetho had placed Sesöstris as the third pharaoh in the 12th Dynasty. According to him, the great conqueror had been preceded by Ammenemes, the founder of the Dynasty, then Sesonchosis, then Ammanemes, who was murdered by his own eutruchs. Here he seems to have garbled a rather confusing sequence of monatchs which can now be roughly established as follows.

Amenemhe I	1979-1950 BC
Senwosre I	1959-1914
Amenembe II	1917-1882
Senwosre II	1884-1878
Senwosre III	1878-1859
Amenembe III	1859-1814
Amenembe IV	1814-1805
Sebeknofru	1805-1801

Manetho appears to have confused Senwosre I, whom he called Sesonchosis, with Senwosres II and III. Senwosret III was indeed a powerful ruler and he seems to have made more conquests in Africa than any of his predecessors. The possibility must therefore be faced that later writers such as Herodotos may have attributed achievements of Senwosre I's descendents, especially Senwosre III, to their ancestor.

The second problem that Manetho poses comes from his description of Sesostris:

In time years he subdued the whole of Asia and Europe as far as Thrace, everywhere erecting memorials of his conquests of the tribes [ethně]. Upon stelae [pillars] he engraved for a valiant race the secret parts of a man, for an ignoble race those of a woman. Accordingly he was esteemed by the Egyptians as the next in rank to Osiris. 42

This image, seemingly created to attract the readers' interest if not prurience, and linked to Sesostris' great and godlike reputation, would seem to strengthen modern classicists' image of Manetho as typical of the inconsequential and unreliable Hellenistic historians. However, as I shall try to show below, there is some reality behind both of these reports.

Herodotos' Sesôstus

Before dealing with these, we should look at two other similar descriptions of the conqueror, those of Herodotos in the 5th century and of Diodoros Sikeliotes in the 1st century BC. The former wrote

As none of the other kings on the priests' roll left any memorial at all, I will pass on to say something of Sesostus, who succeeded them. Sesostris, the priests said, sailed first with a fleet of warships from the Arabian gulf along the coast of the Indian Ocean, subdining the coastal tribes as he went, until he found that shoal water made further progress impossible, then on his return to Egypt (still according to the priests' account) he raised a powerful army and marched across the continent, reducing to subjection every nation [ethnos] in his path. Whenever he encountered a confagous enemy who fought valuantly for freedom, he erected pillars on the spot mscribed with his own name and country, and a sentence to indicate that by the might of his armed forces he had won the victory, if, however, a town fell easily into his hands without a struggle, he made an addition to the inscription on the pillar - for not only did he record upon it the same facts as before, but added the picture of a woman's genitals, meaning to show that the people of that town were no braver than women. Thus his victorious progress through Asia continued, until he entered Europe and defeated the Scythtans and Thracians, this, I think, was the furthest point the Egyptian army reached for the memorial columns are to be seen on this part of the country but not beyond. On his way back Sesostris came

to the river Phasis [in Colchis], and it is quite possible that he here detached a body of troops from his army and left them behind to settle—or, on the other hand, it may be that some of his men were sick of their travels and deserted. I cannot say with certainty which supposition is the right one, but it is undoubtedly a fact that the Colchians are of Egyptian descent.

Most of the memorial pillars which King Sesöstris erected in conquered countries have disappeared, but I have seen some myself in Palestine, with the inscription I mentioned and the drawing of a woman's genitals. In Ionia also there are two images of Sesöstris cut on rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, the other between Sardis and Smyrna, in each case the carved figure is nearly seven feet high and represents a man with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment to match—partly Egyptian partly Ethiopian. Across the breast from shoulder to shoulder runs an inscription, cut in the Egyptian sacred script: by the strength of my shoulders I won this land.

The priests went on to tell me that Sesöstris, on his return home with a host of prisoners from the conquered countries, was met at Daphnae, near Pelusium, by his brother, whom he had left to govern Egypt during his absence, and invited with his sons to a banquet. While they were at dinner, his brother piled faggots round the building and set them on fire. . . with the result that two of his sons were burnt to death, while the others together with their father, were saved.

Sesöstris was the only Egyptian king to rule Ethiopia. As memotials of his reign he left stone statues of himself and his wife, each forty-five feet high, and statues thrity feet high of each of his four sons. They were erected in front of the temple of Hephaestus [Ptah]. Long afterwards the priest of Hephaestus would not allow Darius king of Persia to erect a statue of himself in front of these, because (as he put it) his deeds had not been as great as those of Sesöstris the Egyptian; the conquests of Sesöstris, no less extensive than those of Darius, included the Scythians, whom Darius had been unable to subdue; it was not right therefore, that he should put his statue in front of those dedicated by a monarch whose achievements he had failed to surpass. Darius, they say, admitted the truth of this.⁴¹

Diodoros' Sesŏstris

Diodoros' still longer description of the pharaoh, whom he calls Sesoosis, is similar to that of Herodotos and would seem to derive from

the earlier historian directly as well as from the same Egy man sources. The passage on his conquests is as follows:

First of all Sesoosis, his companions also accompanying him, was sent by his father with an army into Arabia, where he —, . conquered the entire nation of the Arabs, which had never been en slaved before his day; and then, on being sent to the regions of the west, he subdued the larger part of Libva though in years still no more than a youth. And when he ascended the throne upon the death of his father, being filled with a confidence by reason of his earlier exploits he undertook to conquer the inhabited earth

After he had made ready his army he marched first of all against the Ethiopians who dwell south of Egypt, and after conquering them he forced the people to pay a tribate in chony, gold and the tusks of elephants. Then he sent out a fleet of four hundred ships into the Red Sea, being the first Egyptian to build warships, ai d not only took possession of the islands in those waters, but also subdued the coast of the mainland as far as India, while he himself made his way by land with his army and subdified all Asia. Not only did he, in fact visit the territory which was afterwards won by Alexander of Macedon, but also certain peoples into whose countries Alexander did not cross. For he even passed over the Ganges and visited all of India as far as the Ocean, as well as the tribes of the Scythians as faras the river Tanais, which divides Europe from Asia, and it was at this time, they say, that some of the Egyptians who were left behind. near the Lake Macotis [the Sea of Azov] founded the nation of Colchi . In the same way he brought all the rest of Asia into subject tion as well as most of the Cyclades Islands. And after he had crossed into Europe and was on his way through the whole length of Thrace he nearly lost his army through lack of food and the difficult nature of the land. Consequently he fixed the limits of his expedition in Thrace, and set up stelae in many parts of the regions which he had acquired. He dealt gently with all conquered peoples and, after concluding his campaigns in time years, commanded the nations to bring presents each year to Egypt according to their ability, while he himself, assembling a mass of captives that has never been surpassed and a mass of other booty . . .

Although many great deeds have been credited to Sesocsis, his magnificence seems best to have been shown in the treatmen, which he accorded to the foreign potentates when he went forth from his palace. The kings whom he had allowed to continue their rule over the peoples which he subdued and all others who received from him the most important positions of command would present

themselves in Egypt at specified times bringing him gifts, and the king would welcome them and in all other matters show them honour and special preferment, but whenever he intended to visit a temple or city he would remove the horses from his four-horse chariot and in their place yoke the kings and other potentates, taking them four at a time.⁴⁴

THE REAL AND THE FANTASTIC IN THE SESÖSTRIS STORIES

How many of these apparently extravagant stories should we believe? Most scholars today accept the identification of Sesöstiis/Sesöösis with Senwoste I and III and believe that there is a historical kernel to the stories. However, they maintain that this kernel is relatively small and very deeply buried. According to them, the legendary figure of Sesöstiis has been massively contaminated by features borrowed from later conquering pharaohs – notably Ramessés II of the 19th and Sheshonk of the 22nd Dynasty – and he has been built up into a pharaonic ideal, an Egyptian conqueror who could rival the later triumphs of the Persians and Greeks. Herodotos wrote when the Persian Empire was still flourishing and Manetho and Diodotos after the extraordinary conquests of Alexander the Great. It would seem likely that there is some truth in these interpretations, although they clearly smack of Besserwissen (readers of the first volume of Black Athena will know I see explanations illustrating this as less reliable than the ancient sources).

However, other scholars, notably Georges Posener, have insisted that much of the Sesostris legend dates back to the Middle Kingdom in two senses: firstly, the stories have a considerable factual basis and, secondly, from the end of the Old Kingdom there was a conscious use of propaganda for many purposes but in particular for the creation of

a royal myth.46

The Egyptian word for this was md t (speech, discourse) from which the Greek mythos derives. Mdw or mwdu (Demotic mt, Coptic moute or mout) means 'speak or advise' as a verb or 'speech or words' as a noun. Mdw ntr means 'word of god' or, in plural, 'sacred writings'; the expression dd mdu, Demotic dd md(t), Coptic de mtau, is 'speaking words' or 'magic'. Mdt is 'speech, words or legal plea'. However, it is attested as being vocalized as met or met. Thus the exact form from which the Greek word mythos was borrowed is obscure. Nevertheless, the loose phonetic fit should be seen in the light of the tight semantic correspondence between mdw/mdt and mythos and the many words with that stem.⁴⁷

To return to the reports on Sesostris, instead of denigrating or dismissing the claims of 'credulous ancients', it would seem worthwhile to test them in the light of other sources of information. Largued in Volume 1 that it would be helpful to take widespread and uncontested ancient traditions as working hypotheses. However, it seems sensible to take only those elements of the stories that were generally accepted in Antiquity and I therefore now want to examine what those elements were.

As far as I am aware, the only one that was challenged at the time was that of Sesóstris having conquered India, although it is interesting that Herodotos makes no mention of Sesóstris having been to Mesopotamia. It would seem, therefore, that Sesostris' supposed northern conquests should be limited to 'Asia (the boundaries of which will be discussed below), Colchis (Georgia). Thrace (the Southeastern Balkans) and Scythia in South Russia, but there is some doubt about the last two of these.

Modern writers have made a plausible case that the conquests of Thrace and Scythia should not be treated as factual because, just as Hellenistic Egyptians exaggerated the conquests of Sesostris to make them surpass those of Alexander, claims made during or after the Persian conquest of Egypt would try to outdo the conquests of the great Persian conquerors, Cyrus and Darius. This would seem to be supported by the legend of Darius being refused permission to have his statue erected in front of the temple of Ptah at Memphis because the Persians had failed, where Sesostris had succeeded, in conquering Scythia. The same argument could also be made for Nubra, which the Persians were unable to conquer, except that in this case there is clear inscriptional, archaeological and cultic evidence to show that Senwore I and III were successful there. Thus, an Egyptian passage through 'Asia' Even so, such a possibility will be examined

This brings us to the difficulty posed by the ambiguity of the term 'Asia'. The Greek name derives from an early local name found in the kingdom of Assuwa, reported in Hutite texts as being in Western Anatolia, and the city name Assos in the Troad, the region around Irox. When the Lydian kingdom of Western Anatolia was incorporated into the Persian Empire in the 6th century BC, Ioman geographers extended the meaning of 'Asia' in two ways, to cover the whole of Anatolia and also to be the name for one of the three continents, with Europe and Libya (Africa).

There is no doubt that Herodotos followed his predecessors in using the second meaning and, given the absence in his writings of any term for Anatolia, it would seem quite probable that, like both

eather and later geographers, he also used 'Asia' as the name for what was later called 'Asia Minor'. Thus, when Herodotos wrote about Sesostris' 'victorious progress through Asia (having) continued, until he entered Europe', he may well have been referring merely to a march through Anatolia. I believe that it was this ambiguity of the name 'Asia' that allowed Diodoros and other later writers to make Sesostris' conquests continental in scope.

This later expansion of Sesostris conquests must be seen in the light of the need of Diodoros and/or his sources to compete with the achievements of Alexander the Great. We shall see below the close parallels in the 'romances' about the two.' Here it is simply worth noting that Diodoros' description of the young Sesostris' ambitions to conquer the world after his father's death sounds very much like Alexander's attitude to his father Philip. On the other hand, this probably fictional element is tied to Sesostris' subduing 'the larger part of Libya though in years still no more than a youth', which would seem to have sound historical backing. Similarly, Manetho's report that Sesostris' predecessor Ammanemes had been 'murdered by his own eunuchs' seems to have been confirmed by modern Egyptology.'-

We can trace this same mixture of the fantastic and the factual in many of the stories told by Herodotos and Diodoros. For instance, the one of Sesostius' brother trying to burn him to death would seem incredible because of its folkloric character." Yet other stories, which could seem equally or more fantastic, may surprisingly have a factual basis. For instance, the descriptions of the pharaoh placing on stelae inscriptions with male and female genitals, which appears in Herodotos, Manetho and Diodoros, would seem to have a basis in fact. We know that the word hm $\Box b = (coward)$ contains the signs for both the female and male genitalia; and it had clear connotations of male homosexuality in a pejorative sense and was related to hmt $\Box b = (woman)$. Hm was used to refer to enemies and to cowards in the Egyptian army in military documents during the Middle Kingdom, and also in the frontier stelae set up by Senwosre III at Semna and Uronarti on the Nubian Upper Nile.

Another 'extravagance' of Diodoros was his reference to Sesöstris' chariot having been pulled by Egyptian potentates and foreign kings. Sethe, Malaise and Burton object to this, arguing that there is no evidence of chariots or horses in the Middle Kingdom and that they were in fact introduced to Egypt by the Hyksos invaders.' But the situation is not quite as clear-cut as they make out. The burial of a horse that had worn a bit has been found near the Middle Kingdom fortifications at Buhen in Nubia and, if the claims for Sesöstris' widespread conquests to the north are justified, Egyptians would have been in

contact with peoples using at least simple chariots. Evidence from cylinder seals shows that these were known in Fastern Anatoba by the end of the 20th century is: "However, since this is a circular argument, it is not satisfactory. Thus, it is probable that the reference to a chariot with horses was a later gloss.

On the other hand, Diodoros claim that Sesostris was pulled by high officials and foreign kings is extremely plausible given the long-standing Egyptian tradition of carrying or pulling the statues of gods on religious visits to towns. It should be stressed that Senwosre I, unlike his predecessors, who were merely 'divine', manifestations of a god or 'godlike', way a god. Further support for the story that he was pulled by high officials and foreign kings comes from the fact that Diodoros refers to the pharaoh's visiting 'a temple or city.

If even some of the most 'fautastic claims Herodotos made about Sesostris seem to contain an element of truth, what are we to make of the more substantial ones of his vast conquests? Before tackling these directly, we should consider why they should have been dismissed by

modern scholarship.

The clams for extensive conquests were not rejected on the basis of detailed archaeological or historical research but because they were 'known' to be inherently absurd. This was suspected by scholars even before the destruction of the Ancient Model. In Volume 1, 1 mentioned that I dward Gibbon's first historical essay, written in 1752 at the age of lifteen, was on the Age of Sesostris' but that by 1780 he had torn it up because, as he wrote, at a riper age I no longer presume to connect the Greek, the Jewish and the I gyptian antiquities which are lost in a distant cloud. By the 1820s and 1830s, the racial hierarchy was established and the image of the Egyptians as a peculiar isolated people was securely in place. These stereotypes completely precluded the notion of Egyptian empires in Asia or Europe.

Thus, despite the confirmation of 12th-Dynasty conquests in Africa and of some details of the Greek stories about the pharaoh, for the past 150 years it has been taken as axiomatic that the Greek stories of Sesŏstris' northern conquests were essentially false." As so often, it was only the French classicist Paul Foucart who stood out against this trend, arguing that there was no justification for dismissing the wide-spread ancient belief out of hand." No attempt has been made to assess the likelihood of these stories in the light of the mass of new information that has become available since their

If one excludes Diodoros' claims that Sesóstris reached India and beyond, one is left with a scheme which begins with his conquests of Ethiopia and Libva and the naval expeditions to the 'Red Sea', by which Greeks generally meant the Indian Ocean. These were

followed by his overland campaigns for nine years through Anatolia, Thrace and apparently around the Black Sea through Scythia to Colchis. There are also imprecise suggestions of conquests in Mesopotamia and Persia.

What does 'conquer' mean in such contexts? Despite Egyptian claims of Sesőstris' benevolence, the conquests would seem to have been hor rible experiences for the peoples who experienced them. Both the Egyptian and the Classical reports are of destructions, seizures of people and wealth and the imposition of regular tribute. The erection of stelae suggests some attempt to maintain control but there is no suggestion of his having established a long-lived empire. Nevertheless, there was also a tradition, discussed below, that colonies were established.

MIDDLE KINGDOM EGYPT'S MILITARY CAPABILITY

We know from the contemporary story of the shipwrecked sailor' that Egyptians were sailing south to tropical lands during the Middle Kingdom." We also know from the famous frieze of Queen Hashepsowe at Deir el Bahri, across the Nile from Thebes, that by the 15th century BC official fleets were sailing to the coasts of East Africa. 63

Nevertheless, Burton maintains that, while Egyptians had used ships 'for purposes of war' since the Old Kingdom, no illustrations of ships specially designed for war appear until the great battle against the Peoples of the Sea in the reign of Ramesses III near the beginning of the 12th century BC. However, we know from documentary evidence that the navies of the 18th Dynasty were specialized and competent. Since our knowledge of Middle Kingdom fleets is far from complete, we cannot preclude the possibility that such ships existed some centuries earlier. Even so, there is some reason to doubt Diodoros' statement that Sesöstris was 'the first to build ships of war. Furthermore, it would seem unlikely—though in view of the known scale of his military operations not impossible—that he sent 400 ships to the Red Sea or Indian Ocean. Similarly, there are problems with Herodotos' statement:

[he] sailed first with a fleet of warships from the Arabian gulf along the coast of the Indian Ocean, subduing the coastal tribes as he went, until he found that shoal water (brachys) made further progress impossible.⁶⁵

This would seem to indicate some confusion between ocean voyages and those up the Nile, where we know that shoat water did cause diffi-

culties to 12th-Dynasty military expeditions "Even so, there is no mitrmsic reason for doubling the first part of Herodotos statement

At first glance the reports about Sesostris' campaigns by land would seem unlikely because his armies lacked the chariots, horses and even the swords one normally associates with ancient warfare and the conquests of the Assyrian Tiglath Pilesar, the Persian Cyrus the Great of Alexander. It should be remembered, however, that some three hundred years before Sesostris, the Mesopotamian Sargon the Great had made vast conquests over some of the same terrain with no better equipment. Furthermore, the presence of horses did not mean that later armies relied on them for transport. In fact, it was not until the 19th century at that any substitute for marching was found for moving soldiers and many of their supplies overland.

We know from the Mit Rahma inscription that slups were used to bring booty back to Egypt. Therefore it would seem possible that supplies to atmice on the coast could be brought the same way. We also know that donkeys were already in use as pack animals in both Syria and Anatolia and were thus available to the Egyptian armies. If the reports of Sesöstris' campaigns are reliable, most supplies seem to have been seized from the local populations. It is interesting to note that the only difficulties Diodoros reported for Sesöstris' armies were in relatively poor and remote. Thrace and Scytlia, where the almost lost his army through lack of food and the difficult nature of the land', 87.

There are many representations from this period of uniformed hypotian, Nubian and Asiatic troops who are well armed with spears, bows and maces." However, the most impressive picture of the scale and effectiveness of the armies of the 12th Dynasty came from the remains of their fortifications in Nubia, most of which are now flooded by the Aswan High Dam. William Adams, the authority on Nubia, writes about these:

Not content with the spoil of the southern lands, the pharaohs proceeded to fortify the Nile in the northern Babrel Hajar with a chain of the mightiest fortifications ever erected in the ancient world. Four thousand years after their bindding, and three thousand years after their final abandonment, the mild walls of these gargantnan relics still rose in places forty feet above the desert sand. . . The Second Cataract forts were apparently built over a period of about a hundred years, in the reigns of Senwosre I, Senwosre II and Senwosre III. They were evidently conceived as forming a single complex, and may have been under unified command. Similarities of plan suggest that several of the forts were designed by the same

architect and were built almost simultaneously. . . Buhen staggers the imagination not only by its size but by the complexity of its defences. Bastions, loopholes, fosse, drawbridge, glacis - virtually all of the classic elements of medieval fortification are present in this structure . . . To a greater or lesser degree, the same features are incorporated in most of the other Middle Kingdom fortresses.69

Given the known wealth and centralization of Egypt in the reign of Sesostris and the evidence from Nubia of the ability to concentrate these resources for military purposes, there would seem no intrinsic reason why such a state with such a military machine should not have made considerable conquests in Asia. However, this ability does not mean that such conquests actually took place, for that we need more evidence. It is this which I hope to provide below.

> THE BACKGROUND Egyptian chronology for the 4th and ard millenniums BC

Before searching for any archaeological traces of Sesostris' conquests, it is necessary to sort out, as far as is possible, the dating of the supposed campaigns. The 12th Dynasty has clear records of the lengths of the reigns of its pharaohs but it also would seem to have a relatively firm temporal anchor. This is based on the coincidence of the beginning of the solar new year with the rising of the star Sothis which announced the Nile Flood, recorded in year 7 of the reign of Senwoste III. If the observation were made in Memphis this would have been in 1872 BC. This correspondence has been recognized by Egyptologists for many years and a chronology for the whole dynasty from 1991 to 1786 was established by the Egyptologist and specialist in Egyptian astronomy R. A. Parker in 1950. Over the next decades, however, Parker and others began looking at the traditional reign lengths of the pharaohs so as to compress these and lengthen every co-regency. In this way the dynasty was shortened by twelve years and is now set between 1979 and 1801 BC.71

At the same time, a number of German scholars began to argue that the observation of the rising of Sothis had not taken place at Memplus or Heliopolis, on or near the 30° latitude, but 6 degrees further south, on the frontier at Flephantine. The coincidence of the rising with the beginning of the solar new year would, then, have taken place in 1830. BC, putting the dynasty with a further reduction of forty-two years between 1937 and 1759 BC Because of the raising of the Greek cerainic dates, which will be discussed in later chapters, this now seems unlikely, though it cannot be ruled out.

The chronology of the Egyptian Old Kingdom

The difficulties of lower or 'short' chronologies in general and the forces within scholarship that have led to their being proposed are made very clear by 20th-century dating of earlier Egyptian history. To understand this process at work in academia, I believe it is helpful to make a digression to consider the dating of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, even though this is not strictly speaking necessary for the dating of the 12th Dynasty.

By the beginning of this century, all the Egyptian chronologies that we now possess were available to scholars and the Sorlic date had been calculated. Thus, all chronologies since then have been calculated by combining the Sorlic date with Egyptian records, 5

The pharaonic reigns of the rith Dynasty are less well established than those of the right but here there is evidence that the dynasty as a whole seems to have lasted for 160 + years, although modern scholars

prefer a length of 149.

This duration of the 11th Dynasty comes from the so-called Jurn Canon. The Canon is a list of pharaolis and their dates drawn up during the 19th Dynasty in the 13th century BC. Its listing strikingly tesembles what we know from Manetho's history written for the Greek rulers of Egypt about one thousand years later. The Turm Canon seems to have been complete when it was acquired by the French consul in Egypt, Drovetti However, it was in fragments by the time Champollion was able to see it, in Turm, where it has been for the past 180 years and from which it gets its name. Immense thought and labour has been put into the reassembling of these tiny and fragile pieces. Not only the text and its obverse, a tax document, but the libres of the papyrus have been used to make joins and establish relationships.35 Nevertheless, one key figure does appear to be relatively well established. It is that of 955 years from the beginning of the reign of the first pharaoh Menes to the end of the 6th or 8th Dynasty. the last dynasty of the Old Kingdom and its epigonoi or degenerate successors.

Accepting this, there is still a problem with the so-called 1st Intermediate Period after the fall of the fifth or 8th Dynasty. The specialist in intermediate periods, Hans Stock, writing in the 1930s, argued for the following:

7th Dynasty (c. 27) 2190-2163 BC 8th Dynasty (c. 65) 2175-2110 BC 9th Dynasty (c. 45) 2175-2130 BC Toth Dynasty (c. 90) 2130-2040 BC. 76 This pattern is very different from that given at the beginning of the 20th century AD. The American Egyptologist James Breasted proposed the following chronology in 1906.

7th Dynasty 2475 BC 8th Dynasty 2475 BC 9th Dynasty 2445 BC 11th Dynasty 2160 BC.²⁷

Breasted's contemporary, the ancient historian and polymath Eduard Meyer, put the whole 1st Intermediate Period between 2440 * 100 years and 2160 BC. * As shown above, with Stock's chronology, recent scholarship has minimized the length of this break. At the end of his life Gardiner saw the Intermediate Period as having lasted between one lumdred and two hundred years. 'William Hayes, writing in the Cambridge Ancient History, put it at a mere forty-eight years and he saw the 11th-Dynasty unification of Egypt as having taken place only in 2040 BC, there is no doubt that most Egyptologists today would agree with him.⁸⁰

This compression of the 1st Intermediate Period must be seen as part of the general drive to lower the dates of Egyptian history. Why should scholars want to down-date, if, as has been mentioned above, no new Egyptian chronologies have been discovered since the time of Breasted and Meyer? I think the trend is best explained in terms of the sociology of knowledge. Since the First World War, archaeologists and ancient historians have intensified their struggle to achieve 'scientific' status. Their drive can be expressed as the desire to be 'sounder than thou'. Cautious and conservative scholars became terrified above all of the accusation of being speculative. At the same time, they were expected to be innovative. In this situation, the only room for innovation was to be hypercritical of every form of evidence but particularly of that from ancient documentary sources. Thus, they have tended to limit all ancient claims in both space and time.

Ironically, this tendency is now being checked by information from the 'hard' sciences, which the Egyptologists and archaeologists have tried to emulate. As seen throughout this book, the new sources of information have tended to increase the historical depth and geographical breadth of ancient activities.

In this case, the challenge has come from radio-carbon. In 1979, the broad-ranging archaeologist of Anatolia James Mellaart published a startling article in the standard British journal *Antiquaty*, entitled 'Egyptian and Near Eastern chronology: a dilemma.' He argued in it

that the convention that maintained that radio-carbon dating could not be used in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where there were other sources for chronology, was no longer valid since the recalibration and refining of the chronology of carbon dates. Mellaart proposed, therefore, to assess their chronologies in the light of this new evidence. His conclusion for Egypt was that carbon datings indicated that the 1st Dynasty began around 3 joo bc. Thus, all dates in Egyptian history should be raised by three hundred years until one reached the foundation of the New Kingdom, for which he agreed that the conventional date of 1567 bc was credible.

The point at which he 'crossed over' from his high chronology to the conventional one was during the 2nd Intermediate Period, for much of which Egypt was dominated by the Hyksos invaders from the north." He maintained that this period was far longer than was usually supposed. Where the Candridge Ancient History estimates the gap between the fall of the 12th Dynasty and the 1se of the 18th to be 219 years, between 1786 and 1567 BC. Mellaart put it at 379 years, between 1916 and 1567 BC. This topic will be taken up in greater detail in Chapter VIII, but it should be noted here that he was able to back his argument for a long 2nd Intermediate Period by pointing out that the Hyksos were in Egypt in the 18th century and that both Manetho and contemporary monuments indicate that there were a large number of pharaolis from the 13th Dynasty that preceded the Hyksos arrival.

Mellaart admitted that his placing the 12th Dynasty from 2155 to 1946 BC could not be reconciled with the Sothic date but he saw no way of reconciling that with what seemed to him to be the irrefutable evidence from radio-carbon.⁶²

Mellant's arguments on the Egyptian and Palestinian dating upset the whole Egyptological establishment, which up to then had been divided between supporters of the 'middle chronology' and those who were trying to establish even lower chronologies. His article was immediately challenged by two Egyptologists, Barry Kemp and James Weinstein, and the arguments quickly became too technical and acrimonious for most readers to follow?' Nevertheless, the attacks had the effect of discrediting Mellant's revision.

Eight years later, in 1987, a detailed report of new carbon datings from the pyramids was published. A group of Swiss and American scholars led by Herbert Haas collected sixty-four fresh organic samples from the pyramids and tested them in laboratories in Texas and Switzerland. Their results were amazing, for they required that the periodization of the Cambridge Ancient History be raised by 374 years.³⁹

In their discussions of previous radio-carbon dating, which had tended to support the conventional chronology, Haas and his colleagues drew attention to the fact that the previous samples were far from fresh and that earlier researchers had used less advanced and precise techniques and that calibrations had been irregular. 85

The Texans and the Swiss do not raise another difference that exists between their work and that of many other researchers, for example that of the Cambridge archaeologist Ian Shaw in his article 'Egyptian chronology and the Irish oak calibration' published in 1985.86 While Shaw and the others worked closely with Egyptologists and were eager to accommodate their findings into conventional chronology and appear to have been disappointed when this was not possible, Haas and his colleagues were much more concerned with technicalities and appear to have gone into the question with open minds, though they were surprised at the extent to which their dating differed from that of the Cambridge Ancient History. 52 Responses to the work of Haas and his colleagues have so far been muted. One objection is that the Texans and Swiss have failed to pay due attention to the difference between short-lived and long-lived material and the lack of precision in dating when the sample comes from a substantial log in which the central tree rings may have died decades or centuries before it was built into the pyramid. Haas and his team attempt to counter this by claiming that the pyramids often took decades to build.48 Furthermore, it would seem that only a minority of the samples were long-lived and thus could be older than the pyramids. Nevertheless. I believe that the team's claim that the dates given in the Cambridge Ancient History should be raised by 374 years needs to be reduced somewhat.

Interestingly, however, the chief argument against the Texan and Swiss high datings is that they do not accord with earlier radio-carbon dates for Egypt and the chronology based on historic sources. Furthermore, they do not fit with Palestinian chronology, which is itself based on Egyptian parallels and radio-carbon.**

Against this, it can it be argued that Haas and his colleagues have in fact taken the earlier Egyptian radio-carbon dates into account. Furthermore, while their dates do not fit with the historic chronology as it is reconstructed today, if one rounds them down for the reasons stated above, they do accord with those of Breasted and his contemporaries, which were based on the same Egyptian annals. As I stated above, I believe that Breasted's chronology is more trustworthy than those of his successors, or epigoni, because of later pressures to down-

date. Palestinian chronology has been almost entirely based on synchronisms with Egypt. Thus it is circular to use it to control Egyptian chronology for these periods. As for the Palestinian carbon dates, the argument between Weinstein and Mellaart on this shows that their interpretation is extremely uncertain.

The chronology of Ebla

One advantage of restoring Breasted and Meyer's chronology for the Egyptian Old Kingdom is that it solves a difficulty in the chronology of the great Syrian city Ebla. The excavation of this city has been the greatest sensation of Near Eastern archaeology in the last quarter of a century. Rich finds have been discovered from many periods but attention has been focused on the palace found at the level labelled HB1 in which a massive archive has been found. The revolutionary impact of these tablets on the study of the economy, society, religion and language of the ancient Near East is too great and complex to go into here.⁹⁰

Thus, I shall consider only the issue of chronology and the question of the date of the destruction of the palace in which the archive was found and hence the date of the tablets themselves. Two Mesopotamian rulers, Sargon the Great and his grandson Narain Sin, claimed to have conquered Ebla. Paolo Maithiae, the archaeologist who selected the site and has excavated its many treasures, initially argued, on grounds of architecture and artistic style, that the destruction was that of Naram Sin in the 23rd century 80.9

Giovanni Pettinato, the epigraphei who first read the texts and reconstructed the new Semitic language of Eblaite, the local language in which many of the tablets were written, argued against Matthiae's dating and proposed that the archive at Ebla had been destroyed much earlier, well before the reign of Sargon. His case for this was based on a number of facts. Firstly, the texts contain a mass of geographical information but no mention of Sargon or of his city Akkad, which would seem extraordinary given the conqueror's overwhelming importance in Mesopotamia and his devastation of Syria. Secondly, there were the parallels in script and language between the Ebla tablets and 'pre-Sargonic' texts from Mesopotamia dating from around 2500 BC. This led him initially to attribute the destruction of the archive at Ebla to the Sumerian king Eannatum of the South Mesopotamian city of Lagash, who was known to have conquered the city of Mari on the Upper Euphrates 170 nules to the east of Ebla. However,

Pettinato later lowered this to around 2400 BC and the considerable campaigns of Lugalzaggizi, the Sumerian ruler of the Mesopotamian city of Kish. Pettinato's case for a pie-Sargonic destruction has been overwhelming and Matthiae and his supporters have quietly shifted to a destruction by Sargon around 2350 BC, though they still do not go back as far back as Pettinato. 93

Matthiae did appear to have one piece of evidence in favour of the Naram Sin destruction. It was that Palace IIB1, in which the archive was found, also contained two fragments of diorite vessels with the name of the 4th-Dynasty pharaoh Chephren and an alabaster lid of a jar with the name of Pepi I of the 6th Dynasty. According to the Cambridge Ancient History, Pepi I reigned from 2331 to 2283 BC and Naram Sin from 2391 to 2255 BC. Although he put the latter somewhat later, Matthiae originally argued from this that, while the Chephren pieces were already antiques when the palace fell, Pepi's jar was a contemporary gift. Hence, he maintained, this Fblaite palace could not have been destroyed by Sargon or any earlier Mesopotamian ruler. Even today, although Matthiae now accepts a Sargonic destruction, he is clearly uncomfortable with what he sees as the lateness of the Egyptian synchronism.⁹⁴

Astronomical data now seem to back the Cambridge Ancient History for the Mesopotamian rulers of this period and raise Saigon's dates by a mere nine years. Thus, Saigon should now be seen as having ruled between 2380 and 2324 BC and Naram Sin from 2300 to 2263 BC. According to the Egyptian chronology proposed here, Pepi I reigned c. 2614–2565 BC. This would accommodate even Pettinato's initial and earliest date for the destruction of Ebla palace HB1 at c. 2500 BC, which most scholars see as preferable in terms of epigraphic parallels with Mesopotamia.

It is also possible that two other problems are solved by returning to Breasted and Meyer's chronology for the Egyptian Old Kingdom. The first of these is the absence of any reference to Egypt in the Eblatexts. Accepting the orthodox dates for the Egyptian Old Kingdom and believing that the great 4th Dynasty was flourishing during the lifty to seventy years covered by the texts, Pettinato was puzzled by this. To Now, however, it would seem that by 2500 BC the 6th Dynasty and the Old Kingdom were crumbling, and, if the destruction of Eblawere lowered by some thirty years, to c. 2470 BC, it would coincide with one of the most chaotic periods of Egyptian history. Thus, there would be no reason to be surprised at the absence of Egypt from the Eblaite texts.

This argument cannot, however, be taken too far as there is now

considerable argument as to how far the archive contained geographical information about anywhere to the west of the city?

The second problem possibly resolved by the higher dating of the Egyptian Old Kingdom is that, if the Mesopotamian Dynasty of Akkad was not contemporary with the Egyptian Old Kingdom but rather with the 1st Intermediate Period, it would explain the absence of any Egyptian objects found in Mesopotamia or vice versa indicating synchronisms, which one might well have expected between these two powerful and far-reaching empires.

These last two points are of course based on the argument from silence, which I have attacked many times in this work. Nevertheless, with these additional advantages and the plausible Eblaite synchronism, I can see no reason to doubt that the chronology of the Old Kingdom is considerably higher than that given in the Cambridge Amend History and that the new radio-carbon dating appears to have confirmed the Egyptian chronologies for the Old Kingdom of Breasted, Meyer and Mellaart.

Egyptian chronology before the Old Kingdom

Does this extend to the whole of early Egyptian chronography? One obvious way in which to reconcile these new results and the 'heightened' Old Kingdom with the conventional amalgam of the Sothic date. with the Turin Cunon was to shorten the Proto-Dynastic period before it In this way, even if the 3rd Dynasty began 6, 3000 BC, the 1st Dynasty could be placed 6/3200 BC. Unfortunately, this solution is barred by another source for Egyptian history, the Palermo Stone, which is at least a thousand years earlier than the Furin Canon. This stone, now in Palermo, is a fragment of a tablet apparently inscribed in the 5th Dynasty, listing earlier pharaohs and some of the outstanding events of their reigns. As with the Turin Canon, it can provide only tantalizing scraps of information. One of these is that the first two dynasties lasted for 411 years. This number may have more numerological and arithmetical than historical significance. Nevertheless, the latest study of the Palermo Stone plausibly puts the length of the first two dynasties at between 40% and 486 years. A linus it is impossible to reduce the length of this period to less that two hundred years, despite the relatively few pharaohs whose names have been preserved from it. Thus, there would seem no doubt that Mellaart has been right to restore the date of the foundation of pharaonic Egypt at around 3 100 BC, which is where Breasted put it. The 3rd Dynasty should now be seen as

having started at approximately 3000 BC and the Old Kingdom as having ended at around 2470 BC, thus following the *Turm Canon's* claim that this was 955 years after the foundation of the first dynasty."

The dating of the Middle Kingdom

If Mellaart was right about the Old Kingdom, does that mean that one has to accept his high dating for the Middle Kingdom? I believe not Barry Kemp made a good defence of the overwhelming plausibility of the Sothic date. Thus, the only way to combine the new high dating for the Old Kingdom with the Sothic dating for the Middle Kingdom is to lengthen the 1st rather than the 2nd Intermediate Period. There is little doubt that there were many pharaohs, apparently as many as eighteen after the death of the 100-year-old Pepi II. These belong either to the end of the 6th Dynasty or 10 the 8th. The Turm Canon named a further eighteen for the 9th and 10th Dynasties. What is more, it is clear that not all of these reigns were short and anarchic; a number of papyri portray life as quite peaceful and prosperous, at least for some periods in some regions of the country. There also appear to have been considerable dynasties of nomarchs, 'rulers' of districts or nomes.'

The art historian William Stevenson Smith, who stood out against the fashion for low dating in many of its aspects, saw major cultural differences between the Old and Middle Kingdoms and was concerned about the tendency to compress this Intermediate Period. Although traces of Middle Egypuan, the official written language of the Middle Kingdom, appear in the Old Kingdom, the very change of official dialects suggests a substantial political and cultural break between the two kingdoms. This would be unlikely to have occurred in one century and almost impossible with no time gap

In short, I believe that we should go back to Breasted for our early Egyptian chronology. This means a fundamental revision of the dating of the Archaic Period, the Old Kingdom and the 1st Intermediate Period, but relatively bittle change in the chronology with which this chapter is concerned, that of the Middle Kingdom and the reign of

Sesöstris.

Mesopotamian chronology

In order to assess any possible impact of Sesostris' campaigns in Mesopotamia and Anatolia it is necessary to have some idea of Mesopotamian chronology in the early 2nd millennium isc. There has, in fact, been considerable debate on this question over the past fifty years. This has centred on competition among a 'long', a 'middle' and a 'short' chronology for such dates as the reign of Hammurabi, the famous king of Babylon, and the later Hittite conquest of that city. These chronologies were based on four possible dates that fitted reports of astronomical observations of Venus found in a Babylonian tablet. During the past decade the earliest date, hence the 'long' chronology, has been powerfully championed by Peter Huber, a statistician from MLL. Huber maintains that not only Babylonian observations of the eightyear cycle of Venus, but also certain lunar eclipses, as well as the lengths of months, all point to the 'long' chronology rather than the other two. He concludes his most recent writing on the subject by stating.

In my opinion, the problem of the chronology of the early 2nd millennium has thereby shifted in a very significant fashion. It is no longer a question of picking one of several Venus chronologies on the basis of historical or other non-astronomical arguments, but a question of either accepting or refuting one single chronology.

While 99% confidence of course is different from certainty, I believe this margin of error is narrower than in most historical arguments, and a potential refutation would have to be based on ex-

ceptionally strong contrary evidence 105

Huber's conclusion fits with the predominant and long-standing trend among the archaeologists of Anatolia. * The problem is that there now appears to be just the 'strong contrary evidence' Huber required. This comes from dendrochronology. The dendrochronologist Peter Kumholm now believes that the palace at Açem Huyuk in central Anatolia in which a sealing from Takhtun-Lim king of Mari has been found can be dated to 1792/1 BC * 37 years. ** Takhtun-Lim appears to have been an older contemporary of the Assyrian king Samši-Adad, who according to the long chronology reigned in the middle of the 19th century BC. Thus, it is extremely difficult to reconcile this dating with this chronology. However, it can fit easily with the middle and with not too many problems with the low chronology. **

On the other hand, there are several a number of difficulties with the date from Açem Huyuk. The first is that the dating is not the result of 'pure' dendrochronology, that is to say that there is no continuous set of parallel rings from Central Anatolia going down to the present. The date was arrived at from radio-carbon datings of tree tings matched with those from places where there are such continuous series. Hence, although this method is far more reliable than simple radio-carbon dating, there are possibilities of error. The

second problem is that the excavations of palace at Açein Huyuk from which the timber and sealings were taken have not been published. Because of these uncertainties, we cannot simply abandon the long chronology. Equally, however, we cannot share Huber's near absolute confidence in it.

Thus, just as we have to consider Parker's high and the German low dates for the 12th Dynasty, we have to work with high middle and low dates from Mesopotamia. From the Egyptian end, we are looking for destructions in Anatoha during the reigns of Senwosre I and Amenembe II the periods 1958 1883 BC of 1912-1841 BC. It is not likely that any Egyptian campaigns in Anatolia could have taken place near the beginning of the reign of Senwosre 1. We know that there was a political crisis when he came to the throne and that he was fighting in Libya at the beginning of his reign. It would seem unlikely, then, that he would have begun such an undertaking as the 'conquest' of Asia until he had built up a strong enough political, economic and military base to do so. If one accepts the traditional sources, they argue that his naval and land expeditions to the south came before those made to the north. Finally, there are the references to his son Amenembe II on the Mit Rahina inscription. All of these would make it more likely that the latter was involved and that the campaigns took place in the last portion of Sesöstris' reign. Thus, we are looking for archaeological evidence of a powerful army in Anatolia and beyond somewhere between 1930 1916 or 1898 1884 BC.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE CAMPAIGNS

If we hypothesize Sesőstris' conquests, what should we expect to discover in the archaeological record? Primarily one should find wide-spread destructions in that period in the regions mentioned, Anatolia, Thrace, Scythia and the Western Caucasus. Astradition does not specify the establishment of a long-lasting empire, one would not expect to see many traces of Egyptian rule but there could be some Egyptian objects. With great luck, it might be possible to find some of the booty sent back from the conquered territories to Egypt. Economically, one would probably see a relatively rapid restoration of the status quo, after the destructions, in prosperous central regions though less economically secure ones would take longer to recover. Politically, the short-lived incursions of Mongols into Southeast Asia of Europeans into sub-Saharan. Africa, provide, analogies, for such 'conquests' in having stimulated massive migrations and the formation of new states.

and ethnic identities. Finally, the tradition of long-lasting colonies having been established might lead one to expect to find new areas of

prosperity alongside the devastated regions

Archaeologically, there does seem to be an indicator of the 12th-Dynasty 'empire' as interpreted by Albright, Posener and the maxithose who emphasize its extent - in the distribution of the Syro-Cilician Middle Bronze Age I painted pottery. The material culture of this region around the turn of the 2nd millerimm clearly unites Cilicia, in what is now Southeast Turkey, to Syria and, as James Mellaari has pointed out, this culture should be related to Egypt because of the Egyptian 12th Dynasty objects found there. " As we shall see below, it is very likely that Calicia was conquered by Senwosre I and/or his son Ammenemes II and it is probable that it remained under Egyptian political influence for many decades after that, Though raided by nomads from the east, even before that Western Syro-Palestine formed a relatively stable basis of Egyptian protectorates from which Sesostris and his son could have launched then campaigns. This would explain the archaeological record of stability in this region during the 20th and early 19th centuries it, in striking contrast to the situation elsewhere in the Middle Fast

Perhaps dealing only with the period from the end of the reign of Senwosre 1, Mellaart sharply distinguishes Syro-Calicia, with its Egyptian connections, from Central and Northern Anatolia where trading

links tended to be with Assyria to the east. 19

Early Anatolia: a brief history

Geographically, Anatolia is an extraordinarily broken up and climatically diverse region with lush Mediterranean plains and high continental mountains, plateaus and inland lakes. The present relative cultural uniformity of Turkey is a misleading exception. For most of its known history. Anatolia has been more like the Caucasus today, a cultural and linguistic mosaic combining isolated spots of local conservatism with areas radically affected by innovation and myasion. This was certainly the case at the beginning of the 2nd millennium be

As far as it can be reconstructed from contemporary names and later distribution, the linguistic pattern was as set out in map 13. Several of these languages. Thittite, Luvian, Palaic, Lydian and possibly Carian — belong to the Anatohau branch of the Indo-Hittite family, Phrygian and Proto-Armenian are Indo-European. There were also Hattic, Proto-Kartyehan — from which the Georgian languages are descended — and Hurrian. All of these were non—Indo-European.

Much historical reconstruction and explanation of destructions in Anatolia has been concerned with the perceived problem of the 'arrival of the speakers of the Hittite and other Anatolian languages from the north. I have stated in Volume 1 that I follow Georgiev and Renfrew in believing that these, like the non-Indo-European languages, were indigenous to the region. Therefore their introduction is not a problem here. On the other hand, it is possible that Hurrian came in from the southeast and Phrygian and the Indo-European component of Armenian clearly arrived from the north. There is no attestation of the latter two languages at the beginning of the 2nd millenmum, but from linguistic evidence it would seem likely that they had arrived in Anatolia before then, although Phrygran expanded into the centre of the peninsula only in the first part of the 1st millennium. The most probable time for their original entry would seem to be in the upheavals we know from archaeology and Akkadian records to have taken place in the 23rd century BC.

It is generally accepted that it was in this period that the so-called Kurgan culture, represented north of the Caucasus by the great Maikop Barrow, appears to have penetrated Eastern Anatolia and fused with the local civilizations. ¹⁸ It is possible but less likely that the disturbances in Western Anatolia at approximately the same time, which used to be associated with a 'Luvian invasion', were triggered by the arrival of Proto-Phrygians from the northwest. ¹

In any event, after about 2100 BC, Central and Fastern Anatolia be gan a period of economic expansion and prosperity based largely on abundant mineral resources and trade with the Middle Fast, which lasted, with some significant interruptions, until the end of the Bronze Age in the 12th century. The earliest examples of the so-called 'Hittie Theroglyphic' come from around 2000 BC, however, it would seem likely that this script originated after Anatolians knew of writing but before they had come in contact with cineitorin, which was probably around the turn of the 31d millennium. The type of cuneiform used by the Hittite Empire, which was founded after the disturbances with which we are concerned, was not Assyrian but Syrian. How and when it was transmitted is unknown but an opening to Syria in the 20th and 19th centuries is one possibility.

Destruction in Anatolia: Kültepe II and Karum Kanesh

Although there is, so far, no trace of local literacy in 31d-millennium Anatolia, there is a source of historical information about its central

region from the middle of the 20th century BC. This is the many thousands of tablets found at an Assyrian trading station at Karum Kanesh at a site now called by the common Turkish village name Kultepe. Upfortunately, as is nearly always the case in Assyriology, perfectionism and scholars' sense of private property have prevented most of these tablets from being published. Nevertheless, a great deal has been learnt from those that have been made available about the structure of the karum (meaning commercial colony), about its relations with other Assyrian colonies in Anatolia and with the city of Assin, 500 miles away over extremely difficult terrain. They also tell us much about trade in the ancient world and the importance of the private merchant. Specifically, they show the large quantities of Anatolian silver, gold and lead being exported to Assyria in exchange for textiles from Mesopotamia and tin, which came from further east, probably Afghanistan. 118

The tablets also reveal a little about the society in which the foreign merchants were operating. Most of the cities had kings, many of them with Hittite names. There was a 'Great King' at Burushattum, a hundred miles to the west. Hittite histories refer to their hist king as Anitta, king of Kussara, to the north of Kanesh, who moved his capital to Nesha or Nisha, which is probably Kanesh. He is reported as having conquered a number of cities and as having forced the king at Pur ushkhanda/Bur ushattum to submit to him. Anitra is mentioned in the Assyrian texts and a dauger or arrowhead with his name has been found in the ruins of a destroyed palace at Kanesh. However, there is dispute among scholars as to whether he was contemporaneous with the late 20th-century BC period of Kultepe II of the 19th-century BC period, Kultepe Ib. " In any event, there is a considerable and almost complete gap between him and the next 'founder' of the Hittite Empire, Labarnas, in the mid- or late 18th century BC.

This leads us to the critical problem of dating the texts at Kultepe. The two periods with which we are concerned are Kultepe II and Ib. Both of these periods were prosperous ones, in which there was considerable trade between Kanesh and Assur, and they have produced great numbers of tablets. At the end of Kultepe II, however, both the city and the suburb, where the Assyrians lived, were utterly destroyed with little or no warning, and it was several decades before they were

restored and the Ib period began

In his splendid work on the economy and social structure of the ha rum, the Danish Assyriologist Mogens Trolle Laisen wisely did not tackle the question of dating. Thus the most detailed work on the karum's dating is still that published by the Turkish ancient historian Balkan in 1955. Reading the references in the tablets to Assyrian kings, he was able to link them with the contemporary kings of Baby lon. The Assyrian karum seems to have begun near the beginning of the reign of King Erisum I. However, the documents only refer to the last fourteen years of his forty- or forty-one-year reign. They cover the reigns of Erisum I's successors. Ikunum and Śarrum-kin, and end in that of Puzur-Assur II. Unfortunately, the Assyrian king-lists do not give the length of these kings' reigns so here we are reduced to speculation. We seem to be back on firm ground, however, with the rebuilding of the karum in the tenth year of King Śamsi-Adad.

Assyrian chronologies give 159 years for the period between the accession of Erisum I and the death of Samši-Adad. Looking at Karum Kanesh, Balkan allocates twenty-six of these to the undocumented period at the *harum* and another eighty to the rest of Kultepe II. A further twenty-three are taken up with the period of Kultepe Ib in the reign of Samši-Adad, leaving a gap of thirty years between the two periods which would put the destruction of Kultepe II about 1890 BG.¹¹⁷

There are, however, a number of problems with this. Balkan lumself makes several points in favour of a longer interval between the periods, there was over a metre of debris between the two strata, the orientation and plans of the houses had changed, which means that the new settlers were unaware of the layout of the old settlement; there had been changes in the types of object and techniques used in making them; and, finally, there had been a number of significant linguistic changes in the intermi ¹⁰⁸. The second point seems particularly telling, for even if the whole Assyrian population of the *karum* were killed with its destruction, in a mobile inercantile population there must have been others surviving elsewhere who knew about its layout. For these reasons, the excavator Ozguç argued, such changes would have taken fifty years. I believe that this is the bare minimum.¹⁰⁸

The gap between the two periods covered the reigns of two kings, Naram-sin and Erisum II, and the first ten years of Samsi-Adad. Professor Balkan conjectures that the destruction took place at the end of the reign of Puzur-Assur II, but there seems no reason for this and he may well have continued to rule longer. We know that Naram-sin reigned for at least fifteen years. Therefore, a thirty year gap would allow only five years for any further years of his reign or that of Puzur-Assur II, let alone the whole reign of Erisum II. The compression seems too great.

At the same time, there would seem to have been too much time given for the documented period of Kultepe II. It is true that some merchant families appear to have been there for four generations, but in the case used as an example by Larsen, in his detailed study of the harum, the great-grandfather is dead before the correspondence begins and the great-grandson is supposed to have been very young.

It would seem likely, then, that documented Kultepe II should be shortened and the gap lengthened by from twenty to forty years. If we accept the Assyrian king-list's total of 150 years from the accession of Erisum I to the death of Samsi Adad and subtract thirty years from Frisum's reign before the karum correspondence begins and the twenty-three further years of the reign of Samsi Adad, we are left with 108 years for Kultepe II and the destruction period. If we further estimate that the literate period of Kultepe II lasted some forty to fifty years, we should estimate that Kultepe II was destroyed fifty to seventy years before the tenth year of Samsi Adad. Thus, everything hangs on this date, which is 1859, 1803 and 1702 BC, according to the long, middle and short chronologies respectively. These dates plus sixty to seventy years give the ranges 1929-1909, 1873-1853 and 1799 1779 for the destruction. The long chronology would provide a perfect synchronism with the later part of the reign of Senwosre L. according to Parker.

The middle chronology would not fit this but would fit the German low Egyptian chronology for the reign of Amenemhe II, 1875—1842. BC. One could reconcile the possible synchronism by suggesting that the hypothetical Egyptian destruction took place during the reigns of Senwoste II and III. This would lower the Egyptian range to 1830 or 1788, and despite Mellaart's preference for the early part of the dynasty there is nothing in the 12th-Dynasty Egyptian objects found in the Anatolian destruction levels restricting them to it. On the other hand, no letter in the karum correspondence refers to Egyptians, making it unlikely that Egyptians had been campaigning in the region for a long time. Furthermore, there is the evidence from the 16d Treasure, to be discussed below, that objects similar to those found at Kultepe II arrived in Egypt during the reign of Amenembe II.

To repeat, there is a synchronism between the destruction of Kultepe II and Parker's dating of the later reign of Senwosre I, if one accepts the Mesopotamian long chronology backed by Huber's astronomical computations. There is one between the German chronology for the reign of Amenenihe II and the middle chronology, but there is none if one accepts the low Mesopotamian chronology.

Mellaart, when working with the high chronology and on the basis of the 12th-Dynasty objects, puts the destruction between 1940 and 1900 BC. (1 This also puts it close to the period of Sesöstris' hypo-

thetical northern campaigns, which we have dated to between 6, 1930 and 1916 BC.

I hope the reasons why I have devoted so much space to determining the date of the destruction of Kultepe II will now become clear. Kanesh or Nesha or Nišili, as the Hittites called it, was a key cultural and military centre. Hittites called then own language after the city of their founder Anitta, long after the capital had moved north to Hattus. Kanesh, which at the end of Kultepe II had a very considerable population of 20–30,000, was also a key junction for trade routes from Mesopotamia and Syria north to the rich silver and lead mines, near the present Schinkarahisar and the Black Sea, and west to the Aegean Coast and Troy (see map 12). It is in this context that we should read the following from Mellaart's classic article 'The end of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean', which appeared in 1958:

In Central Anatolia, the prosperous Assyrian karum or trading settlement below the walls of the great city of Kanesh . . . was reduced to ashes ϵ 1900 B.C. (level II) and not reoccupied for half a century. The contemporary city of Alishai Huyuk, another trading centre, suffered the same fate, but the destruction of Alacai Huyuk. V is definitely earlier. Among the many sites of the Kuşehii basın, Has Huyuk, the only one excavated, was burnt, and south of the tiver Halys, the destruction layers of the great mound of Acemkov near. Aksaray indicate a conflagration about 1900 B.C. or a little later.

In the hill country between the Halys and the Sangarius, widespread destruction occurs; Karaoğlan, Bitik, Polatli and Gordion are burnt, and Etiokuşu, Cerkes and several other sites are deserted. Within the great bend of the Sangarius, the plain of Eskişehii was studded with Early Bronze Age villages of the Demirci Huyuk culture, and at least half of the number were deserted after 1900 Bic and not reoccupied. Further westward still, the two large mounds of Kopruören and Tayşanh, west of Kutaliya, are littered with burnt bricks of the destroyed city walls, in either case associated with pottery of the Lib A. (Troy V type) and the neighbouring site of Tepecik appears to have been deserted after the end of the period.

Between this region and the Troad lies the Balikesir plain, now famous as the centre of the Yortan culture, the knowledge of which is amost entirely drawn from its cemeteries. None of these contained any pottery later than the end of the E.B.A.

In the Troad, Itoy V was not destroyed by hire, but the next pe-

riod shows a change of culture and two other sites, Kuintepe II and Karaagactepe, the so-called mound on the Thracian Chersonese are deserted. On Lemnos the last F.B.A. settlement of Poliochin is said to have been destroyed by earthquake, but the site is not re-occupied in the Middle Bronze Age. 22

The boldness of this baleful roll-call and the shortened version of it Mellaart gave a decade later in the Cambridge Ancient History has been a challenge to more cautious scholars ever since. The powerful American archaeologist James Muhly saw the destruction at Karum Kanesh simply as 'some sort of local event'. '' One writer on Hattus claimed that the Assyrian karum there was not destroyed, but later research seems to contradict this. '' Mellaart had not, in fact, claimed that it had been destroyed. Even so, he allowed for such corrections when he wrote 'even if later research eliminates some of the sites from our list, it will undoubtedly add others'. Indeed, the important city later known as Aphrodisias in Western Anatolia now seems to have been destroyed at about this time. '' There is no doubt that there was, as he put it, 'a long line of burnt or deserted sites, which demonstrate some disturbance in the northern half of Anatolia at the end of the Early Bronze Age'. 126

WAS SESOSTRIS THE DESTROYER?

In 1958 Mellaart argued that the destructions were the result of a Hittite invasion into central Anatolia, which had led to westward migrations and further chaos. To do this, he had not merely to insist that the spearhead with the name of the Hittite king Anitia belonged to Kültepe Ib—after the destructions—but to deny the Hittite names found in Kultepe II ¹²⁷ He was also puzzled by the lack of any material culture of his hypothetical invaders. This suggested to him that 'they came from beyond the area of Middle Eastern Civilization'. In the 3rd inflemnum, however, there had been ample material evidence of Anatolian contacts with trans-Caucasian cultures. The implansibility of these parts of his scheme seems eventually to have led to his abandonment of the whole, but the band of destruction remains and becomes more mysterious with Mellaart's failure to explain it.

Is it permissible to associate them with Sesostris and accept the statements of Herodotos, Manetho and Diodoros that he conquered 'all of Asia', a term generally used for Anatolia, 'from east to west's I believe that, despite the chronological difficulties, that it may well be. While Mellaux notes the absence of 'northern' objects, he later

recorded the presence of a number of Egyptian 12th-Dynasty ones found at key places along the route. As mentioned above, it was partly from these that he established the date for the destructions ¹²⁸ Further archaeological evidence in favour of an Egyptian campaign in Central Anatolia at this time comes from Egypt itself.

The Tod Treasure

The 1ôd Treasure was discovered in the 1930s in the foundations of a sanctuary of Mont built at 1ôd, seventeen kilometres upstream from Luxor, in the Theban nome of which Mont was a local god and which was the original home of the 12th Dynasty. The temple complex dates back to the 11th Dynasty, which ruled from the nome and whose chief divinity was Mont, but Senwoste I demolished this eather structure and built a new sanctuary. The treasure itself was placed in four copper caskets which were inscribed with the name of Amenembe II. *

These caskets were Egyptian but their contents were all foreign. They included gold ingots, chains of rings and bracelets and ornaments of gold, silver and electrum as well as 143 flattened and 10 unfloaded silver bowls. Other caskets were filled with lapis lazuli and contained a number of cylinder seals. As the excavator Bisson de la Roque pointed out, there is no doubt that the objects came from Asia. Gold from Nubia and the Red Sea coast came in bags—not caskets and these regions did not produce silver, which at this time was equally or more valuable than gold. 150 The nearest silver came from Anatoha, the Caucasus and Laurion in Greece, though there were still greater sources in the Balkans.

As there are Egyptian assayers' marks of quality on some of the pieces, the treasure was clearly prized for its metal content. Nevertheless, although some of the bowls were crushed, the fact that they were not melted down would seem to indicate that their form and, I be lieve, their provenance added to their value. If there was any doubt about the metal's place of origin, it is resolved by their forms, which are not Minoan, as has sometimes been suggested. Although the Aegean appearance of some of them might come from an origin from the west of the peninsula, the group as a whole clearly come from Anatoha or the Caucasus. One cup is even seen to have its closest parallels with another found at Kultepe II.

The cylinder seals indicate the same general origin. Most are Mesopotamian but they include at least one from Cappadocia in North-Central Anatolia and another from Iran. As with all collections of seals—or coins—they come from a long time period but bunch towards its end. In this case, they go back to the end of the Akkadian period in the 23rd century BC but most come from early in the 18t Dynasty of Babylon, which ruled either in the 20th of the early 19th centuries BC. Acceptance of the long chronology for Mesopotamia would make Porada's ingenious attempts to demonstrate that these glyptic styles existed before the 18t Dynasty unnecessary 15t Then origin and date fit perfectly with the hypothesis that Egyptians and then allies were plundering Anatolia, and its Assyrian traders, in the late 20th century BC.

The other great component of the treasure was lapis lazuli, which ultimately came from Afghanistan. Although I would not absolutely deny that Egyptian forces could have reached there, it would seem much more plausible to suppose that the lapis lazuli came through Mesopotamia, the Caucasus and Anatolia. We know that during the New Kingdom Assyria was a particular source of the material. 9

How did the treasure reach Tod? One of the silver cups is marked as having been brought by an Egyptian conveyor, whose position. Posener has connected to that of the messengers moving up and down. Syro-Palestine referred to in Smuke. He quotes from a dedicatory inscription of the temple of Sesöstris at Tod describing the presentation of offering tables made of precious materials.

twice as beautiful and twice as immerous as all one was accustomed to see in this country before, and representing what foreigners and explorers, who travel across the lands, have delivered. "

Sesöstis was living up to the promise of his name, S-n Wsrt (Man of Wsit), pation of foreign mines. Apart from the indication—which neatly parallels the Greek writers and the Mit Rahma inscription that something quite exceptional was going on in the later part of the reign of Sesostis, the dedication also indicates that the material was brought by both tribute-bearing foreigners and Egyptian officials. This fits the descriptions and paintings from the New Kingdom of tribute arriving in Egypt. Kemp and Merrillees describe the latter gifts in the following way 'whilst some was plunder or tax from conquered territories, some had been sent to Egypt as diplomatic gifts.' Ethis may have been the case with the Tôd Treasure but in the light of the office indications of military activity, emphasis should be put on the component of plunder and tax.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that the dedication was made to Mitty or Mont, who, as well as being the god of the Theban nome and of central importance to both the 11th and 12th Dynasties, was a god of warfare and specifically of foreign conquests and the

suppression of barbarians. In particular, Mont was associated with the land of St in Asia $^{(*)}$ It is striking that Mont of Tôd is specifically mentioned in the Mit Rahina inscription as the recipient of foreign booty from Stt (sic), $^{(40)}$

We shall return later to the location of Stt — more correctly Stt and its connections with the temple of Mont at Tôd. Meanwhile, we should consider the probable function of the treasure. Kemp and Merrillees place emphasis on its raw materials and its economic value. Although this was undoubtedly a function, one should not forget that many of the objects were not reduced to ingots of their basic metals and that they were dedicated and preserved in a temple to Mont. Thus, it would seem that, like many other temple treasuries, it had what we, though not the ancients, would see as two functions, one secular and the other religious. The treasure of Tôd was not just bullion; the crushed exone objects that made it up were altogether suitable tepresentations of the subjection of foreigners. It was also an offering to Mont and the Egypuan military triumphs that could be attributed to him.

Thus, there is nothing in Egyptian, Levantine and Anatolian archaeology to preclude the Greek writers' descriptions of Sesőstris' conquests in Anatolia Indeed, such campaigns would explain a number of previously inexplicable phenomena, notably the belt of destructions and the Tod Treasure containing objects from Anatolia and Iurther east. On the other hand, if one accepts the middle or low Mesopotamian chronologies, the destructions could have been the result of any number of other causes. Before considering the Mit Rahma inscription and other sources of evidence on the conquests in Anatolia, however, it would seem useful to look at evidence for the campaigns in other regions.

SESÖSTRIS IN THRACE AND SCYTHIA?

In the quotation from Mellaari on the belt of destruction in Northern Anatolia given above, there was a reference to the desertion of a major site just across the Hellespont on the Thracian Chersonese. He continued:

Turkish Thrace (also called Turkey in Europe) and the coastal province and Macedonia (Greek Thrace) are blanks on the archaeological map, but in Bulgaria there is evidence that the disturbance in Northern Anatolia made itself felt there also. Bulgarian scholars date the end of their Early Bronze Age (Yunacite, Sakutza, Esero, etc.) to c. 1900 and the sudden desertion of these sites added to the

complete absence of a Middle Bronze Age certainly indicates some catastrophe.¹⁰

Mellaart went on to describe the much more complicated situation in Greece, to which we shall return in the next chapter. We will not describe it here because it was not on Sesostris' itinerary as described by the Greek writers.

It should be emphasized that the Farly Bronze Age culture of the Mariça Valley in Bulgarian Thrace was far richer and more developed than that of its neighbours to the north, even though it shared many cultural features with them. Thus what Bulgarian archaeologists refer to as the Early Bronze Age is called the Aeneolithic or 'Copper Stone Age' by their Romanian, Yugoslav and Russian colleagues. This is because, although rich in copper and gold, these peoples were still using stone not bronze for their tools and weapons. There is no doubt that c. 1900 be marks a watershed in the history of the Balkans.

As far as I am aware, there is no archaeological evidence of a Middle Kingdom Egyptian presence in the region. However, there have been some interesting indications from Egypt. It appears to have been during the Middle Kingdom that the alloy electrum, made up of 30 per cent silver and 70 per cent gold, was first used in Egypt. It seems that the only mines in the world where this proportion occurs naturally is in the Apusini mountains in Transylvania. The region also produces amethyst, jasper, cornelian and chalcedony. These, too, first appear in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom, as does a clear red and yellow jasper, used in inlays, which came from elsewhere in Romania. These types of jusper do not occur in Egypt nor does amethyst of this quality. 15 It would seem quite likely then that the electrum and these semi-precious stones did come from the Balkans. This, of course, does not necessitate an Egyptian conquest of the region; as we know, trading chains have stretched far further than this without any political or military control. On the other hand, the desire for such luxuries would provide a motive for Egyptian expeditions in the region and their presence in Egypt at this time provides yet another piece of circumstantial evidence for the historicity of the traditions around Sesos tris' conquests.

The Russian Steppe also went through a break around 1900 BC. As in Thrace, this is the conventional date for the end of the Aeneolithic and the beginning of the Bronze Age there. However, archaeologists do not report widespread destructions comparable to those seen by Mellaart in Bulgaria. Tracing these would be more difficult because much—though not all—of the population of these regions was nomadic. It should be noted that the prosperous Tripolye agricultural

culture of South Russia had been broken up several centuries earlier It is difficult to imagine how well an essentially African army would have coped with the weather of the steppes. In his account of Sesostris, Diodoros mentions the problems of hunger rather than cold: 'And after he had crossed into Europe and was on his way through the whole length of Thrace he nearly lost his army through lack of food and the difficult nature of the land 111 Thus, we are presented in Scythia with two difficulties. The first of these is the absence of any archaeological trace of Egyptian presence there. The second is the clear-cut motive, mentioned above, for Egyptians to have invented a story of Sesostris' having conquered Scythia in order for the Egyptian hero to have outdone the Persian rulers, who had not succeeded in conquering it.45 Nevertheless, as I mentioned earlier, Sesostris' conquests in Nubia, which served the same anti-Persian purpose, have been proven true. Thus, the use of the pharaoh's conquest of Scythia for propaganda does not in itself remove its historicity

SESÖSTRIS IN COLCHIS?

The case for Sesőstris having been in Colchis on the eastern shore of the Black Sea is rather stronger. During the 3rd millennium BC, despite what must have been enormous linguistic divergences, there was a remarkable unity in material culture over the whole of the Western Caucasus in what is known as the Kuro-Araxes culture. The splendid pottery from this culture, known in the Levant from its first find-site Khirbet Kerak, has been found as far south as Palestine, though not in Central Anatolia. The culture was already exploiting the rich mines of the Southwest Caucasus both for local use and for export to the south and north. [146]

This civilization broke up around 2300 BC, apparently under pressure from the northern Kurgan culture, associated with the Indo-European language, and the invasion or infiltration of the peoples best known from the royal burials at Maikop and the first barrows at Trialeti in Georgia. This radical change has been seen in ceramic terms as the shift from Early Bronze III. 117

There seems to be some confusion among archaeologists on the dating of the destructions and cultural innovations. Professor Burney tried to link them to the series put forward by Mellaatt as cited above. However, this involves stretching the Indo-European invasions over four hundred years from 2300 to 1900 BC, as there seem to have been waves of destruction in both of these periods. This problem could be resolved by postulating, instead, a northern invasion C 2300

and Sesostris' campaigns in the 1930s or 1920s BC. This would fit with a passage. Burney and Lang wrote concerning the turn of the 2nd millennium:

... the long continuity of the third millennium 8t had at last vanished. Though the population had not radically changed, new elements were making their appearance. New forces were at work throughout Trans-Caucasia and in most of the Urima basin too. 17

Elsewhere, Lang noted the following:

That some major movement of population brought to an end the Armenian and East Anatolian Faily Bronze Age is suggested by the layers of ashes and other evidence of sudden disturbance that occur at several sites in this region. In Armenia we observe a shift in population from the fertile lowlands, with their settled village communities, to the upland pastures usually layoured by owners of the large herds and flocks which are a feature of the pastoral life of the early Indo European tribes from the steppe.

This retreat to the mountains could equally well have been the response to an invasion by an organized army. Evidence in the same direction comes from the very heavily Egyptianized Byblos where evidence of Caucasian metal-workers has been found. The French archaeologist Claude Schaeffer attributed this to a movement of Caucasian bronze-workers which he believed had been caused by 'earthquakes of exceptional violence' which had shaken the region around 2000 BC. Much of Schaeffer's chronology has had to be revised because of new finds and new scientific methods. Nevertheless, the basic point he made still holds:

It is a fact that the countries of Asia Minor, which during the last period of the 3rd millennium had possessed a metallurgic industry in advance of all those of all the countries of West Asia and Protohistoric Europe, were, at the beginning of the 2rd millennium, dispossessed of their monopoly and deprived of their best artisans. The absolute poverty of metal types in Asia Minor between 2000 and 1500 has always struck archaeologists and it is even more remarkable in that it contrasts with the richness of production in the surrounding countries. [5]

It is striking that in 1978 Mellaart indicated that the whole region of Northeast Anatolia - the later Armenia and Western Georgia - which had enormous inneral deposits and intense metal-working has 'no known Middle Bronze Age Settlements'. ⁵² It should be emphasized that regions to the east, including the famous site of Trialeti in inland Georgia, continued to flourish. The 'invasions' at the end of Early Bronze II c 2300 BC enriched the Kuban and the north of the Caucasus but did not destroy the prosperity and technology of Northeast Anatolia. The disturbances in the 20th century BC were locally devastating but appear to have benefited regions all around, especially to the south. Throughout the Eevant one finds traces of northern workmanship and a great improvement in inetallingy. "

Egypt itself began to use metal on a large scale only in this period. It is also interesting to note how quickly the armies of the 12th Dynasty took on the new weapons made possible by the new metallurgy—daggers, distinctive fenestrated axes and the sickle sword. In fact, it is remarkable to what an extent there was a komê or common standard of military equipment and techniques around this time, from Nubia to

the Caucasus. 184

As far as I am aware, no confirmed Egyptian objects from this period have been found in the Caucasus, although a couple of maceheads found in Armenia could well be Egyptian. On the other hand, there is little doubt that objects of Caucasian provenance have been found in Egypt.¹¹⁵

Thus, the archaeological evidence from the Southwest Caucasus allows for an invasion, in that, like Bulgarian Thrace, it seems to have suffered major destructions and long-lasting devastation. Neither archaeology nor documentary sources will allow us to explain the southern spread of Northern Anatolian and Caucasian metallurgy during the 12th Dynasty in terms of an invasion from the north. By contrast, the picture given by the Greek writers of Sesőstris sending back huge numbers of captives would explain this phenomenon very well.

THE EVIDENCE FOR SESÖS TRIS' 'CONQUESTS' FROM THE MIT RAHINA INSCRIPTION

I should now like to return to the Mit Rahina inscription and the light that it can throw on these traditions. The Mit Rahina inscription gives very much the same picture as these do of the pharaoh's glorious and profitable campaigns. Most of it is taken up with the sending back to Egypt of livestock, slaves and precious goods, especially metals. There are frequent references to silver and one to lead, which was previously known to have been imported only in the New Kingdom ¹⁵⁶ These can have come only from Anatolia, the Caucasus or Greece, There are also references to the land of Sti<Sti

A conjunction of the Mit Rahma inscription with the Tôd Treasure strongly indicates that Sit included Anatolia. Two fragmentary lines from the inscription give a parallel between offerings – including metal—from Sit to the royal temple of Mont at Iwny, Armant, on the west bank of the Nile twenty kilometres upstream from Thebes, and other offerings from Sit given by Amenembe II to Mont at Dity, Tôd The precise reference is obscure but, given the parallel with the temple at Iwny and the well-known temple of Mont at Tôd, this would seem the most likely recipient ¹⁰. The objects described are not those of the Treasure, nevertheless, the conjunction of the archaeological find of metal objects from Anatolia dedicated by Amenembe II at the temple of Mont at Tôd with the offerings from Sit dedicated by the same pharaoh is startling. Thus, it would seem almost certain that, at least in the Middle Kingdom, Sit included Anatolia just as Sit's later equivalent 'Asia' did.

In this case, what seems to be the b3 (destruction or subduing) of Strunder Amenembe II, referred to on the line before the offerings to Mont, takes on a different meaning. These are the only references to Str but the inscription contains three previously unknown Asiatic

place names.

The first of these is * AND 1. Impro. One possibility for this is En \$ 1. I npw, or c \$ − (x) \$\mathbb{X}\$. I wn(v)p), Tump, a city in central Syria. This important city is known in Babylonian texts from the reignof Hammurahi and would seem likely despite the interchange of nand m_{i}^{not} . There is, however, another phonetic difficulty in that while χ , pt, was used vocalically in the New Kingdom simply for pa, thetained its liquid quality, sounding like an ℓ or an ℓ , in the Middle King dom. The semantic difficulties are even more serious in that I inpiw is described as producing 'lead', none of which is known in Syria less unlikely candidate is the land of Tabalu or Tubal, a name known from Assyrian fexts and the Bible as a territory in Central or Northeastern Anatolia famous for its metal-working in Genesis, its eponym Tubal Qayin (smith) was known as 'the master of all coppersmiths and blacksmiths' Iron had been worked in small quantities in Anatolia since the 3rd millennium. Thus, the bringing of lead from Impa would seem to be an indication here of Egyptian power at this time in Anatolia.

The other new names in the inscription are those of two 'cities' destroyed or subdued by Egyptian armies, \{\eta\}, iwi, and \{\frac{1}{2}\}, iss Wolfgang Helck sees iwil, or, as he reads it, 301-a, as the name Ura, found in Hittite and Ugaritic and Egyptian texts six hundred years later in the 13th century is referring to an important city on the coast

of Cilicia 165 I his may well be the case. However, Iwil also looks some what like $\mathbb{A}^{r_{\infty}} \subseteq \mathbb{A}^{r_{\infty}}$, we live v_r an Aegean name found on a column base of Amenhotep III from around 1400 BC, which a majority of scholars have identified with (W)Ihos. Trov. 11 he identification would be better if the name could be read as wis but this seems unlikely. As I mentioned in Chapter III, politically significant Egyptian objects from as far back as the Old Kingdom may well have been found in the Froad so there is no inherent impossibility of involvement there. 165

Mellaart included. I roy in his list of destructions from ϵ 1900 bc, but he admitted that I roy V, which ended at this time, was not burnt. Nevertheless, he seems justified in claiming that there was a categorical break at this time ¹⁶⁶. If list were. I roy, the fact that the Mit Rahma inscription claimed that the cits was bi, literally 'hacked up' or 'destroyed', does not provide an insuperable difficulty, as —at least in the New Kingdom — the word seems to have been used to mean merely 'to subdue'. The connections between list and Thos are too tenuous for anything substantial to be based on them. This does not mean, however, that we should exclude Troy from the band of destruction that swept Anatolia at the end of the 20th century Bc, and we shall return in Chapter VI to the image of an African army at the walls of Troy.

Helck's argument that livil should be identified with Ura is strengthened by the association of the other name, lisv, with Cyprus, 150 kilometres across the sea to the south. The name lisv leads to great complications, as it falls between two names, both of which are themselves the subjects of great dispute. The first and less controversial of these is (A) 1, Irs, commonly vocalized as Masia on the basis of Akkadian and Hittite transcriptions, its is generally accepted as the name for Cyprus, though some scholars identify it as a stretch of coastline in South Anatolia. It his name is attested from Egypt and elsewhere only in the New Kingdom, Given the fact that during the Middle Kingdom the 3 was a liquid, the suggestion made by Meltzer and Helck that lisy was the earlier form of Alasia seems plausible, and this would also fit evidence from the Mit Rahina inscription.

As Posener points out, lwif and list must have been in Asia because 1.546 famw (Asiatic) prisoners were taken from them. The other booty would lit either Anatolia or Cyprus as it included bronze axes, daggers and knives, and Cyprus is known to have been a major source of copper in the Late Bronze Age. However, many scholars accept that it had been producing the metal since the Farly Cypriot III period around 2000 BC. 60 There appear to have been strong Egyptian

influences on ECHE Cyprus, and Middle Kingdom beads and amulets have been found in contemporary strata in Cyprus, though no Cypriot material of this time has been identified in Egypt. Evidence of destructions in 20th-century Cyprus is unclear but it is probable that nothing on the scale of those in Anatolia took place.

There is also a slight problem in that both iwit and itsy are written with the battlemented carronches used for cities—nearly always conquered—and not with the sign for mountain,—, generally employed for foreign countries and in this inscription for Timpiw. However, the line between a territory and its chief city is not always clear cut and in this case there has been a frequent alternation between its Alasia as city and a country. Thus itsy may refer to Enkoun or another of the chief cities of Cyprus.¹⁷¹

The close parallel drawn between iwil and iss suggests that that the two 'cities' were geographically adjacent as are Ura and Cyprus. This would not be the case if livid were. Froy and itsy Cyprus. The tangle around livid grows even thicker, however, when we consider another name recorded in the New Kingdom, that of \$1.4 \text{Alphan}\$, isy. This name, which looks remarkably like itsy has been the subject of much debate, some scholars seeing it as an earlier form of its Alasia. However, in 1946 the specialist in ancient Anatolia H. I. Bossert clearly identified by with Assuwa, the Hittite name for a kingdom in Western Anatolia from which, as mentioned above, the Greek name 'Asia is derived. As long ago as 1886, the Egyptologist and ancient historian Gaston Maspero had derived the name Asia from an extension of isy which he saw as originally having been a name for Cyprus.'

One possible solution of this complex problem comes from the Mit-Rahma name issy. This is to suppose an Egyptian adoption of a local-or Levantine name, issy, for Cyprus, which was extended to cover-points further to the northwest. Analogies for this would be the European use of the name. Indies in the 10th century or the Greek expansion of Asia itself. Thus in Cyprus, where the name had authentic roots, the phonetics were preserved and issy was rewritten its. Alasia in Western Anatobia the graphic form itsy, pronounced and later written isy, came to dominate. This hypothesis would correspond well with the conclusions arrived at hy the ancient historian G.A. Wainweight in 1915, that isy was located on a seacoast and had affinities with Syria and Asia Minor, and connections with the Cilicia, and was never called an island.¹⁷⁶

On the other hand, the Hellenist D. J. Georgacas, in his detailed study of the name 'Asia', has two objections to this kind of argument. The first is that Egyptians already had a name for Asia in Str.

However, given the vagueness of the first term as set out above, I see no reason why specific regions in West Anatolia should not have had their own names. Georgacas's second argument is far more powerful: it is that Assuwa is well established in Anatolian languages and there is no need to propose an Egyptian origin for it.¹⁷⁵

Thus, while the connections between Isy, Assuwa and Asia are clear, then origin is not Similarly, while it is very likely that Isy was an early form of Irs/Alasia/Cyprus, it could also be the origin of Isy/Assuwa/Asia. The report of Ginw prisoners and booty of metalwork would lit either. Cyprus is closer to Egypt and would seem more likely on that count. In any case, the names Sit, Impaw, livil and Isy and their products listed in the Mit Rahina inscription clearly indicate that Sesostris' expeditions went well beyond Syro-Palestine and into Cyprus and Anatolia.

CONCLUSION

The traditions about Sesöstris' northern campaigns were discredited from the beginning of the 19th century AD, long before there was any archaeological or inscriptional evidence on the subject. They were rejected firstly because the new scepticism would not tolerate speculations about such an early period about which there was so little evidence. There were also religious objections to Egyptian history before the Hyksos, which came dangerously near to the Creation. To these must be added the increasingly systematic racism which found it inconceivable that an African monarch could have made military expeditions not merely to the Levant but to Asia Minor and Europe.

Thus, all the later discoveries that might have some bearing on the issue have been viewed in the 'knowledge' that the traditions concerning Sesostris' northern campaigns were utterly absurd. If one questions this preconception, several pieces of evidence that were previously considered unrelated fit a relatively coherent pattern. These include the massive strength and great military sophistication of 12th-Dynasty armies revealed by their extraordinary fortifications in Nubia, the destructions quite possibly at the appropriate time in Anatolia and the Balkans, the Iôd Treasure of northern and eastern precious metals and jewels dedicated to Mont the god of northern conquest, and the inscriptions and reliefs from buildings dedicated to Senwosre I or his son Amenembet II.

The Mit Rahma inscription is not concerned with any possible Egyptian colonization in Greece. Even if interpreted in the broadest possible way and linked to the traditions about Sesöstris, it affects only the neighborring regions of Anatoha and Thrace and not the Greek perinsula and archipelago themselves. Why then should it be examined in this work in this and the next chapters? The answer to the first question lies in its relation to the Ancient Model. The Mit Rahma inscription supports what is generally thought to be the most absurd set of stories told by Herodotos and Hellemstic Greek writers. If there are substantial elements of truth in these, the Ancient Model should be taken much more seriously in general.

The Mit Rahma inscription also demonstrates, specifically, that the Egyptians were not always the stay at home , conservative people they are usually thought to have been by proponents of the Arvan Model Early this century, the classicist Paul Foucart had argued that the discovery of portrayals of the maintime expeditions under Queen Hashepsowe to Africa, found on reliefs at Deu el Bahri, had destroyed that image completely and that there was no reason why the Egyptians should have restricted this kind of enterprise to the south. "Supporters of the Arvan Model, unable to refute his point, ignored at Now the Mit Rahma inscription with its reports of land and sea expeditions beyond Syro-Palestine raises this problem in a more acute form at a more propitious time when supporters of the Arvan Model can no longer maintain that they possess a monopoly of the 'scientific truth'

Just as in the first four chapters it seemed necessary to set the archaeological evidence from Crete and Boiotia in a legendary, cultic and toponymic context, to examine the Mit Rahma inscription and its implications. I have had to introduce more evidence from different sources, notably archaeology. Despite the lack of rigoni in this edictic procedure. I am convinced that the overall picture produced in this way indicates that—on this topic and presumably on others—we should have less fault in conventional wisdom and more trust in the Ancient Model. There is, however, another possible source of information which could test the Greek reports, that of myths, legends and folk memories in the ancient world. It is to these that I shall turn in the next chapter.

Sesōstris, II The cultic, mythical and legendary evidence

N THIS CHAPTER I shall look at some cults, myths and traditions in a number of cultures – Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia, Thrace, Colchis on the eastern coast of the Black Sea and finally Greece to see if they contain elements that can be understood to refer to ac-

tual conquests by the historical Sesostris.

I believe that there are a surprising number of such indications and that, in fact, the supposition of such a historical conqueror would make sense of many previously mexplicable features in a number of traditions. This combines with the evidence from documents and archaeology, discussed in the last chapter, to make the idea of Sesöstris as something like the figure portrayed by Herodotos, Manetho and Diodoros if not certain, at least more likely than not. As these portraits are considered to be among the 'most fantastic' of their works, the restoration of historicity to some if not the majority of the Egyptian conquests of the 12th Dynasty should have a significant positive impact on the credibility of the Greek and Egyptian historians.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION

Whether or not one believes that the descriptions of Sesostris given by Herodotos, Diodotos and Manetho refer to a historical figure, no one accuses these writers of having invented them. As we have seen, the standard view is that they mix together traditions about Senwostes I and III and Ramesses II and lace these with oriental hyperbole. The

German Egyptologist Wilhelm Spiegelberg, whose lecture in 1925 is still seen as a defence of Herodotos, but who was fully imbued with the 19th- and 20-century spirit of condescension and Besseriessen, said:

Among his [Herodotos'] tales are many that are purely Egyptian, for instance the famous story of the treasury of Rhampsinitus (ch. 121), or the legends of the world conqueror Sesöstris (chs. 102 fl.), under cover of whose name are enumerated the deeds of several Egyptian kings. They are so genuine in their local colouring, that they might have come straight out of an Egyptian papyrus and Maspero was quite right to include them in his delightful collection of Ancient Egyptian folktales.

Thus, there is no difficulty in admitting that there were Egyptian stories about Sesostris' vast conquests current during the 1st millennium ac. The fact that Sesostris Senwosre I was worshipped during the New Kingdom strongly suggests that the tradition of his special qualities was older still. Posener even suggests that, as well as having a strong historical component, the legendary qualities of Sesostris date back to the Middle Kingdom. Despite the massive rebuilding programmes of later pharaohs, notably Ramesses II, it is also likely that the Mit Rahma inscription and/or others like it were available for much of this period, not to mention the chronographies and chronicles written on papyrus.

In general it would seem that, when Herodotos and the later authors were writing, there had been a tich and continuous tradition about Sesöstris for some considerable time. It is also almost certain that Diodotos and or his informants embroidered the tradition, presumably to keep up with Alexander, and that modern writers may well be right when they argue that the legends were inflated to satisfy competitive feelings against the Persians ' Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the core of the tradition was much older and that much of it came from sources contemporary to the Egyptian 'conquests' and was therefore subject to some check.

Thus, it would seem likely that a careful historian in the 5th century BC who wanted to report the truth about Sesostris would have had the means to do so. Thus, the question to answer is whether Herodotos had the time or the inchination to do so? I believe, on the basis of most of what we know about his reporting on other areas, that the answer to both questions is 'yes'. The situation with the reports of Manetho and Diodoros is less clear but here too, despite the pressures of Egyptian nationalism during the Hellemstic period, there is no reason to dismiss them and their sources without checking counter or corroborative evidence.

Sesostris and Osiris/Dionysos

There is another possible trace for Sesöstris' conquests in the Egyptian traditions of the world-wide conquests of Ostris. Diodotos reported that, according to the Egyptians, Osiris had left certain gods to rule Egypt and set out with an army of musicians and dancers. After going through Ethiopia and India, he

took an interest in hunting elephants and everywhere left behind him inscribed pillars telling of his campaign. And he visited all the other nations of Asia as well and crossed into Europe at the Hellespont. In Thrace he slew Lycurgus . — brially Osiris in this way visited all the inhabited world and advanced community life by the introduction of the fruits that are most easily cultivated. And if any country did not admit of the growing of the vine he introduced the drink prepared from barley . — On his return to Egypt he brought with him the very greatest presents from every quarter and by reason of the magnitude of his benefactions received the gift of immortality with the approval of all men and honour equal to that offered to the gods in heaven.⁵

Over a century later, around 100 AD, Plutarch wrote along the same lines:

One of the first acts related of Osiris in his reign was to deliver the Egyptians from their destitute and brutish manner of living. This he did by showing them the frints of cultivation, by giving them laws and by teaching them to honour the gods. Eater he travelled over the whole earth civilising it without the slightest need of arms, but most of the peoples he won to his way by the charm of his persuasive discourse combined with song and all manner of music. Hence the Greeks came to identify him with Dionysos."

The first problem encountered in considering these passages is their antiquity. Just as in Diodoros' descriptions of the conquests of Sesõstris, the references to India and riding elephants show that the accounts of Osiris have clearly been influenced by Alexander. On the other hand, as seen in Volume 1, the stories of the world conquests of Osiris' Greek counterpart Dionysos antedate Alexander, and the traditions of Osiris' conquests go back at least to the 18th Dynasty. Thus, the parallel traditions can only have originated in Egypt.

It is clear that these stories contain aetiological myths for the origins and spread of agriculture and civilization, as well as for the foundation of orgiastic fertility cults. The conquests are less easy to explain but the structural similarities between Diodoros' description of them and of those of Sesostris suggest that the latter may have provided the

inspiration for the former.

This leads us to the problem of euhemerism. In Volume 1, Eused this term in the commonly used sense of the turning of gods or spirits. into mortals 'I now see that this was very much in the spirit of Besser wissen, that is to say knowing better than Eathemeros, when he said that the gods were apotheoses of great men? However, there are many examples to justify the modern reversal of the ancient idea described in Volume 1 and it is clear that the 'rationalization' of invthical beings into 'historical' figures is a relatively common process, which goes back a long way. In this case, it is interesting to note that the tradition that Osiris and other gods, were originally kings of Egypt is attested in the Jurin Canon from the 19th Dynasty." On the other hand, we know that many pharaons and later monarchs defied their predecessors or themselves and there is the argument I made in Chapter II on the influence of Middle Kingdom pharaohs on Greek heroes. Thus, mortals sometimes became gods in the way Euhemeros described.

If the actual conquests of Senwosie/Sesöstris were the model for the mythical ones of Osiris Dionysos, we should have a good example of culicinerization in the original sense. There is, however, no reason why the two processes should be mutually exclusive and it was quite possible for mortals to become gods and vice versa. In fact, this particular Instoric and mythical cycle would seem to provide an excellent example of this two-way process. The splendid reign and conquests of the deified Senwosie merge with the attributes of Osiris/Dionysos. The latter's invitical conquests and spreading of civilization became an inspiration for Alexander the Great whose actual achievements embellish both the legends around Sesöstris and the invihs about Osiris Dionysos, as well as beginning a whole new cycle of myths and legends. Thus, in Egypt there would seem to have been two related but distinct traditions based on Senwosie's conquests, the first claiming to be historical and the second a mythical association with Osiris.

Sesostris did not influence the afe and legend of Alexander merely indirectly through Oshis Dionysos. There is clear evidence of direct influence. This can be seen, for anstance, in the Alexander Romance the first in the massive tradition of legendary embroidery on Alexander's life. The earliest versions of which were written in Egypt not long after the Macedoman's death in 323 BC. In this, Alexander is supposed to have encountered the great Egyptian conqueror Senson-chosis during a vision in an Ethiopian cave. The name Sensonchosis

was taken from the first pharaoh of the 22nd Dynasty 945—730 BC called Shoshenk and Sechönsis or Sesonchösis by Greek writers, and Shishak, in the Bible, who conducted campaigns in Palestine and Syria. However, there is no doubt that the name and the attributes became confused or merged with those of Sesöstris. Manetho, for instance, used the names alternately. 'At another point, Alexander was explicitly called the 'new Sesonchosis' and when Alexander's body was brought to Memphis he was received as "Sesonchosis Demigod Rufer of the World". 'There is, in fact, no reason to doubt the historicity of these epithets. In general, there are many parallels between the Alexander Romance and a Sesonchösis Romance outlining the vast achievements of the Egyptian conqueror. Both of these romances were extremely popular in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and almost certainly elsewhere as well, ¹⁶

THE TRADITIONS OF THE LEVANT AND ANATOLIA

No Levantine of Anatolian texts report Sesostris' or any other Egyptian 'conquests' there. Nevertheless, there are indications of traditions and folk memories which could well refer to them.

The most impressive of these is the emergence in the 18th and 17th centuries BC of the image of a striking god armed with a hammer or axe and wearing the \$\tilde{\psi}\$, \$\lambda dt\$, white crown of Upper Egypt, or the \$\tilde{\psi}\$, \$\lambda mty\$, double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. At times, however, this is combined with symbolic horns which have an older Mesopotamian tradition.\(^{17}\) While the imagery is clearly largely Egyptian, the figures are associated with the local thunder gods Ba'al and Tessub and Tarkhun.

These figures are also identified with the Canaanite god Reshel, god of thunder and disease. This foreign god was incorporated into the Egyptian pantheon during the 18th Dynasty, but Reshel appears as a divine element of names in the Middle Kingdom. It is also possible that his name, which is difficult to explain in West Semitic, derives from the Egyptian, Hry § f, Arsaphes in Greek (On his lake), whose association with Herakles has been mentioned in Chapter II, as has the fact that there has been some confusion between Hry § f and Reshef in the dedication of a temple to the Egyptian god at Byblos. It is fascinating to note that, after Reshef's adoption into the Egyptian paintheon, he was particularly linked to Mont, whom we have seen above to have been associated with northern conquest and whose Greek counterpart was —if my hypothesis on this is right —the Cretan ruler Rhadamanthys, a stepfather of Herakles.

In a stela from Ramesses II, there is the passage: 'His Majesty crossed the Orontes [in North Syria] over the tempestuous waters like Reshef.' 20 I hus there would seem little doubt that, in Egyptian eyes at least, Reshef was associated with royal conquest of the north – directly through the pharaoh and Mont – and indirectly through Hry § f and Herakles.

The theological identification is also apparent in the iconography. The 'striking god' figures are strongly reminiscent of Middle Kingdom representations of the pharaoh striking down foreigners. Edith Porada, the expert on seals, admits a similarity between representations of Sesőstris I dancing at his Heb Sed or jubilee festival and that of a Syro-Palestinian weather god found at Tell el Daba'a from a century or two later. But she claims that there are important differences in that

the heel of the king's backward foot is taised from the ground, whereas the weather god's feet are placed flat above the mountains on which he stands. Moreover, the upright torso of the Egyptian king appears unmoved by the wide stride of his legs, whereas the torso of the weather god is slightly inclined forward.²²

Nevertheless, the parallels are noteworthy.

Such Levantine figures are not attested from the third millernium and therefore probably cannot be attributed to the influence of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. On the other hand, they are well established before the New Kingdom conquests in Syria in the 15th century. Thus, although the image of the powerful godlike destructive pharaoli may well have been intensified by the activities of Futhmiosis HI in the 15th and Ramessés II in the 13th centuries BC, it cannot have been created as a result of them. It is possible that the Hittite tall pointed hat was influenced by the hdt or the Ht (crowns) even though the shapes are very different. Even without this link, however, the emergence of an image of a striking god with the characteristics of an Egyptian pharaoh at this particular time could be conveniently explained if Sesöstris had campaigned in these regions.

In this respect, it is worth repeating part of Herodotos' report

quoted earlier:

Most of the memorial pillars which King Sesostris erected in conquered countries have disappeared, but I have seen some myself in Palestine, with the inscription I mentioned and the drawing of a woman's genitals. In Ionia also there are two images of Sesostris cut on rock, one on the road from Ephesos to Phocaea, the other between Sardis and Smyrna, in each case the carved figure is nearly

seven feet high and represents a man with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment to match – partly Egyptian partly Ethiopian. Across the breast from shoulder to shoulder runs an inscription, cut in the Egyptian sacred script: by the strength of my shoulders I won this land. The name and country of the conqueror are not here recorded.²⁵

This is to the south of Mellaart's belt of destructions but, since he wrote, another destruction of the same period has been discovered at Aphrodisias, inland from Miletos about midway along the west coast of Anatolia. Thus, given the assumption that Sesöstris made conquests in Anatolia, it is possible that he could have left monuments there. On the other hand, it is almost certain that the reliefs were not Egyptian but Hittite; one such has been identified precisely on the road from Ephesos to Phokaea. There is, however, an Egyptian connection in that the royal figure is wearing the Hittite tall hat, which could well have been derived from the Egyptian crown and is holding a 'flail', a typical Egyptian emblem of royalty.'

As with the Egyptian stories of Sesöstris, I think it unlikely that Herodotos invented the Egyptian connection with the reliefs. It is much more likely that he was following local West Anatolian or Ionian

Greek traditions to that effect.

Toponyms provide another source of evidence for Egyptian influence in Anatolia. Sinope on its northern coast was confused in Hellemstic times with Se(s-t)-n Hepy (Place of the Nile god Hepy) near Memphis. This led to the view that the obviously Egyptian composite god Serapis had been brought from Smope in Pontos in Anatolia. Here, however, there was also punning with S-t in Hp, the Lemple of the bull god Apis, at Mephis. We have seen paranomasia or confusion between the two names Hp and Hepy in the discussion of Danaos and the Supplicants in Volume 1.26 Thus, the Anatolian name could well be Egyptian in origin.

An even more striking example is the city of Abydos at the key narrows of the Hellespont, which in ancient times was seen as identical with the Egyptian 3bdw, Abydos in Greek transcription, the name of the religious centre, famous for its tomb of Osiris. The name of Byzantium on the European side of the Bosphoros is a mystery but, according to Nonnos, the learned Hellenized Egyptian of the 5th century AD, Byzas (the eponym and founder of the city) was similar to Kadmos and his brothers. Kilix, eponym of Gilicia in Southeastern Anatolia, and Thasos, that of Thasos in the Northern Aegean, both of whom settled down after giving up their search for their sister Europa:

For another man also who carried his home upon his back, one of the divine stock of Iô, a heavenly sprout dropt from Zeus, named Byzas, who had drunk the seven-mouth water of the self-begotten Nile, inhabited the neighbouring land, where along the Bosporos shore flows the water once traversed by the Inachian heifer. To those who dwelt about he showed a light, when he turned about the neck of that mad bull unbending.

As usual with ancient poetry, this passage is full of learned allusion and double meanings. The 'light' would seem to refer to the city of Lampsakhos at the head of the Hellespont. The intricate connections between To, the cows, the Nile and Thachos have been discussed in Volume 1. "Here it should be added that the Bosphoros was traditionally seen as the place of 'bull carrying', over which Zeus, as a bull, carried Europa to the west, he is clearly the 'mad bull' referred to. It is just conceivable that this may also contain an allusion to Sesöstris as the personification of the patron deity of the Egyptian northern expedition, the bull god Mont.

Byzas himself seems to parallel another mythological figure. Phineus—a son of Agenor and brother of Kadmos who settled at the same place as Byzas on Cape. I hyma, which separates the Sea of Marmora from the Black Sea. The derivation of Phineus and Peneus from the Egyptian prinw(v) (the [masc.] water or the flood) was discussed in Chapter III. In this case, the parallel between Phineus and Thymacan be explained by deriving the latter from 13 nwt (the [fem., stretch of water), a toponym attested in Egypt itself. These would seem altogether suitable names for the Golden Horn through which the voyager from the Mediterranean criters the Black Sea.

This toponymic evidence is made very uncertain by the fact that, even if these names were ultimately Egyptian, it is impossible to tell at what stage or by whom they were introduced. They could date back to Sesöstris' conquests' but equally or more likely they could come from later contacts, either directly or through Phoenicians or Greeks aware of the principles of Egyptian toponymy. By Classical times it is clear that Egyptian influences were felt along the coast, since cities from Mytelene on Lesbos to Lampsakos and Kyzikos on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmora all issued coms with the head of Aminon.' The only name which does appear to point to Egyptian influence at precisely the period with which we are concerned is that of the tomb of Memnon on the shores of the Sea of Marmora, and this will be discussed below.

The same ambiguity on timing holds for the striking religious

parallels between Egypt and Northwest Anatolia, notably those concerning the dying fertility gods - the Egyptian Osiris, the Semitic Adoms and the Phrygian Attis of North Anatolia - which will be discussed in some detail in Volume 3.32 Herodotos tells the story of the two children brought up without hearing any speech (on the instruction of the pharaoh Psammetekhos) whose first word was bekos, the Phrygian for 'bread', thus proving that Phrygian was the oldest language in the world - even older than Egyptian. According to modern linguistics. Phrygian is an Indo-European language - in the narrow sense of the term and far more recent than Egyptian. Nevertheless, it is interesting that Phrygia could have been seen as a competitor to Egypt's antiquity. A plausible reason for this would be the similarities between the religious of the two countries. Here, too, there is the question of when the Egyptian influence originated. A short and violent invasion by Sesostris would seem rather unpropitious for this. Nevertheless, unlike the place names for which we have no way of determining a chronology, the Anatolian cults do appear to have been very ancient and very probably date to the 2nd millennium, so that contact in the 20th century BC would be quite possible.

THRACE AND SCYTHIA

Further Northwest Anatolian traditions concerning an Egyptian conquest in the 20th century BC will be discussed with those from Greece later in this chapter. Meanwhile, we shall glance at traces of Egyptian influence on the other side of the Bosphoros in Thrace

Herodotos and later authors wrote about the Thracian cults of Dionysos among remote tribal groups called Satrai and Bessor. Thall argue in Volume 4 that the name Satrai, like Satyroi, is derived from a form *Sntrw from the Egyptian verb side (consecrate); similarly, the name Bessoi can be plausibly derived from an Egyptian *Bsw (initiates) from the verb bs (initiate). I shall also propose that other Thracian divine names, such as Bendis and Sebazios, may well have Egyptian origins and will draw attention to the parallels between the Thracian and Egyptian aspects of Orphism. I should add that I am not the first to see these parallels. A number of scholars have referred to a 'Libyan, Thracian substratum' to explain the many parallels they have seen between the Thraco-Phrygians and Africa, but these would seem to me more plausibly explained as the results of Egyptian influences."

As with the cultic parallels with Phrygia, however, it is difficult to date such influences. The cult of Osiris, from which that of Dionysos seems to have been derived, was flourishing in the 12th Dynasty, as was the cult of Ammon from which came, I believe, the ram cults asso-

ciated with Zeus. These then could have been introduced at the time of the 'conquests'. Many of the other Egyptian elements, like the cults of Bes, god of initiations, and Geb Orpheus, would seem to come from much later periods, when we know from the striking of coms in Thrace with the head of Ammon that there was Egyptian cultic influence." The idea of such influence in the early 1st millenmum be would tally well with the considerable Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean in this period, which can be demonstrated, historically, archaeologically and toponymically as well as through cultic parallels. The Phoenicians, then as in other influence, absorbed and promoted much Egyptian civilization." Thus, although there is clear evidence of Egyptian cultural influence on Thrace, it is impossible to show that any of it goes back to the beginning of the 2nd millennium and Sesőstris' conquests.

There are, to my knowledge, no traditions concerning Sesöstris of Egyptians of any sort in Scythia in South Russia. Even if the African army had passed through, it is unlikely that folk memories could have been preserved, given the political turnioil in the Steppe and the complete absence of written records for the next two millenniums. However, the situation is very different on the eastern side of the Black Sea.

COLCHIS: AN EGYPTIAN COLONY?

Colchis is an area of long cultural and linguistic continuity. Two types of Caucasian languages - Kartvelian, of which Georgian is the bestknown member, and Abkhaz, one of the Northwest Caucasian languages have been spoken there since the earliest times. The only major shift to have taken place was the breakthrough, during the period of Arab domination in the 9th century AD, of the inland Iberian-Georgians of the mountains to the coast, this left the original West-Kartvelian speaking inhabitants of subtropical coastal Colchis both in the south and to the north, where they mingled with Abkhaz speakers, * However, more recent linguistic groups - Armenian, Iranian and Turkish are also present. Partly as a function of its continuity and partly because of many migrations through the Caucasus, but essentially because of its geographical isolation in the mountainous country, the region seems always to have been one of extraordmary linguistic variety. In the 1st century BC Strabo reported that seventy different tribes mingled in the markets of Dioskyrias, the modern Sukhumi.3 On the coast, this mixture is reflected today in the extraordinary variety of physical types, which Lang plausibly sees as the result of 'several millennia of ethnic mingling' "

With this background in mind, we should return to Herodotos' description of Sesöstris' conquests:

On his way back Sesöstris came to the river Phasis, and it is quite possible that he here detached a body of troops from his army and left them behind to settle—or, on the other hand, it may be that some of his men were sick of their travels and deserted. I cannot say with certainty which supposition is the right one, but it is undoubtedly a fact that the Colchians are of Egyptian descent. I noticed myself before I heard anyone else mention it, and when it occurred to me I asked some questions both in Colchis and in Egypt, and found that the Colchians remembered the Egyptians more distinctly than the Egyptians remembered them. The Egyptians did, however, say that they thought that the original Colchians were men from Sesostris' army. ¹¹

Jason and the Golden Fleece evidence for a Black population in Colchis

By far the best-known Greek tradition concerning the Black Sea region was that of Jason's search for the Golden Fleece. This was set forth most cohereuity by Apollomos Rhodios in his Argonautika, written in the Egyptian Alexandria in the 3rd century BC. The legend begins with a father, King Athamas of Orkhomenos in Boiotia, reluctantly offering his children Phrixos and Helle to Zeus on the top of a mountain. Zeus then sent a rain to save them, and it took them on its back across the Hellespoint – where Helle dropped off—and the Black Sea to Colchis. There the rain was sacrificed and his golden fleece was preserved until Jason stole it.

Michael Astour has demonstrated the striking and intricate parallels between this story and that of the Akedah, or Abraham's binding or offering of Isaac. Astour convincingly maintains that the Athamas legend is the result of Semitic influence on Greece 12 However, the great champion of diffusionism, R. A. Jairazbhov, points out the importance of the themes of rams and their fleeces in Egyptian religion and refers to the following passage in Herodotos. After explaining why the Thebans, whose god was the ram Amon, never sacrifice rams, the historian went on to say:

Nevertheless on the festival of Zeus [Amon] which occurs once a year they break this custom and do in fact, slaughter a ram, but only one. They cut the animal in pieces, skir it and put the fleece on the statue of Zeus, just as Zeus once put it upon himself."

In his detailed commentary on this passage, Lloyd concludes that Herodotos' description of this ritual was 'probably correct'. The close and intricate relations between Amon, Zeus and rams will be discussed in Volume 4. The only further point I should like to mention here is that there is a tradition, first attested in Thebes in the New Kingdom, but probably going back to the Middle Kingdom, of Amon as a ram and oracle. This leads us back to Colchis where Strabo reports that at the oracle founded by Phrixos a ram was never sacrificed.

The parallels between the traditions surrounding the Colchian ramifleece and the Egyptian cults of Amon as a ram would seem to be extremely close. Jairazbhoy draws attention to the passage in the Argonautika which describes the fleece being guarded by a serpent. He relates this to images of Amon-Re' of a royal ram's head of Amon surmounted by the solar disk and uraeus with a snake's head of Re'. However, if they are related, it would seem to indicate later influence as this writing of Re' has been found only from the 18th Dynasty and the example given by Jairazbhoy comes from the 19th. In general, as with the Anatolian cults, there is no indication when these purative Egyptian influences arrived.

Ostensibly, Jason was supposed to have sailed in the 13th century BC ¹⁸ Whether or not the legend has any historicity, it belongs to the earliest epic cycles and surviving writings. Hesiod, who was writing in the 10th century BC, refers to both Phrixos and the Golden Fleece ¹⁸

Thus, the tradition goes back at least to this time.

It is, of course, impossible to assess Apollonios' accuracy in his reports of Colchis. Nevertheless, Lang has written: 'It is remarkable how many details in the Argonautica corroborate the findings of archaeology, as well as the scattered references in the Hittite, Assyrian and Urartian sources' Lang then goes on to give specifics on the peoples the Argonauts encountered on their way to Colchis. He is even more emphatic on the ways in which Soviet excavations have confirmed Apollonios' descriptions of Colchis itself."

Thus, the ancient writer's descriptions of the Southern and Eastern Black Sea seem reliable not merely in his own time but for many centuries before. Whether this is true of his reports of Colchian traditions referring to events 1,600 years earlier is another story. Nevertheless, it would be foolish to dismiss out of hand the following passage from

the epic about the history of Colchis or Aea:

Think of a time when the wheeling constellations did not yet exist; when one would have looked in vain for the sacred Danaan race, finding only the Apidanaean Arkadians, who are said to have lived before the moon itself was there, feeding on acorns on the hills

These were the days before the scions of the noble Deukalion ruled the Pelasgian land, when Egypt mother of an earlier race was known as the corn rich country of the dawn, and the Nile that waters all its length was called the Triton, a generous river flowing through a rainless land yet by its floods producing crops in plenty. Now we are told that from this country a certain king set out, supported by a strong and loyal force, and made his way through the whole of Furope and Asia, founding many cities as he went. Some of these survive though others have succumbed to the burden of the years. But to this day Aea stands with people in it descended from the very men whom that king had settled there. 31

This passage is full of interest. 'The wheeling constellations' seems to refer to the precession of the equinoxes and the 'great year' of some 26,000 solar years.' Like Plato's dating of Atlantis, this and Apollomos' other astronomical references seem to be a combination of mathematical symbolism and poetic hyperbole used to refer to a period before the beginning of the oldest Greek tradition. The choice of the name Triton for the Nile will be discussed below. The April in 'Apidanaan' would appear to refer to the esoteric name for the Peloponnese, the intricate Egyptian origins of which were discussed in Volume 1. '

The references to the Egyptian king who 'made his way through the whole of Europe and Asia' have long been seen as referring to Sesöstris. What we therefore need to consider is whether Apollonios based this on Herodotos' reports of the Egyptian colonization of Colchis, supplemented from contemporary Egyptian fictional material,

or whether he was referring directly to a historical tradition.

As stated above, Apollomos lived most of his life in Alexandria What is more, he was considered learned enough to be appointed director of the great library there. The accuracy of his other reports on the Black Sea region shows he knew a good deal about it, independently of Herodotos. Thus, I think it is likely that both men were reporting a real Colchian tradition that their city had been colonized from Egypt. Whether there was any truth to it or whether it was merely an attempt by a remote people to provide themselves with a central and ancient heritage is much more difficult to say

Herodotos believed that he had found independent confirmation

of this claim:

My own idea on the subject was based first on the fact that they have black skins and woolly han (not that that amounts to much, as other nations have the same), and secondly, and more especially, on the fact that the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians are the

only races which from ancient times have practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine themselves admit that they adopted the practice from Egypt, and the Syrians who live near the rivers. Thermodon and Parthennis, as well as their neighbours the Macronians say they learnt it only a short while ago from the Colchians. . . .

And now I think of it, there is a further point of resemblance between the Colchians and Egyptians: they share a method of weaving linen different from that of any other people, and there is also a similarity between them in language and way of living. The linen made in Greece is known as Sardonian linen, that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian.³³

It is interesting to note that this manufacture of linen was also a characteristic of the shores of the Kopais where, as we have seen in Chapters II and III, there are strong suggestions of Egyptian influence. Nevertheless, there is no way of telling at what date the technique spread to Boiotia and Colchis, even if it was a case of diffusion. Unfortunately also, Herodotos' statements of Colchian linen and the distribution of circumcision, which are in themselves of the utmost importance, are impossible to check.

There is, however, some fascinating evidence on the blackness. Herodotos was not the only ancient writer to refer to it. His olde, contemporary Pindar referred to Jason's expedition attacking the dark-skinned Colchians. Some later writers also refer to the darkness of the Colchians, although they could have been influenced by Herodotos on this?

Physical anthropology provides no help. The population of the mountains inhabited by Thero-Georgians shows considerable physical continuity. It was, as Georgians are today, brachycephalic, 'short-skulled', or hyperbrachycephalic, which is typically Caucasian. By contrast, the coastline of Colchis shows a considerable mixture, including some dolichocephalic, 'long-skulled', types which could be from Aftica.' The Abkhaz linguist and ethnographer Dmitri Gulia, who believes that the Colchians had Abyssino-Egyptian origins, claims to have found traces of Egyptian influence in Abkhaz geographical, divine and personal names.⁵⁹

The most tantalizing evidence of all is the existence in the 20th century AD of a Black African population around Sukhumi in Abkhazia, to the north of the ancient Colchis. It is clear that some of these Blacks came as slaves from Africa when Abkhazia was part of the Turkish Empire, from the 16th to the 18th centuries AD. However, the

community, which still seems to survive despite Soviet attempts to dissipate it through intermarriage and dispersion, has deep roots in the region and most of its members speak nothing but Abkhaz.⁶⁰

The debate as to whether some of the Blacks are descendants of those Herodotos saw has been going on in Russian and Georgian scholarship for more than a century. More recently, an American writer, Patrick English, has supported this contention in an erudite and important - if uncritical – article. In this, he shows that a belief in a Black population in Colchis was still present in the writings of St. Jerome and Sophronius around the end of the 4th century AD, that is over eight hundred years after Herodotos. This reduces the gap between the ancient and modern reports of Blacks in the region to about twelve hundred years which, given the persistence of other small groups in the Caucasus, makes continuity possible. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the subtropical climate of Colchis made it attractive to Africans at different periods.

Spiritual geography

Let us now look at a very intricate set of what one might call 'sacred' or 'spiritual-geographical' parallels between Lgypt and Colchis. To do this we should return to the passage from Apollomos.

These were the days before the scions of the noble Deukalion ruled the Pelasgian land, when Egypt mother of an earlier race was known as the corn rich country of the dawn, and the Nife that waters all its length was called the Tritón, a generous river flowing through a rainless land yet by its floods producing crops in plenty.¹²

As we have seen in Chapter H, the name Triton seems to have been linked to the Egyptian tryt (respect) and was the name given to a number of river systems in Libya. Triton was possibly a son of Poseidon.' Apollonios continued:

But to this day Aea stands, with people in it descended from the very men whom that king settled there. Moreover they have preserved tablets of stone which their ancestors engraved with maps giving the outlines of the land and sea and the roots in all directions. On these is shown a river the furthest branch of the Ocean Stream broad and deep enough to carry merchantmen. They placed it at a great distance from Aea, giving it the name of Ister [generally accepted as the Danube]. Far away beyond the North Wind, its headwaters come rushing down from the Rhipaean mountains.

Then it flows for a time through endless plans as a single stream, but when it reaches the borderlands of Thrace and Scythia it divides one branch running down into the Ionian. Black] Sea the other [the Rhone?] flowing south into a deep gulf that streiches up from the Sicilian Sea... a sea that washes your own shores if I am right in thinking that the river Achelous flows into it from Hellas.¹⁴

From this point on the Argonautika changes from a relatively stand and precise itinerary along the Black Sea into a mad rush across Europe and the Mediterranean. Clearly the cosmological aspects of the poem have transcended the geographical.

The references here to the two great rivers, the Nile and the Danube, are significant. In the next chapter, I shall argue that the Egyptian name liting for the Nile and the great water or 'ocean' around the world, which I believe appears in Greek as the root Atla-, is found not merely in 'Atlantic' but also as a name for the Danube. But in this passage, as in his poem as a whole, Apollonios is referring to a geography that is simultaneously real, celestial, infernal and spiritual in the sense that the souls of the dead have to navigate through it.

The most detailed description of this kind of geography comes in the *Phaeda*, where Plato reports of Sokrates' last speech on his death and immortality:

I believe that the earth is very large and that we who dwell between the Pillars of Hercules and the river Phasis live in a small part of it about the sea, like ants or frogs about a pond, and that many other people live in many other such regions."

Crudely put on the geographical plain, the cosmology is self-consciously limited. It is centred on the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins into which four or more great rivers pour water from the heavenly or terrestial ocean surrounding it. The mystery of solar evaporation in the Mediterranean was explained in terms of a flow into 'the lowest abysis beneath the earth', as Plato quoted Homer. The four streams generally include the Nile from the south, the inflow from the Atlantic through the Pillars of Herakles from the west, the Danube [and/or the Rhone and Po] from the north and the Phasis from the East.

Kis and Colchis: an Egyptian derivation?

Given that the land up the Nile from Egypt and the rich valley of the tiver Phasis in Colchis were two of the extreme points of 'this earth' and that they seem to have been inhabited by Blacks, could these two

territories have shared the same name Ki8/Kolkhis (Colchis)? Before examining this, however, I want to look at a few examples which show that Egyptian toponymy on the Black Sea is not impossible. I have already mentioned the cases of Sinope and Abydos, but there is another even more striking example.

The name Pontos was given in Classical times to the Black Sea as well as to the northern coast of Anatolia and the southern coast of Russia. It was also one of the many Greek words for 'sea'. It is conventionally thought to derive from an Indo-European root, spent (to walk, way), from which among many others we obtain the Latin pons-pontis, 'bridge' and our 'path.' Although, it will be argued below, it is more common for even maritime peoples to see the sea as a barrier or a frontier, and there is no analogy in Indo-European for the root being used in this way, there is no reason why a sea should not be viewed as a 'path' or 'passage'. Indeed this would fit very well with the Hellespoot, linking the Aegean and Black seas.

However, its use for the land on either side of the Pontos (the Black Sea) presents a problem. In this respect there would seem to be a better parallel with the Egyptian place name Pwnt. This was a country reached by sea travel down the Red Sea and Indian Ocean from which tropical products were brought to Egypt. Although there is no record of the name having been used for a northern locality, it was standard in Egyptian cosmology and toponymy for places to exist in matching pairs. In Greek and Roman geography the frequent coincidentiae oppositorum were usually east and west; 7 we shall see this below in the case of the two Ethiopias. In Egypt, however, set along the axis of the Nile, the opposition was usually north-south. Nearly every city of Lower Egypt hao its namesake in Upper Egypt. The same was sometimes true for external place names; see, for example, the northern and southern 5trs, mentioned above. Similarly, the territory 13 nu (Holy Land) either stretched from Anatoha to Fast Africa or it represented another southern and a northern pair.

In this way, the idea of a Kis or a Pwint in both the remote south and the remote north would seem very possible, even though they are not attested and therefore cannot be used as independent evidence. Nevertheless, they provide more depth to the overall pattern suggest-

ing Egyptian involvement in the region,

The etymology of the name Colchis or Kolchis is unknown. It could come from Chalk-, seen in the place names Chalkis or Chalkidike coming from the root Chalk-, 'bronze' or 'metal' in general, which is, I believe, derived from the Semuic root, hlq (smooth, make smooth, forge, fabricate).** Given the kingdom's famous immeral resources

and metallurgy. Colchis could come from either the Semitic or the Greek forms of this word and it could also come from any of the many

languages spoken in the West Caucasus.

However, there is another possibility. St. Jerome and Sophronius in the 4th century an referred to Colchis as 'a second Ethiopia'. Thus, it could be that the name Kolchis came from Kis, the Egyptian name for Upper Nubia on the Egyptian southern frontier. The Hebrew rendering of this was Kûs, translated in the Septuagint as Xous, Khus or Aithiopia. The early value of 3 as a liquid r or 1 has been frequently mentioned above. As there was a frequent interchange between 3 and 4 in Egyptian and other languages and the Hebrew vocalization suggests a back vowel 0 or 10, the phonetic fit of *Kolš/h with Kolchis is excellent.

If one accepts an Egyptian etymology, the form Kolchis would suggest the Middle Kingdom form of Kis in which the i was sounded as a liquid r or I rather than the New Kingdom pronunciation preserved in the Hebrew Kûs. Thus, it would point to the 12th Dynasty - the only period before the New Kingdom when it is likely that Egyptian political and cultural influence spread so far north. Semantically, both Nubia and Colchis shared a rich production of gold and had climatic similarities, in that Kis was lush after the desert reaches of Lower Nubia; even today it has slight but significant rainfall.

The Blacks of Colchis and Elam

The possibility that Kiš and Colchis are a south—north pair is hugely complicated by the fact that many modern scholars maintain that, while the biblical name Kúš generally referred to Nubia or Ethiopia, it was also used for two other regions and their peoples; the Midianites in Western Arabia and the Kaššû or Kassites to the east of Mesopotamia who controlled Mesopotamia for much of the middle of the and millennium. 69

There do, in fact, seem to have been two independent similar names. In both cases, however, they would seem to have been for dark or black peoples. Thus, Kûš became a generic title for them. In this way, it was used for the darker Midianites to the southeast of Canaan, many of whom, like the South Arabians of today, resembled Somalis and other Northeast Africans.

The Kassites, who originated on the fringe of Mesopotamia, are an elusive people. In order to try to place them it is necessary to consider the major independent civilization of Elam. The Elamites inhabited Susiana – the modern Khuzistan in Iran – the plain to the east of the

Figure, as well as parts of the Iranian highlands before the arrival of the Iranian speakers in the 2nd millennium BC. It is now almost certain that Flainite belongs to the Greater Dravidian language family. It is also likely that many of its speakers were 'South Indian' in appearance and therefore darker than the peoples to the west. There may even have been negro or 'negritic' types in the population.' Professor Hinz, the doven of Flainite studies, writes about the glazed brick reliefs of Flainite bodyguards of the Persian king Darius around 500 BC:

Some guards are white-skinned and are obviously intended to represent Persians, although in Flamite garb. A second group is brownskinned and a third is very dark, almost black. These must be Flamites from the hinterland. Even today dark-skinned men, in no way negroid, are seen in Khuzistan."

Herodotos, writing about the same army twenty years after these rehefs, may well have been referring to upland Elamites when he wrote:

The Fastern Ethiopians — for there were two sorts of Ethiopians in the army—served with the Indians. These were just like the southern Ethiopians, except for their language and their hair; their hair is straight, white that of the Ethiopians in Libya is the crispest and curliest in the world.⁷¹

Note the clear distinction he made between their hair and the tight curls of the Kolchians, upon which he laid such great stress. This makes it extremely unlikely that he was referring to the latter here.

The tradition of two Ethiopias is much older than Herodotos. In the Odyssey the Ethiopians are described as dwelling 'sundered in twain, the faithermost of men, some where Hyperion sets and some where he rises'. Thus, there were Black men, Aithiopes (the name means burnt face'), from Western Libya (Africa) to Eastern Mesopotamia.

Were the two Ethiopias paralleled by two Küss? The attempt by some writers to link the name Khuz—as in Khuzistan (Elam)—with Kuš is possible but implausible. Nevertheless, there are links between Elam and the name Kuš. Herodotos wrote, describing Aristagoras of Miletos looking at a map of the provinces of the Persian Empire, 'Again, further East lies Kissia, you can see the Choaspes marked, with Susa on its banks'. This Kissia is also referred to by Strabo. There is only one possible local attestation of the name, the modern tiver name Kashghan in Khuzistan Elam. However, Hinz attributes this to Kassite influence.

Let us therefore, return to the Kassites. They were called Kassû in Akkadian and Kussû in its Nuzi dialect. The Greek version was

Kossaioi, which the Mesopotamian and biblical specialist F. A. Speiser claimed indicated that it contained the same back vowel of the biblical Kûš, However, the people seem to have called themselves Galzu, Galdu

or Galšu hence the Akkadian Kaššú – indicating an a 28

The geographical origin of the Kassites is extraordinarily difficult to locate, beyond saying that they came from the mountain rim of Mesopotamia. However, then later stronghold was in the Zagros Mountains to the east of Mesopotamia and therefore they were close to Elam and definitely within the sphere of Elamite influence. There seems little doubt that in later times there were Kassites in Flam, although scholars debate whether there are Elamite traces in what little can be found of their language. On the other hand, the 'blackness' of many Elamites leaves open the possibility that Kassites themselves may have been seen as Black. The question must remain moot.

The biblical Mesopotamian conqueror Nimrod the Mighty should also be considered in this context. He was specifically called a son of Kūš. Speiser, who is still considered the major authority on this field, dismissed outright the theories of Eduard Meyer and Kurt Sethe that Nimrod could have been an Egyptian. Sethe had proposed a derivation of the conqueror's name from Nibmuaria, an attested cuneiform transcription of Nb Mict, a name of Amenhophis III, who certainly

had political if not military power in Mesopotamia."

Lagree with the earlier scholars that, despite the existence of an Eastern Kûš, one should not dismiss an African connection so peremptorily. However, I believe that the title Nb 1-dt (Lord of the Universe), which was given to Senwosre I, is a more attractive derivation, as the ambitious title to which few gods were entitled was especially appropriate for a ruler described in the Bible as 'a man of might on earth' and known for his arrogance in setting himself up as a god."

Nb r-dr is certainly more plausible phonetically than Speiser's ingenious but far-fetched derivation of Nimrod from Tukulti Nimuita. Leaving aside the major phonetic difficulties, this hypothesis has considerable semantic problems. Firstly, Tukulti Nimuita was not a Kassite but an Assyrian who drove the Kassites out of Babylon. Secondly, he reigned in the 13th century BC, which is uncomfortably close to the date of the composition of Genesis. Nimrod's position early in Genesis and Talmudic tradition that he was the 'first' conqueror strongly suggest that he was a very early figure, which would weigh against Tukulti Nimita, Amenhôphis III or even the Kaššû or Kassite kings.

However, I am not trying to argue here that Nimrod was simply a Hebrew version of Sesöstris. The description of the great hunter's conquest from Southern Mesopotamia to the north would in fact fit Sargon of Akkad or his grandson Naram Sin much better than they

would any Egyptian. Thus, I propose that Nimrod is a composite figure made up of the early great conquerors, Sargon, Naram Sin and Sesostris. However, as neither of the Akkadians were in any way associated with Elain of the Kassiles, Nimrod's name and parentage would come most plausibly from the last.

A summary of the arguments for Egyptian colonizing of Colchis

Let me now sum up this extremely complicated argument. There appear to have been two Black populations in Southwest Asia in the 2nd and 1st millenniums BC. One was of African appearance and possibly African origin in Colchis, which may be derived from the Egyptian K35 (Ethiopia). These people were not called Aithiopes by the Greeks but may have been called so by the church fathers. The second population was of Asian Blacks in Elam, who were called Aithiopes Among these, forms of the name Kúš were used, but these probably came from the neighbouring Kassites, whose name seems to be an independent local development.

In general, it is certain that Herodotos, Apollonios and Diodoros were convinced that Colchis had been settled by Black expeditionaries from Sesostris' army. Herodotos claims that he gained this knowledge in Colchis not in Egypt—according to him the Egyptians did not know much about their 'Colchian colony'. It is possible that Diodoros based his account on Egyptian sources. Apollonios' sources of information are unknown; he probably drew both from Herodotos and from Egyptian priests and earlier writings. On the other hand, much of Apollonios' epic shows a considerable and accurate knowledge of the southern coast of the Black Sea, so that it is very likely that, in part, his belief in the early colonization, like Herodotos', came from Colchis

Thus, it is extremely probable that, at least in the 2nd half of the first millennium BC, there was a local belief in Colchis that then country had been founded by an Egypuan pharaoli, probably Sesöstris. It is possible that the tradition was mistaken and arose from a desire to have a respectable cultural ancestry or, more likely, to explain not only cultic parallels but the African appearance of some of the population. However, if this was the case, one is still left with the problem of that population itself. Burton outlined this when discussing the Blacks in Abkhazia in the 20th century.

This may well be the only negro community in the Old World outside Africa and the Coastlands of the Indian Ocean. Obviously they cannot be descendants of Sesôstris' army, since none of the

XIIth Dyn kings penetrated to this area, but their origins remain obscure.⁵⁰

There is, of course, no proof that Colchis was in some way the result of Sesŏstris' expedition. However, the simplest way to clear this tangle of evidence would be to take the Colchians and Greeks at face value and to accept that the African army did reach the Fastern Black Sea in the goth century BC.

MESOPOTAMIA AND IRAN

Herodotos made no claim that Sesostris had conquered Mesopotamia or Iran. As we have seen, Diodoros' belief in these conquests would seem to be based on an Egyptian need to compete with Alexander naturally not felt by Herodotos writing in the middle of the 5th century, almost a century before Alexander was born. Diodoros lived after the shift in meaning of the term 'Asia' from Anatolia to the whole continent. The traditions around Memnon (discussed below), which are considerably older, do refer to the Ethiopian army being active in Nineveh and Susa but these can, I believe, be largely explained in terms of the Elamite 'Ethiopians' discussed above. A conquest of Mesopotamia is made very unlikely by the complete absence of any reference to Egyptian invaders, in either contemporary records or later traditions.

This is not to say, however, that Mesopotamia was unaffected by Egypt. It would seem very likely that the weakness of Assyria around the turn of the 19th century BC was connected to the disruption of Assur's commercial network in Eastern Anatolia and the Southern Caucasus at that time.

An Egyptian invasion of Iran bypassing Mesopotamia is just possible, but there, too, one would expect some local Elamite or Mesopotamian record. Thus it would be simpler to see the Central Asian lapis and Iranian seals found at Tôd (see Chapter V) as coming from Assyrian traders in Anatolia.

THE GREEK LEGENDS OF MEMNON AND HIS CONQUESTS OF ANATOLIA

When describing the conquests of Sesôstris, the Greek writers Herodotos, Apollonios and Diodoros drew from Egyptian and Colchian sources; they were not relying on their own traditions. Similarly, it is generally recognized that the *Romance of Sesonchosis* was basically Egyptian. This is not surprising, not only because of the breaks in Greek history—notably that of the 'Dark Ages' from 1150 -800 BC—

but also because, according to these writers. Sesostris' conquests were not supposed to have affected Greece, according to Herodotos, or only peripherally, as when Diodoros mentioned that the pharaoh had brought the Cyclades under subjection.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, there is a Greek tradition which I believe can be related to the conquests; it is centred, not surprisingly, in Asiatic Ionia on the western coast of Anatolia. This region was supposed, in the Egyptian tradition, to have been conquered by the Egyptian army. The categorical distinction between the Ionian legends and the Egyptian tradition is made by the complete absence from the former of the name Sesostris. In its place, one finds the name Memion. The clash between the Egyptian and Western Anatolian traditions can be seen in Herodotos' description of one of the 'Egyptian' or 'Ethiopian' carved figures in Western Anatolia: 'some who have seen the image suppose it to represent Memnon; however, they are wide of the mark, for Sesostris has made the truth plain enough elsewhere'." I shall argue below that Memnon was Sesostris' son Ammenemes It. Before coming to that, however, I should like to examine the Greek traditions about him.

The earliest extant reference to him seems to be that of Hesiod. who wrote in his Theogony (The Birth of the Gods): 'Los bore to Luhonos brazen-crested Memnon king of the Ethiopians." Even earlier than this, there is the tradition of Memnon, wearing a splendid suit of armora, going to the help of Troy. He killed Antilochos, son of Nestor, but was killed in his turn by Achilles. This outline comes from the epitome of an epic entitled Arthopis, written by Arktinos of Miletos. Arktinos was supposed to have fixed in the early 8th century BC. However, it is clear that both Hesiod and Homer knew the story. Thus it must date back to the 10th century BC, when Hestod was writing, or earlier. The 20th-century classicists Clark and Coulson pointed out the striking parallels between the deaths of Memnon and of the mythical figure Sarpedon. Sarpedon was the name of both the brother of Manoy and Rhadamanthys who founded the South Anatohan kingdom of Lycia, and the leader of the Lycians and all the allies who came to the aid of Iroy in the Irojan War and was killed by Achilles' beloved companion Patrokios. Clark and Coulson argued that The poet of the Ihad is obviously familiar with the events conceruing Antilochos and Memnon in the Aithiopis but has decided not to include these heroes but instead has constructed the Sarpedon episode to replace the Memnonis ' The modern classicist Gregory Nagy denies the derivation of Sarpedon's fate from that of Memnon and explains the parallels as the results of belonging to a single tradition. Nevertheless, he accepts that the Memnon myth is more fundamental than that of Sarpedon. 93

It is more difficult to determine which of the details given in later reports belong to the original story and which are later accretions. However, certain themes seem, from circumstantial evidence and their widespread appearance in the iconography of the 6th century be and in 5th-century writings, to be very early indeed. Meninon was always the son of Los and Tithonos, the story of the competition between Eos and Achilles' mother. Theirs pleading to Zeus for their sons' lives, and of the heroes' souls being weighed in a balance, is also very ancient." As Authorps, the title of the lost epic, and early representations of scenes from it indicate, Meninon's being Ethiopian and hence Black was central to the story.

On the other hand, doubt as to which 'Ethiopia' he came from seems to have existed from very early on." There is no doubt that he came to Troy from the east and, by the 5th century. Herodotos was describing Susa in Elain as the 'city of Memnon'. Some decades at ter Herodotos wrote, the Persian monarch Maxerxes II called himself Memnon, presumably to consolidate his legitimacy among the Flamite population of his winter capital (Susa) and its surrounding region Thus, by then at least, Memnon would seem to have been a national hero of Elain. The Belgian classicist Goosens also cites Strabo's quota tion from Aischylos' lost draina. Memnon that Memnon's mother was 'Susienne' (i.e., from Susa). In point of fact, the quotation merely says that she was 'Kissian' and, while this is clearly what Strabo believed, it could also indicate that she was a Cushite or simply a Black.

Goosens claimed that the Susian tradition was the original one and that the southern one came much later, and in this he has been lollowed by Snowden." Against this, however, is the general portraval of Memnon as Black with 'African' tight curly hair and the confusion between him and Sesostris reported by Herodotos, cited above, "Finally, and to my mind this is critical, there seems little doubt that for the Greeks the principle Ethiopia was always the African one. For instance, it seems likely from the Thera frescoes that African Blacks had been present in the Aegean at least since the 17th century is: "However, the evidence is flintsy on either side, and it would seem that the traditions of the two locations of Memnon's Ethiopia are equally old."

Furthermore, attempts to reconcile them started very early. Ktesias of Knidos, a Greek who was a physician at the court of Artaxeixes Memnôn around 400 BC, is supposed to have written

For when Teutamos was ruler of Asia. the Greeks made an expedition against Troy with Agamemnon and Priam, who was king of the Troad and a vassal of the king of the Assyrians . . . sent an embassy requesting aid; and Teutamos despatched ten thousand

Ethiopians and a like number of the men of Susiana along with two hundred chariots, having appointed as general Memnon son of Tithonos.¹⁰²

Memnon's parents

Later writers followed both traditions, but with increasing emphasis on the African Ethiopia and Egypt. 'However, before going on to look at this and the name Memnon, it would seem useful to investigate some of the mythical aspects of the legends, beginning with the hero's parentage. Memnon's mother, Fos, was the female personification of dawn and hence the East. His father. Lithonos, was a much more complicated figure. According to Homer, he was a brother of King Priam of Troy and, as mentioned above, Kiesias seems to have linked him to the king of Assyria. For Homer. Lithonos was clearly associated with the Fast. The poet twice used the formula: 'Now Dawn rose from her couch beside lordly Lithonos'.'

However, the situation becomes more complicated if one looks at possible Afroasiatic etymologies for the name. These will be examined in more detail in Volume 4, but to put it crudely they seem to come from two sources. The first of these was the Semitic word pt (mud) with a gentilic suffix in, 'mudmen' or 'the dead buried in the west', from which, incidentally, the Greek infanticidal monsters. Litias, 'Tityos and Titan derive, The second, which had a long-standing tradition of punning with the first, was Tdn/Dtn/Ddn, a cardinal point, and a barbarian people who lived to the west of Mesopotamia and to the south of Syro-Palestine. These Semitic-Sumerian names seem to be related to the deity Ddwn, found in Nubia to the south and Libya to the west of Egypt. The cult of Ddwn was very closely related to that of Imn/Amon, who himself had strong Nubian, Ethiopian and Southern Egyptian connections, seen in Greek tradition in Zeus' special relationship with the Ethiopians.

The ambiguities arising from the possibility of I dn/I ithônos having come from any or all directions except the north were to some extent eased by agreement that he lived on the shores of the stream or 'ocean' that surrounded the world which was, as we have seen, considered in Greek cosmology to be the home of the Ethiopians. Returning to the connections with Imn/Amon/Zeus, it is important to note that Imn in Egyptian also meant 'west', the Semitic cognate of which is symn, 'right hand' or 'south'." It could be that I ithônos' identification as an easterner, or more specifically as an Assyrian, came from the Tidnu, a barbarian people living in the desert west of Mesopo-

tamia. It is much more likely, however, that, as with the image of the Ethiopians, Lithonos was simply a man from the edge of the world. Thus, Lithonos was a man from the distant east and south like his son. We should now look at the clearly mythical elements of the latter

Memnon and Osiris

The great 19th-century proneer of comparative religion Robertson Smith saw one aspect of the legendary hero as resulting from confusion between Memnon and the Canaanite Na'āmān (Darling), an epithet commonly used for the young dying god known in Greek as Adonis, from the Canaanite 'ādôni (My Lord). The Greek flower name anemone is probably derived from Na'āman. ** Whether or not there was such paranomasia, such an occasion would tally well with the conquests of Memnon and those of the dying gods Osiris and Dionysos, the counterparts of Adonis ** It should also be noted here that Northwest Anatolia had its own young dying god of vegetation, Attis, whose cult was strikingly similar to those of Osiris and Adonis **

Tombs of Memnon were reported in the Troad (the region around Troy in Northwest Anatolia and at Paltos in Syria) where they were associated with black birds called Memnoides. These were supposed to have been girl companions of the hero, whose laments so moved the gods that they were changed into birds. On the level of natural history, then congregation around his tomb in the Troad represented the annual migrations from Central Mirca about which Greeks since Homer appear to have been aware 13. On the mythical plane, this closely resembles the stories of Isis and Nephthys mourning for Osiris and their metamorphosis into birds 1.1.

Even Memnon's blackness could be explained in these cultic terms, as Osiris was represented as Black. It is also interesting to note that while Osiris' most important tomb and cult centre in Egypt was at Abydos, the Troad contained both a tomb of Memnon and a city called Abydos, although they were more than lifty miles apart. The report of a tomb at Paltos in Syria brings us back to the Canaamite Na'aman or Adonis and the image, preserved in Greek tradition, of his great beauty. This parallels Homer's description of Memnon as the 'most handsome' man at Troy in Furthermore, Memnon, like most Greek heroes, resembles Osiris in that he both dies and is made immortal.

However, not all the myths about Memnon can be explained by the connections with Osn'is. Contrary to the Osiran myth of the resurrection of the body, there was a tradition that Memnon's body had been burnt and that the Memnoides were formed from the smoke. This

could be a parallel to the story of the Phoenix rising from the ashes and thus relate Memnon to the sun cult at Heliopolis, which will be discussed in Volume 4. It is also significant that both the smoke and the birds were black.¹¹⁷

This is, of course, suitable for an Ethiopian, although black was also the national colour of Egypt. Kmt (the black land) meant 'Egypt' and kmt with the determinative for 'people' meant Egyptians. Finally, Osiiis was not the only Egyptian god represented by that colour, as Amon too was Black. These connections will be discussed below.

Heroes in the balance

Another clearly mythological element in the Memnon legend is the tradition of the *psychostasia* or *kerostasia*, the weighing of souls. The image of the souls of two heroes being weighed to determine which shall win a mortal combat is described explicitly in the final battle between Hector and Achilles:

Then the Father (Zeus) lifted on high his golden scales, and set therein two fates [kēre] of grievous death, one for Achilles and one for horse-taming Elector; then he grasped the balance by the midst and raised it; and down sank the day of doom [aistmon émar] of Hector and departed unto Hades.¹³⁸

This theme was used elsewhere for the Greeks and Tropans collectively. Homer's other allusions to weighing souls are even more interesting and significant. The German scholar Dietrich has plausibly argued that their very abbreviation shows that the concept was of long standing and familiar to Homer and his readers. The German classicist G. E. Lang mentions in this connection — but with some scepticism—the find of scales made of gold leaf in one of the tombs at Mycenae. 120

It is quite clear that there was a kerostana between Meminon and Achilles. An allusion is made to the 'balance' (talanta) in the death of Sai pedon, which Clark and Coulson have shown to be closely parallel to that of Meminon. 'Furthermore, Aischylos featured this scene in his lost drama Meminon.' Any doubt about there having been a kêrostana in the case of Meminon and Achilles is removed by iconography. As well as the many representations of Achilles' mother, the nymph. Thetis, and Eos pleading for their sons, Lung was able to identify seven vase paintings of a kerostana involving Meminon and Achilles, and Clark and Coulson have been able to add three more. 128

The parallels between this scene and that of the weighing of the

souls of the dead to assess which should be blessed and which damned - one of the most common images in Egyptian theology, literature and art - are so striking that they were seen even in the early 20th century. The mythologist Otto Gruppe drew a parallel between the two, pointing out that in the Greek representations Hermes has a central role in the weighing, just as his counterpart. Thoth is always shown recording the balance in the Egyptian scenes 17 Lung put this potenrially dangerous idea into proportion. In this form [Gruppe's theory is untenable because it is not possible to detect any Egyptian influence in the Greek psychostasia, one should rather say that Hermes conforms somewhat to Thoth' This confusion is an excellent example of what happens when a paradigm - in this case the Arvan Model - is mable to cope. There is, of course, an important difference between the two scenes in that in Egypt it is not a competition between two souls, but the weighing of a single soul against a feather \(\beta \cdot \alpha t) \) other hand, Gruppe's case can be strengthened by noting that Hermes is not merely the counterpart of Thoth but also of Anulus and that in the Book of Coming Forth by Day Anubis is also always present at the weighing. Indeed, I believe that a good argument can be made that their fusion in Late Egyptian and Greek religion comes from their close cooperation in this key scene. 26 In the case of Memnon's psychostasia, Hermes is sometimes represented in Anubis' chief role of pass ing between life and death and guiding the soul to immortality

Egyptian and Greek souls

The Alexandrian scholiasts or commentators on earlier texts claimed that there was an opposition between the kerostasia of Homer and the psychostasia of Aischylos. German scholars of the 19th century took this as unnecessary Hellemstic elaboration and argued economically that 'Ker is really only the older form of psyche and represents the same thing'. Looked at from Greece, it is indeed difficult to distinguish between the two, but the scholiasts were writing in Egypt and I believe that they may well have been aware of a distinction in Egyptian metaphysics. To investigate this, it is necessary to look at the Egyptian etymologies for the two Greek terms.

The Greek kö, sometimes kin in the Dorian and Acolic dialects, is a term of rich and complex religious significance. There is no doubt that it came to mean 'fate, doom, or violent death'. However, as we have seen above, Homer was also using it in a different sense of individual fate or 'soul'. This, according to one passage in the *Thad*, it was appointed to a man at birth to meet him at his death. This same

sense was preserved in the ancient formula used in the Athenian festival of Anthesteria – in which the souls of the dead revisit the living – 'get out keres the Anthesteria is over', "Thus, this sence of ker as an individual soul would seem to be central to its original meaning. The word has no Indo-European etymology.

The concept of ks, commonly written ka, which is central to Egyptian theology, has an even richer semantic field. As the hieroglyph U_s representing open or embracing arms, the original meaning of ks would seem to be one of relations between beings; god and god, god and man; man and man. In the sense of father and son it gained connotations of personal and institutional continuity and immortality, especially in royal contexts. It seems to be from this that the later sense of ks as a ghost came about. Even in the Old Kingdom ks had developed the sense of spiritual companion or doppelganger whom one met at the point of death, and it is from here that its widespread use to denote 'fate' seems to have arisen.'

The beauty of the semantic fit between ki and $k\tilde{e}r$ is not matched by the phonetic parallels but they are still good. An Akkadian rendering of an Egyptian name gives the vocalization ku, while the later Greek and Coptic transcriptions of ki are ke, ki or choi. This would seem to indicate an earlier *k*er, which would provide a reasonable basis for $k\tilde{e}r$ — the $k\tilde{e}r$ could be explained as a back formation — but only after the breakdown of the Greek labiovelars. However, the sounding of i as a liquid would suggest an earlier loan. Despite this problem and the uncertainty of the vocalization, the phonetic similarities are easily sufficient to confirm the semantic equation.

The Egyptian etymology of *psyche* does not have the same precision. It is a paradox of language that the same words are often used to describe both 'sun' and 'shade'. The two meanings are shared by the Indo-European root skāt, skat and skt. from which it would seem that the Greek skit (shadow) and its synonym skotos are derived. "The latter may well come from an Indo-European root with a final dental that is found in our 'shade' Equally, however, it could derive from the Egyptian sw(y)t with the same meaning. The Egyptian root su has the same ambiguity as its Indo-European equivalent. $sw_i(y)t$ sun and its light' and 'dried'; $sw_i = sw_i(y)t$ (parasol, shelter), $sw_i(t)$, $sw_i(t)$ (empty). Particularly relevant for us are $sw_i(t)$, $sw_i(t)$, $sw_i(t)$, $sw_i(t)$ (shadow, shade), and $sw_i(y)t$, $sw_i(t)$ (shade as a part of a mans personality, spirit of a god).

The Egyptian δu with the masculine article pt may well be the origin of the Greek psyche. The semantic ht between psyche and $pt\delta w(t)$ is excellent. Furthermore, the phonetic difficulties are more apparent than real. During the late 2nd millennium there was an increasing ten-

dency to replace the feminine definite article ti with the masculine pi. Thus, for instance, Middle Egyptian 'neuter' abstracts like dwt (evil) became 'masculine' in Late Egyptian.' If the Cin pi Sw(t) preserved its alveopalatal quality, the resulting sound would be in Greek terms the nearly unpronounceable *pichy. Thus, it would seem justifiable to postulate a metathesis to piychy. Thus, it would seem justifiable to postulate a metathesis to piychy. The etymology is strengthened by the cluster of words piychy or synthesis and <math>piychy or synthesis are even some later uses of <math>piychy or synthesis in the sense of 'aeration' and 'drying' thus pointing to the other contradictory meanings of the Egyptian term

If these etymologies are right, kêr and psyche represent kr and suct), two different souls or aspects of the personality. Some Egyptologists like Gardiner have maintained that the Egyptians were wrong in their treatment of souls in two ways. Firstly, because they 'conceived of such notions in a more personal and tangible way than we do' and secondly because the ka, for instance, 'remained a shadowy and ill-defined concept variously regarded in different contexts'. "Thus, as usual, non-Europeans get it wrong in both directions. In fact, however, one person's confusion is another's subtle metaphysics or theology. There is, therefore, no doubt that Egyptian priests took the distinction between the two very schously. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that this distinction was understood by the common people or by un-initiated foreigners like the Greeks.

The phonetics of the loans would seem to confirm the pattern discerned by Lung for reasons other than that kee is the older form. As noted above, the liquid quality of a disappeared early in the New Kingdom. Thus, though the possibility of conscious archaism remains, it is likely that the loan from the Egyptian took place before 1500 BC. If the weighing of souls was as seems very likely, given the scales found in a funerary context in a Shaft Grave. Known in Greece by the middle of the 2nd millennium, the term kirostasia would have become established then. It has been argued in Volume 1 that Aischylos had relatively recent and erudite I gyptian sources as well as ancient ones. This could explain his replacement of Homer's term by psychostasia. The appropriateness of using a term based on psycho would seem to come about because in the Egyptian weighing the soul of the dead man is weighed against a feather su, §!

Memnôn's links with Northwest Anatolia

Although suggestive, the intricate pattern of mythological and lexical parallels with Egypt tells us nothing specific about the Meinnön

legends. This is especially so if, as I am asserting throughout this work, all Greek culture is permeated by Egyptian influence. The best parts of legends from which to gain historical insight are not the folk of mythic themes but geographical specifics and proper names. This is clearly the case where there is a historical control to test against, as with the fantasies of the Welsh Mabinogian and the Germanic Nibelingenhed which contain heroes with the names of known historical figures.

The 'Ethiopian' origins of Memnon have been discussed at length. Here, I should just like to emphasize his attachment to Northwest Anatoha and the Troad in particular. Memnon's links to Troy and his 'tomb' some seventy miles to the east have already been mentioned. In a very interesting passage on the weapons of Antiquity being made of bronze, Pausanias wrote that 'Memnon's sword in the temple of Asklepios in Nikomedea [80 miles east of his 'tomb'] the blade, a butt of the spear and the whole of the sword were made of bronze.' '* I his offers hints of great antiquity, but, given the notorious unreliability of relics, the weapons are very unlikely actually to have been those of the historical prototype of Memnon. Furthermore, if he is to be identified with Sesöstris' expedition, as I shall be seeking to show, there were few if any swords in the 20th century BC.

At another point Pausanias reports that 'the Phrygians still point to the road he took [from Susa] choosing the shortcuts across country; the road cuts from halt to halt'. (3) This tallies with Herodotos' report that the local people in Lydia, in Northwest Anatolia to the south of the Troad, thought that the statues he believed to be of Sesostris were of Memion. (1) All in all, there is a strong association between Memnon and Northwest Anatolia.

Memnon's Egyptian identity

Memnôn was also the Greek name for the famous colossal figure, across the river from Thebes, of fmn htp III, called Amenhotep by modern scholars and Amenophis by Manetho. The figure was renowned in Roman times for the strange sounds it made – appropriately for the son of Los – at dawn. It is not known when this sound was first heard but it is possible that it may have influenced the choice of Memnôn's mother and strengthened his attachment to the Fast. I have mentioned earlier that, even when the hero was identified as an Egyptian, Memnon was associated with Tithônos. One of the many Greek graffiti on the colossus addresses it as: 'Memnôn son of Tithônos of Amenoth'. The same hesitancy seen in this epithet appears

more directly in another inscription which called the colossus 'Memnon of Phamenoth.' The alternation would seem to indicate the source of the confusion. However, many of the Greek travellers appear to have had a pretty good idea who the figure represented Amenoth, Phamenoth and Phamenoph would seem reasonable renderings of (pt) from htp, i.e., Amenophis. Other forms such as Phamenos appear to be either drastic reductions or simply pt finn, 'The Amon. Pausanias summed up opinions on the matter in this way.

In Egyptian Thebes where you cross the Nile to the Reeds, as they call it, I saw a sounding statue of a seated figure. Most people call him Meninon who marched into I gypt and as far as Susa out of Aithiopia, on the other hand the Thebans say that this is not Meninon, but a statue of Phainenoph who lived in then region. I have also heard him called Sesöstris.¹⁴⁶

The image of the Ethiopian king who marched into Egypt and on to Susa would seem to be based on the Ethiopian conquerors of Egypt Shabaka (716–645 BC) and Taharka (684–664 BC). These, of course, came after Hesiod, Homer and Arktmos and therefore cannot have been the inspirations for their Memnon.

How can we explain the name Meinion for this statue? The two major studies on the topic believe that the name of a Greek hero became confused with local names. Working within the Arvan Model neither considers the possibility that the name itself could have come from Egypt.

Goosens argues that Memnon was confused with an Flamite god named Humban or Umman or possibly Amman 11 Gardiner derives the name of the statue from the term Memnonion which Strabo, the Greek geographer of the 1st century ac, used as the name for the funerary temple in front of which sat the two colossi, one of which be-Came 'the Memnon'. According to Gardiner, the confusion came from the praenomen of Amenophis III, No more Reminentationed above in connection with Namrod - transcribed in the Late Bronze Age as Nibimuaria or Niminuria. The name of the so-called Memnonion at Thebes was contaminated by the title of the temple complex at Abydos which Greeks called by the same name. This was not built by Amenophis but by the 19th-Dynasty pharaoli Sethos I and, in Egyptian, Sethos' praenomen Mn mort Re was used in the formula to high Mn meet Re th ha m shidu (the Mansion of Mn meet Re, contented heart in Abydos). * The idea that there was a confusion between Memnon or Memnomon with Simmuria is distinctly implausible on phonetic grounds, though one with Mir met Re is less so

To my mind, however, Strabo provided a clue not to the Egyptian name Amenhotep for which that of the 'Greek' hero was mistaken, but to the origin of the name Memnon itself. He wrote that the Labyrinth of El Lâhûn in the Fayum, built by Ammenemés III - discussed in Chapter IV - might be a Memnonium because Egyptians said that Ismandes was Memmon. He had written earlier that Imandes was buried in the labyrinth. 1 I hus, while some Egyptians appear to have objected to the name Memnon being applied to a statue of Amenophis, others identified it with Ammenemes, Imn in ht-Amenembe/Ammenemes is a more plausible origin for Memnon than lmn litp Amen hotep/Amenophis. The phonetic fit between Imn in ht and Meninon is reasonable, better, in fact, than that of Sesostris and Sesossis from S-n Wsrt. However, if Manetho had difficulty in sorting out the different Imn in hts (see Chapter V), it is certain that Greeks trying to follow Egyptian sources were in equal or greater confusion as to which limit m ht/Ammenemes they were referring at any given time.18 However, the most plausible candidate for the Memnon of Greek tradition is Sesőstris' son, successor, co-regent and fellow campaigner, imn in ht/Amenembe II.

Despite the danger of charges of circularity, this would seem a sufficient basis upon which to postulate a sequence of events which could have provided a core around which the myths about Memnon could have accreted.

If, around 1900 BC, an Egyptian army, many of whom were Black and led by a prince who was Black the Deep Southern origin of the 12th-Dynasty pharaohs has been noted - had marched through Anatolia from east to west, how would this have been remembered? Memories of his great force and splendid accourrement would persist. His being the son of Fos would come from his arrival from the east. This and his blackness would explain the Susian (Elamite 'Ethiopian') connection and possibly the identification of his father as Inhonos, who also came from the east and south. The Ostran parallels would come from his being both Black and Egyptian, from the strength of the cult of Attis (mentioned above) in Northwest Anatolia and the possibility, considered above, that the myths of Osmis Dionysos, world conquests could have been stimulated by or at least influenced by the campaigns of the pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty " Memmon's struggle with Achilles would be a matching of heroes from different periods. This is a frequent phenomenon in many mythologies, especially in that of Greece, see, for instance, the chronologically disparate crew of Jason's ship the Argos and the range of heroes at the Siege of Troy, such as Sarpedon mentioned above. 150

Reference has been made above to the close connections between the two world conquerors Sesöstris/Sesonchosis and their romances, and it seems that the Sesonchosis Romance had a major formative influence on the earliest Alexander Romance 151. The latter, which was found throughout Eurasia for more than two thousand years after his death in 323 BC, provides an excellent parallel on which to postulate the widespread variation and survival at the popular level of fantastic stories based on the real achievements of a conquering ruler. 152 In fact, given the far greater general cultural continuity during the last two millenniums BC than in the 1st millennium AD, it would seem very likely that tales about Sesöstris and Memnon should have survived from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in the 20th century BC to the 10th century, when we seem to pick them up in the Greek tradition.

In conclusion, I should like to make it clear that I believe that it would be absurd to postulate an Egyptian expedition to Northwest Anatolia solely on the basis of the fragmentary traditions around the legendary Memnon. However, given the other information suggesting 12th-Dynasty military activities in Anatolia, these traditions would seem to provide further evidence in this direction. In short, the Memnon legends provide a prop that could not stand on its own but pro-

vides extra strength to the larger structure.

THE CASE FOR AN EGYPTIAN CONQUEST OF TROY C. 1900 BC

Greek tradition makes it clear that, for all his magnificence, Memnon was killed at Troy by the Greek hero Achilles. The possibility that Egyptians took the city should be considered, however. There is no doubt that Troy V ended and Troy VI began about this time (these numbers refer to different cities on the site of Troy). Troy V was not destroyed by fire, but Mellaart maintained that the radical shift in culture there should be seen as part of the general series of destructions of c. 1900 BC, including some very close to Troy, which —as discussed above — he attributed to invaders from the east. **

From the Mit Rahma inscription we have Sesöstris' and Amenembe's destruction – bi, a word that does not necessarily involve burning – of a city called [wi]; this could possibly be an earlier form of the name Wilwiy which some scholars have identified with (W)ilios (Troy). [14]

To these tenuous pieces of evidence can be added three more. Firstly, there are the reports from Egypt of Trojan prisoners. However, these may well be, as Sethe and Gardiner propose, the result

of punning with the Egyptian toponym I3 R-3wy - known today as Turah - ten kilometres upstream from Cairo, which was equated with Troy. Nevertheless, the idea of Northwest Anatolian slaves in Egypt

should not be ruled out of the question.

Secondly, there is the tradition found in Homer and later writers that Herakles had taken Troy before the famous seige. As Robert Graves points out, if this has any historical foundation it must refer to the fall of Troy V. In Homer, the Herakles portraved is clearly Greek and all the reports are of his arriving by sea 1.4 However, as we saw in Chapter II, the Greek Herakles was a conglomerate of many different origins. Although he was a solar - east to west - conqueror, unlike Osiris/Dionysos who went west to east, there are parallels which could link the two and hence Sesôstris/Memnôn. Lalso argued in Chapter II that Herakles was sometimes seen as an Egyptian from the Egyptian Thebes. 19 Herodotos clearly thought so and described Herakles as one of the Twelve Gods' of Egypt. 100 Diodoros also wrote of

the most ancient Herakles who, according to the myths, had been born in Egypt, had subdued with arms a large part of the inhabited world, and had set up the pillar which is in Libya."

There are even some suggestions that he was Black.⁶⁰ This and the association of H1y \$.f/Herakles with the 'striking god' and Sesostris discussed above provides further indication of the strong likelihood that the conquering pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom played an important role in the construction of the mythical Herakles ⁶⁰

The third suggestion of an Egyptian conquest of Troy is more farfetched. It comes from Apollonios Rhodios' report of the Colchian

statement:

Now we are told that from this country a certain king set out, supported by a strong and loyal force, and made his way through the whole of Europe and Asia, founding many cities as he went. Some of these survive though others have succumbed to the burden of the years. But to this day Aea stands with people in it descended from the very men whom that king had settled there 192

If we take this as serious historical statement, could prosperous Troy VI, which lasted over five hundred years, from 6-1900 to the 14th century BC, have been one of these. On their own, these very ambiguous scraps of information would be totally useless as historical indications. However, in a general context indicating a 12th-Dynasty presence in Anatolia, they do gain some value as circumstantial evidence.

SESÖSTRIS/SENWOSRF AND AMENEMHE'S CONQUESTS: A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

I now want to try and draw together the evidence we have looked at in this and the preceding chapter on the bearing of new information from various sources on the Greek and Egyptian writers' reports of the northern conquests of Sesostris. The discovery of the Mit Rahma inscription describing the expeditions beyond Syria made by the two pharaohs Senwosre I and Amenembe II provides a remarkable fillip to the claims made by Herodotos and later writers for the conquest of 'Asia' by Sesostris—who was Senwosre I. Archaeological evidence of fortification and military planning in Nubia now shows that 12th-Dynasty armies had the capacity to undertake such major operations. Possible evidence comes from a wave of destructions across Anatolia and finds of Egyptian objects there from what may be the appropriate period. There has also been the discovery of Anatolian objects in a treasure at Tôd in Southern Egypt dedicated to Mont, the god of conquest with special associations with Asia.

There is iconographic evidence in favour of military expeditions in Syria and Anatolia from the appearance there, soon after this time, of a smitting god resembling an Egyptian pharaoh. There are also traditions, recorded both in the locality itself and in Greece, of Memnón, a Black prince with a large army marching through Western Anatolia. These could well represent a folk memory of Senwosre's son Amenembe II who is reported on the Mit Rabina inscription as having played a role in the foreign expeditions. Thus, if one understands 'Asia' to mean Anatolia—as Herodotos seems to have done at times there is a strong case for believing the Greek writers' claims that Se-

sostris marched through 'Asia'.

There is much less confirmatory evidence of an expedition through Europe. However, the claimed conquest of Thrace would seem plausible because of the widespread and long-lasting destructions in that region in the second half of the 20th century BC, the most likely period for Senwosre's campaigns there. There is no archaeological or legendary evidence to back the Egypto-Greek claims that the army marched through Scythia—the modern South Russia—but there would have been fewer visible destructions in this nomadic country and traditions would have been harder to preserve. By contrast, in Colchis, in Soviet Georgia, Greek writers reported strong local traditions of that state's having been established by Sesostris' army and there is the tantalizing possibility that the long-standing Black population in the area arose, in part, from this army

Other parts of the Caucasus seem to have been devastated at the time of Senwosre's alleged expedition there. Further evidence in favour of its having taken place would seem to come from the destruction of old, highly advanced regions of metallurgy there and the apparent movement of Caucasian metal-workers to cities in the Levant under Egyptian influence. This would fit with the reports from Mit Rahina and other Egyptian texts, as well as from the Greek writers, that Senwoste I, true to his name of s-n Wsit, sent or brought back imprecedented quantities of booty, especially metal and slaves. Such a pattern would provide the explanation for the expeditions not only in the Caucasus but in Western Anatolia and Thrace as well, All of these regions were rich in metallic ores and many of them had very advanced metallurgy. Thus Senwoste and Amenembe would have been using the strong economic base and efficient state and military organization of Egypt to seize the superior technology of less politically centralized societies. In this it would seem that they were successful, There is no doubt that in the following centuries, while Anatolia stagnated, Levantine and Egyptian metalwork, at least partially based on Anatolian and Caucasian techniques, flourished Egyptian jewellery, for instance, was heavily influenced from the east at this time. The art historian Cyril Aldred writes: 'It may well be that with the more intimate contacts between Egypt and Asia in the Twelfth Dynasty, new techniques were introduced by immigrants and adopted by native goldsmiths', per

In many ways, it was only in this period that Egypt fully emerged from the Stone Age to become a society using metal as a common-place material. It is also interesting to note that it was at this time that the Assyrian monopoly of trade with Central Anatolia was broken and commercial contacts between that region and Egyptian-dominated Syria were established. These could well have been intentional or unintentional results of Egyptian expeditions.

The contact with the Balkans can be similarly explained in terms of the search for precious metals and stones mentioned above. An expedition through South Russia would be less easy to explain. Possibly the Egyptians were hoping for significant quantities of booty. It would seem more likely that, like Alexander, they went further than was militarily or politically justified, and that their successes generated a spirit of hybris—to use the Egypto Greek term—to explore and to round the Black Sea to reach the good pickings of the Caucasus. Hins, there would seem little that is strategically implausible in the campaigns as described by Herodotos or the time-scale of nine years attributed to them by Diodoros.

The explicit arguments used by the mature Gibbon for not studying Sesöstris' 'conquests' were 'that I no longer presume to connect the Greek, the Jewish and the Egyptian antiquities which are lost in a distant cloud'. This cloud has been at least partially dispelled by linguistic and archaeological advances since the 1770s. However, we are left with what may have been implicit in Gibbon and was certainly present among later northern scholars, that is an ideological objection to the very idea of a 'civilized' African marching in triumph not only across Southwest Asia but also through regions of a 'barbaric' Europe. The notion that there was any truth to the tradition has been literally unthinkable to the 19th and most of the 20th century. It is now time to reassess it.

THE THERA ERUPTION: FROM THE AEGEAN TO CHINA

THIS CHAPTER IS concerned with the great eruption on the island of Thera or Santorini in the middle of the and millemnum BC. I shall begin by considering the question of redating the eruption from 1450 or 1500 to 1628 BC. This change is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is important from the point of view of the sociology of knowledge. The debate over the redating provides a splendid illustration of the tenacity of an academic convention in the face of massive contrary evidence from outside scholars using independent sources, who have no particular interest in causing trouble and often a strong reluctance to upset the status quo. The extraordinary slowness to accept the new evidence demonstrates the way in which scholars tend to fally to the structures they have been taught, and upon which they have spun their hypotheses, they demand absolute proof from challengers without pausing to reconsider the bases of their own beliefs, which in this case were extremely flimsy.

The re-dating is also of the utmost importance in establishing an absolute chronology of the middle of the 2nd millennium BC for the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean as a whole. This is because the cruption was fitted into ceramic dating from the pottery styles of these centuries. All of these now have to be shifted many decades upwards.

While there is a rather surprising lack of historical information on this gigantic event, there are a number of legends that appear to refer to the Thera eruption. In this chapter, I will be considering two of the most plausible of these, the 'volcanic' aspects of the biblical story of the Exodus and Plato's myth of Atlantis. I shall argue that one of the interesting aspects of the latter is the way in which the events of the 18th and 17th centuries BC - the Hyksos invasion and the Thera eruption – may have been confused with those of the 12th century BC. The invasions of the Peoples of the Sea and the massive third eruption of the Icelandic volcano Hekla in 1159 BC. These two sets of events, approximately five hundred years apart, seem to have led to a belief in the historical pattern of events that Plato states was held by Egyptian priests. According to this, history was punctuated by catastrophes, which destroyed not only the civilizations but the historical memories of all countries except Egypt, which was saved by the constancy and life-giving power of the Nile.

Later in this chapter I will be considering the possibility that Chinese tradition was also affected by these two world-wide events. I shall argue that the concept of the 'Mandate of Heaven', according to which Heaven removed the right of one dynasty to rule and gave it to another — manifesting this shift by extraordinary natural phenomena — may have originated under the influence of these two massive series of events. This view of a long-term historical cycle has had a fundamental impact on dynastic change in China. Today it continues to influence Chinese political thought and politics, because China—unlike other Asian countries such as India and Japan—has an indigenous

tradition of revolution, gening, or 'Removal of the Mandate'

THE CONTROVERSY OVER DATING

Thera, otherwise known as Santormi, is a spectacular island seventy miles north of Crete. Today one sails through the punctured rim into the crater of a huge volcano in which there are still small bubbling and funning islands. Originally it was a whole mountain which exploded some time during the 2nd millermium is

The scale of the event was enormous, It was larger than the eruption of Krakatoa between Sumatra and Java in 1883. That explosion broke windows in Batavia (Jakarta) over 120 miles away, caused tidal waves which drowned people in Ceylon (St) Lanka) and the dust it put into the atmosphere created, for several subsequent years, glorious sunsets, which are plausibly supposed to have had an impact on the development of Impressionism. More importantly, the Krakatoa eruption reduced world temperature, apparently causing temperature talls of 2-4°C for several months as far away as the Western United

States. Similarly, geologists and physicists have demonstrated the massive scale of the Thera explosion, the huge amounts of ash and dust it must have put into the atmosphere and the strong likelihood that there was a tsunami, or gigantic tidal wave, caused by the huge displacement of water following the eruption and the sea's breaking into the crater.²

Until 1988, there was considerable controversy over the dating of the explosion. In 1939, Spyridon Marinatos, who was later to dominate Greek archaeology, put in academic form the widespread belief that Minoan civilization had been destroyed by the eruption in about 1450 BC and that this had allowed the Mycenaeans to conquer the region. As the Egyptian evidence indicated that the 'Mycenaeans' replaced 'Minoans' as rulers of Crete in the middle of the 15th century, he argued that the Thera eruption should be dated to about 1450 BC.' Marinatos was unable to test the hypothesis until the 1960s. He then began a well-funded and well-equipped excavation of the site he believed to be the most promising, at Akrotiri on the southern slope of the island.

The results were sensational; within hours, the archaeologists discovered a city below the ash and lava of the eruption. Over the subsequent years, they have excavated and preserved a dozen or so buildings, though technical difficulties and archaeological scrupulousness have prevented further digging of what is clearly a much larger site. The huge boost the sensational discovery gave to Marmatos' reputation, together with his intellectual power and imagination and his friendship with some of the key political figures in Greece, meant that his generally very plausible theory was unassailable for many years.

Almost from the beginning of his excavation, however, there were difficulties with his dating. Firstly, the pots found in Akrotiri were all from the ceramic period Late Minoan IA or earlier. Since the next ceramic period, Late Minoan IB, was then thought to have begun in about 1500 BC, the explosion had to have been before that date. This was accommodated by a compromise according to which the eruption was put between 1550 and 1500 BC. The fact that acceptance of the earlier dates invalidated the original premise of Marinatos' hypotheses, that is, that the eruption had shattered Minoan power at around 1450 BC, was played down.

For many years, Leon Pomerance, a retired businessman, had attacked the 15th-century BC date for the eruption. His objections to it were on three grounds. The first was that the Thera eruption seemed to provide a historical explanation for many of the signs and portents described in the biblical Exodus: 'hail and fire mingled', the 'darkness that could be felt', the 'pillar of smoke by day' and the 'pillar of fire by

night' and the trimum like effects of the parting of the sea followed by a huge wave. It is widely believed that the Exodus has a firm historical basis, clearly associated with the pharaoli Ramesses. Since this would date the Exodus to the 13th or 12th centuries BC, Pomerance argued that the eruption must have taken place in these centuries.

Pomerance's second objection to the dating was that the 15th century BC was one of general prosperity in Egypt and showed no historical break in the way one would expect after such a major catastrophe. By contrast, the break at end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th centuries which marks the division between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron. Age did provide exactly that kind of rupture. His final argument against the 15th-century date was that it was a period for which there were not only good Egyptian records but also specific information about Egyptian. Cretan relations. Pomerance believed it was virtually certain that volcanic ash from the Thera eruption would have reached Egypt and that a tsummi would have hit the low-lying Egyptian. Delta and had devastating effects there. He was convinced that, even if it had not, Egyptians would surely have noted the Aegean catastrophe and that records of it would have been preserved.

Apart from his amateur status and his unorthodox ideas, Pomerance had other things telling against lum. These were that he was a Jew and that he had linked an Aegean explosion to the Bible. In the eyes of his opponents this brought about two unpleasant conjunctions: histly, that between religious myth and 'scientific' archaeology and, secondly, one between Greeks and Levantines – the taboo against which is one of the themes of *Black Athena*. With all these handcaps, the surprise is not that Pomerance and his ideas were marginalized but that they were heard at all. As it was, his intelligence, determination and money gained him a hearing, but he was kept firmly on the sidelines. He attended the Second International Conference on Thera in 1977 but his talk was scheduled at an early hour when there could be little or no attendance and his paper was put at the end of the enormous conference volume.¹

Nevertheless, some of Pomerance's ideas have fared well. It is now generally conceded that a tsunami from Thera lift Kos. Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria and Israel and may well have struck Lower Egypt." Furthermore, there is no doubt that Thera ash fell on the Egyptian Delta. As the sedimentologists Daniel Stanley and Harrison Sheng, who have studied the evidence on this, conclude:

The presence of Santorini volcanic ash provides a powerful nonarchaeological argument that lends further support favouring an important natural phenomenon as recorded in diverse early documents. Of particular note are the 'plague of darkness' in the Biblical book of Exodus ('there may be darkness over the land of Fgypt, even darkness that . . .' Ex. 10: 21).9

Apart from linking the eruption to the biblical report, the new work showing the impact of the explosion on Egypt strengthens one point in Pomerance's argument: the implausibility of the absence of any record of what would have been a major catastrophe, given the relatively high number of Egyptian texts from the 15th century BC. On the other hand, where Pomerance seems to have been mistaken is in taking the Exodus tradition too literally and specifically by accepting a date around 1200 BC for this event (the historicity of the Exodus will be discussed below). In any event, Pomerance placed the eruption after, not before, the improbable 15th century

The challenge of radio-carbon

While Pomerance was promoting his hypothesis, powerful evidence in favour of an early date for the Thera eruption was beginning to emerge. In the 1970s, the American archaeologist Philip Betancourt and others published papers showing that the many short-fived radio carbon samples from immediately below the eruption levels on the site tended to indicate that the eruption took place in the 17th century BC.

Only short-lived samples are useful in pinpointing a date because carbon 14 begins to decay when the living matter dies, which in the centre of a tree is when that particular ring dies. Thus, a piece of a timber beam may well come from the centre of a tree which 'died' several centuries before the tree was chopped down and the building constructed in which it was placed, and there may be a longer time-lag still before the destruction of the building. For this reason, carbon from brushwood and olive stones, which are contemporary with the destruction, is a much more accurate guide.

Despite this, the 17th-century BC date for the short-lived samples flew straight in the teeth of conventional wisdom. The Swedish Aegean archaeologist Astroni wrote in 1978:

The average corrected Carbon-14 dates for a short-lived sample of seven samples from the time of the destruction of Thera, or a little earlier, is 1688 * 57 B.C. These results are obviously quite ridiculous, as there is general agreement on other grounds that the eruption occurred sometime in the first half of the 15th century B.C. (c. 1475 in my opinion).11

In the same year, the English archaeologist Gerald Cadogan wrote an article entitled 'Dating the Aegean Bronze Age without radiocarbon'. In this, he argued that since the carbon dates were clearly wrong on this issue, archaeologists should simply ignore them '2 Other scholars were more open-minded. In 1980, the Egyptologist Barry Kemp and the Mediterranean archaeologist James Merrillees argued on the basis of synchronisms between Egypt and the Aegean and radio-carbon dates that the Thera eruption should be dated 1600/1575 BC 'or even earlier'.' Interestingly, in 1979, the Aegean archaeologist Peter Warren had proposed raising the date of the beginning of the ceramic period LMIA, in which the Thera eruption took place, from 1550 to 1600 BC on the basis of synchronisms with Levantine pottery. Thus, while he still refused to reconsider the radio-carbon data for the eruption itself, he came very close to tolerating the date of 1628 later proposed on the basis of dendrochronology."

In 1980, another weakness in the low dating was revealed when the Greek archaeologist M. Marthari pointed out that pots from the destruction level at Thera resembled those of the Middle Helladic tradition in Mainland Greece. The Cambridge Ancient History puts the end of the Middle Helladic at 1600 BC but, as is far too often the case, Northern Europeans and Americans paid very little attention to this

work of Greek scholarship.

In any event, the orthodox view still had considerable resilience. From the beginning, the scholars who published the radio-carbon dates were unhappy about the discrepancy between their own results and conventional wisdom. Betancourt has since written that in 1978 he had 'agreed completely with the view that the absolute dating of the Aegean Late Bronze Age was already established'." Two of his colleagues, H. N. Michael and Gail Weinstein, fried to explain their findings in terms of a distortion by volcanic gases, though they had to admit that this could not explain all the examples "They also stressed that the carbon datings were very scattered and therefore very unreliable. Their conclusion, therefore, was extremely timid:

At most it can be said that the LMIA radiocarbon dates suggest an early trend. Yet both Theran series are problematical. Whatever the explanation, we must proceed carefully, especially in attempting to utilize the Theran dates for chronological purposes.¹⁸

Given this hesitation and the tenacious opposition by the champions of conventional wisdom, the challenge from radio-carbon evidence seemed to have been contained. However, apart from the defections

of Kemp and Merillees, there was a weakness in the orthodox argument on another front - the evidence from dendrochronology.

The evidence from dendrochronology

During the 1960s and 1970s, there had been great developments in dendrochronology. Dendrochronology is the method of establishing chronologies over more or less extensive geographical regions by counting and measuring tree rings, and matching similar sequences on different trees. The longest tree-ring sequences have been found in very long-lived bristlecone pines in the American West and the most interesting are those near the snow line. From the breadth and colour of the annual tree rings quite small temperature differences can be noted summer frosts are an especially distinctive feature. These markings have been correlated with historically attested volcanic explosions, with then known effects of throwing dust into the atmosphere and lowering world, or at least hemispheric, temperatures. Scientists noted that many summer frosts occurred in the three years following such world-scale events and that this was six times more than the number of frosts that could be expected to occur by chance. Thus they established what they called the 'Krakatoa effect' to explain this phenomenon.19

In the mid-1970s, Valmore Lamarche, one of the founders of the new discipline, noted that there had been no Krakatoa effect of the type one would expect for an eruption the size of Thera in the 15th of 14th centuries BC. The only such effect in the mid-2nd millennium appeared in 1628 BC. He therefore concluded that this must have been the date of the Thera eruption. However, as the issue was not of particular importance to Lamarche, and since he may have been worried by the threat of opposition from the archaeologists, he did not publish his conclusion at the time, although he did mention it casually in an article in the National Geographic Magazine published in 1976. Thus, although word of this sensational discovery soon got about in 'dissident' archaeological circles, where it was related to the high radio-carbon dates, it could not be the subject of formal debate.

The situation changed in the mid-1980s with the official publication of Lamarche's conclusion in *Nature* in 1984. Soon after this, new dendrochronological evidence in favour of a 17th-century date began to emerge. Michael Baillie of Queens University, Belfast, discovered that, while there were no noticeable events of the Krakatoa type marked on the oak trees preserved in Irish bogs for the 15th or 16th centuries BC, there was a major break in 1628; in this year, in fact, several of the

oaks had died. Although Baillie's work on this was not published until 1989, it was known about for three or four years before that

Thera: The Chinese connection

The evidence from radio-carbon and dendrochronology indicating a higher date for the Thera eruption was now supplemented from another surprising direction, China. Before investigating the Chinese evidence on the Thera eruption, however, it is necessary to take a long detour to consider the traces in China of two later European eruptions.

In 1984, the Chinese American scholars Kevin Pang, a meteorologist, and Hung-hsiang Chou, a sinologist, gave a joint paper enutled 'A correlation between Greenland ice core climatic horizons and auteint meteorological records'." The two events they correlated with Chinese records were the eruption of Etna in Sicily in 14 BC and the third major eruption of the Icelandic volcano Hekla in about 1420 BC (this would now appear to be 1459 BC).

The effects from the Etha cruption would seem to appear in reports in the following year of red dust surrounding a comet, in the West this was supposed to have marked the death of Caesar. A blue sun that cast no shadow and had no warmth was recorded by Chinese astronomers and historians, who also noted unseasonable frosts.

Pang and Chon associated the 12th-century eruption with meteorological phenomena reported in later Chinese works. However, these associations encounter a debate that has been raging for more than two thousand years concerning the dating of the fall of the Shang Dynasty. The standard view, maintained by Sima Qian, the founder of Chinese historiography who lived in the 2nd century BC, has been that the Shang fell and its successor the Zhou Dynasty came to power in 1122 BC. But there is a minor tradition associated with the so called Bamboo Annals which gives a different date. The Annals were chronological records written on bamboo strips which were invarithed from the tomb of a local ruler in 281 xD, having been buried some six centuries earlier. They placed the fall of Shang around the middle of the 11th century BC.²⁰

This debate has had its latest revival in the 1980s AD. The American sinologists David Nivison and David Pankemer and the Chinese ancient historian Chen Mengjia argue for a date between 1050 and 1020 BC. They support the accuracy of the Bumboo Annals and stress the significance of the rare conjunction of the five visible planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, which occurred in 1059 BC. Such a

conjunction was supposed—at least by the 3rd century AD—to have taken place shortly before the fall of the Shang—"Kevin Pang counters this by pointing out the known fabrication of dates of the five-planet conjunction in periods when it can be accurately checked and accepts the earlier conventional wisdom that the conjunction was computed back by later scholars." Pang prefers to emphasize what he sees as the certain dating of a lunar eclipse in the 35th year of King Wen of Zhou, who reigned just before the defeat of Shang, to 1137 BC. This would mean that the Shang Dynasty fell in 1117 BC. "Pankenier, however,

placed the same eclipse in 1005 BC3

Despite my inability to follow the detailed astronomical and mathe matical arguments involved, there is, to my mind, little doubt that Pang and his colleagues have the more plausible case. The external reason for this preference is the fact that, as discussed in Chapter V, the general inclination towards low dating found among 20th-century archaeologists and ancient historians has tended to be discredited by information from radio-carbon, dendrochronology and other scientific measures. Linked to this is my greater trust in the judgement of natural scientists, who are less encumbered by the scholarly traditions of the archaeologists and historians, which in this case are for low dating. Pang and his colleagues have demonstrated the simple arithmetical errors involved in the work of proponents of the 'short' (1027 BC) and 'middle' (1045 BC) chronologies.' Furthermore, they claim with some plausibility—that radio-carbon dates from the early Zhou Dynasty are consistent with their higher dating.'

Pang and his colleagues have shown that a solar eclipse that took place in the reign of the Zhou king Y1 occurred in 890 BC, which it is not possible to accommodate in the short and middle chronologies. They have used this date, together with an earlier conjunction of the five planets, which occurred in 1953 BC in the reign of Yu, the first ruler of the Xia Dynasty (the dynasty preceding the Shang), to construct a rough scale of the difference between this and 899 BC (1.054 years) against the number of generations counted—with some accuracy—between Yu and Y1, which is thrity-seven—I his, they point out, comes out remarkably close to the traditional standard length for

a generation of thirty years.

Using this measure, the knowledge that there were seven generations between the reign of King Yr and the original Zhou conquest and that there were nine generations between it and a regency known as Gonghe which is generally acknowledged to have been in 841 BC, Pang and Chou arrive at a date of a rigo for the Zhou conquest." This would not fit the 'short' or 'middle' chronologies but it would tally rea

sonably well with the date of 1117 arrived at on the basis of the eclipse in the thirty-fifth year of the Zhou king Wen given at 1137 BC.

Once one accepts 1117 as the date of the fall of Shang, a number of meteorological events reported at the end of the Dynasty would seem to fit the phenomena one would expect to see after a major eruption. For instance, a fall of ash reported at the Shang city of Bo took place in the fifth year of the last Shang king, Shou, which would have been in 1164 BC. This is five years away from 1159, the year in which Michael Baillie now places the third cruption of Hekla, which, while not perfect, is a tolerable distance.³⁷

Pang and Chou also provide evidence for this event from an 'oracle bone'. These were the shoulder blades of oxen or sheep or tortoise shells, heated to produce cracks which were then interpreted as oracular (they will be discussed further below). Pang and Chou cite a newly discovered bone with a radio-carbon date of 1005 BC (plus or minus ninety years). The inscription mentions a year without harvest and with stunted seedlings. This could refer to a year near the end of the Shang Dynasty but it is very imprecise. Similarly, there is a report of two suns appearing together in the forty-eighth year of Shou's reign, that is, 1121–1120 BC. The sighting of 'mock suns' created by refraction caused by dust is one of the phenomena generally associated with large-scale eruptions. ⁵⁹

There is no doubt that the meteorological evidence is scattered. Nevertheless, the protracted dynastic struggle between Shang and Zhou probably began in the years between 1159 and 1140, which, Baillie argues, were those affected by Hekla III. Furthermore, Zhou partisans claimed that Duke Wen of Zhou received the 'Mandate of Heaven' (see above) nine years before his death in 1128, that is, in 1137, the year of the eclipse, and relatively soon after the disasters

associated with Hekla III. io

Against this meteorological explanation of the dynastic overthrow, however, is the fact that the propaganda put out by the first emperor of the new dynasty. Wit of Zhou, to justify his conquest of Shang contains no emphasis on this kind of natural calamity. This is striking because Wit claimed parallels with Tang of Shang, who had overthrown that dynasty's predecessor the Xia, and Tang was supposed to have placed great emphasis on the presence of such natural disasters surrounding the transfer of power. It is also possible that some of Tang's speeches on this were at least rewritten at the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty.⁴

In 1985, Pang and Chou gave another paper in which they restated their claims about these eruptions and discussed another eruption,

that of Santorini. This, they maintained, should be correlated with the fall of the Xia Dynasty. In this case, there is no doubt that there was a whole range of meteorological phenomena – div fog, dimmed sim, severe, unseasonably cold weather and failed harvests—that can be plausibly explained as the results of a major eruption. In a further paper in 1985, Pang reinforced his case by citing the reports of exceptional floods followed by years of drought, which he argued could have been caused by the cruption, that extended into the beginning of the Shang Dynasty.

At this point, Pang and Chou were very imprecise as to when exactly these climatic changes took place, because of the uncertainty as to the dating of both the eruption and the fall of the Xia Dynasty. They placed the Thera eruption between 1400 and 1600 BC and the change of dynasties in the 16th century. In the case of Thera, this was a compromise between the conventional dates of 1450 and 1500 and the dendrochronological evidence for 1628 BC, of which they were aware. For the Chinese dynastic shift, they were influenced by the range allowed by the two dates for the dynasty's beginning given in the traditional chronography, 1765 and 1557 BC. These were backed by radio-carbon dates from early Shang strata indicating the early 16th century.⁴⁴

However, Pang has since become convinced that the change of dynasty took place around 1600 BC. This was partly because of the shift of opinions on Thera but there were also other reasons. The first of these came from his growing conviction that the end of the Shang-Dynasty took place around 1100 BC, discussed above. According to computations based on Sima Qians Ship, 'Records of the Grand Historian', the Shang Dynasty lasted 471 years, which gives a date for its foundation at the beginning of the 16th century BC. The other chionology based on the Zhushu Jimun (Bamboo Annals) gave 508 years for the Shang Dynasty, which fits with the '500 and more' years suggested by the Confucian philosopher Mengzi, known in the West as Mencius, who was writing in the 4th century BC 15 This would put the fall of Xia at around 1000. Pang's generational scale produced the same result.16 If one accepts the astronomically derived date of 1117 for the Zhou conquest of Shang, the 508 years takes us to 1625 BC for the fall of Xia, which tallies almost too neatly with the revised date for the Thera eruption - 1628 BC.

Between 1984 and 1987, Pang and his colleagues were to provide still more evidence in favour of a late 17th-century or early 16thcentury date for the eruption.

THE ERUPTION RE-DATED

By 1986, the radio-carbon data, the dendrochronological evidence from the United States and Ireland, the indications from China and the absence of signs of the eruption from 18th-Dynasty Egypt seemed quite sufficient to me to indicate that it took place in 1628, rather than c. 1500 or c. 1450, especially because the later dates were based only on a tenuous connection with the destruction of 'Minoan' power. As I wrote in the introduction to Volume 1

The huge scale of the catastrophe allows me to make an exception to my general opposition to the 'argument from silence'. However, I acknowledge that this type of argument is inherently weak. Furthermore, the dendrochronological, the carbon and the 'Chinese' datings are all open to doubt. Nevertheless, given the extreme weaknesses of the case for a 15th-century date, the four sources together make 1626 BC [1 now accept that it was 1628] seem much more plausible.

Although the logic of this argument seemed irrefutable to me, I put it forward with some trepidation, because at an emotional level I questioned how I could go against the considered opinion of so many experts, who had spent their scholarly lives dealing with this and similar problems. In this, as in so many things surrounding the publication of Volume 1, I was very lucky, because the scholarly consensus in favour of the 15th-century dating collapsed in 1987.

The first shot was fired by Philip Betancourt. He now recanted his earlier acceptance of conventional wisdom and the attempts to reconcile the radio-carbon datings with it. He argued that any possible volcanic distortion of the datings would be overcome if, as was the case in Thera, 'large groups of dates were averaged'. Furthermore, he completely denied the vague 'island effect' which had also been supposed to lead to distortions." He went on to argue that the new ceramic periodization necessitated by updating the eruption did not clash with synchronizations with Egyptian dynasties or Levantine pottery.

Betancourt's only difficulty came from the stone lid with the name of the Hyksos tuler Khyan, which Arthur Evans claimed to have found in an MMIII deposit at Knossos. Accepting a mid- or late 17th-century date for this pharaoh, Betancourt could not reconcile this with his new sequence, which put the end of MMIII in 1700. Fortunately for him, however, Evans's published data had been challenged – on the basis of the stratum's mixed nature and the

uncertainty in Evans's excavation notes—by the Indo-European linguist Leonard Palmer and by Pomerance."

In his response to Betancourt, Peter Warren came to Evans's defence and blasted the 'tendentious' nature of the attacks on his dating of the lid's context. (I shall argue below that this problem is not so serious as they suppose, because it is possible to update this Hyksos ruler by several decades, thus making an MMIII context for Khyan quite leasible) Warren's challenge to the radio-carbon dating was simply to say that the dates of short-lived specimens, adjusted to exclude those that were grossly deviant, gave a range 1\sigma (standard deviation) from 1620 1520 but that it would be sounder to give one of 20, which would give 1670 1510 for the Thera eruption. However, Warren's case for the lower end of this range was weakened not only by his failure to take the dendrochronological evidence into account but also by his own admission that a new series of short-lived samples from LMIB strata at Myrtos-Pyrgos in Crete suggested a much higher chronology, 4 I hus, he failed to stop Betancourt's challenge. In fact, the writing was on the wall for the orthodox view. Betancourt's reopening of the issue of the radio-carbon dating was quickly reinforced by evidence of a completely different kind.

For some decades, scholars have been attempting to duplicate the work of dendrochronologists by looking at annual winter snowfalls followed by summer thaws in the Greenland Icecap. The changing seasons produce sequences of differing layers or lainmations which provide an independent source of information about early climatic conditions. There are three different parameters radioactive isotopic composition, dust content and acidity

For more than a decade a Danish team of geophysicists led by C. U. Hammer have been working on cores drilled from the Greenland ice sheet. In 1980, they published an article in which they claimed that the Thera eruption must have taken place c. 1390 BC on the basis of ice cores taken from North Greenland. This result, which went against all the other sources, was welcomed by no one except for Pomerance and very little attention was given to it in the literature.

In 1987, Hammer and his colleagues published a new article in which they dishussed their earlier claim. Using new cores from South Greenland, which was more suitable than North Greenland both because of more substantial summer melts and greater sensitivity to events in the northern hemisphere as a whole, they now came out in favour of an acidity peak at 1614 BC. They fied this in with Betancourt's radio-carbon dating and their own summary of his evidence which gave a weighted mean of 10/1630 1530 and 20/1675 1525.

The longer band litted their dating of the eruption to 1645 and the acidity peak to the following year. They allowed for a standard deviation of ±7 years and an estimated error limit of ±20 years.

The ofthodox response to this was given by the archaeologist Gerald Cadogan. He now stressed the general uncertainties involved and the difference between the ice core date of 1645 and the dendrochronological one of 1628. Cadogan admitted that the radio-carbon dates made the conventional 1500 for the eruption untenable but still stuck out for a 16th-century date because of Egyptian correlations. He clearly objected to Betancourt's high chronology.

In a volume of *Nature* published in March 1988, the young archaeologist Sturt Manning firmly established the 1628 - 1626 date. He at-

tacked Cadogan's 16th-century date as:

... not correct. Only traditional pottery studies support this view. Moreover, there are several plausible contrary interpretations using traditional archaeological evidence. Cadogan argues that because three independent scientific techniques (icecore, dendro-chronology and radiocarbon) produce results which vary by only 30 years over 3,600 years, they should all be rejected. Instead, he asks us to accept a subjective archaeological date a century later.

Manning then went on to reconcile the three scientific methods. That is to say, he accepted the dendrochronology but claimed that earlier scientists had failed to remove an aberrant radio-carbon date, which if done led to a 10 range of 1675–1609, with a calibrated mean of 1629–1622 BC. He maintained that the margin of error of *20 years from 1645, allowed by Hammer and his team, also littled with the 1628–1626 BC date. Hammer and Clausen replied to this that Manning, like Betancourt and Michael before him, had been too ready to cut out aberrant radio-carbon dates, and they felt it unjustified, even though such excision helped the writers' own higher date. The crux of the matter was that they were convinced that:

the acidity signal in the 1645 14 BC ice lavers is clearly related to a major volcanic eruption, whereas the frost damage at 1628 26 BC, though carrying a statistical probability of being related to a volcanic eruption, could have been caused by climatic impacts other than volcanism. We consider it premature to fix the date more precisely than in our paper, by radio-carbon or other methods. This is why we left a question mark at the proposed date of 1045 ± 7 yr BC. 58

Such caution would seem to be irreproachable. However, in asserting the primacy of their own method, they failed to mention that it is far more difficult to handle cores of ice than those of wood, as exemplified by their own mistake with the core samples from North Greenland. They also did not deal with the problem that if the dendrochronological Krakatoa effect was not the result of the Thera eruption, then the effects of the other eruption - which was a hemispheric event—did not show up elsewhere. They do not seem to have been aware of Baillie and Munro's work on the Irish bog oaks, which clearly points to 1628 or 1627, not the 1640s. Finally, there is no doubt that Manning was correctly quoting them as having allowed for an estimated error limit of ±20 years.

While this debate was going on in Nature another was being conducted in Archaeometrs. This was between Betancourt — and his old colleague Michael—and Warren, with the English archaeometrist M. J. Aitken holding the ring. Here again, it is clear that the proponents of the higher dating were victorious, the only point gained by Warren being on the stratigraphical position of the Khyan lid. Thus, by the end of 1988 there was little doubt that the archaeological establishment had accepted a late 17th-century date and probably 1628 as the precise date of the Thera eruption. In 1989 the evidence in favour of 1628 BC from Northern Ireland has been confirmed by new material from the Eire, England and Germany.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RE-DATING

I have given this blow-by-blow account of the arguments over dating for three reasons, firstly, to establish the overwhelming probability that the eruption did take place in 1628; secondly, to show the dangers of reification of hypotheses and the ways in which a vested academic interest can defend its position so successfully for so long; and, thirdly, to show how the 1500 and 1450 dates were embedded in a whole chronological fabric. This fabric was, in fact, the most effective means of defending the orthodoxy. With the establishment of the higher date, we have to reconsider the chronology of the Late Bronze Age, not merely in the Aegean but throughout the East Mediterranean basin.

In fact, the tendency to raise dates for this period began before the new dating. In 1980 the Egyptologist Barry Kemp and the Australian diplomat and specialist in Cypriot archaeology Robert Merrillees had begun this process in a massive study. Minoan Pottery in Second Millemium Egypt. In this, the authors argued, on the basis of Egyptian

synchronisms from the New Kingdom, that the dates of the Cretan ceramic periods LMIA, LMIB and LMII should be raised approximately seventy-five years above the previous convention. As I mentioned earlier, this chronology allowed for the Thera eruption in 1628 because it placed LMIA—the period in which the eruption took place—as running not from 1600 to 1500 BC, as conventional wisdom held, but from 1675—1650 to 1600—1575 BC.

In the introduction to Volume 1 of Black Athena (written in 1986), I discussed the need for LMIA to have been established by 1628, and I cautiously raised the dates to 1650–1550. At the same time, Betancourt raised the period more boldly by approximately a century. Convinced by Kemp and Merrillees and, to some extent, by Betancourt's arguments, I have now revised my dating upwards, though often not as far as Betancourt, Kemp and Merrillees. This incidentally solved a problem which had previously worned me—the fact that various motifs, such as the abstract sign for water, that appeared only on LMIB pottery, were already present on the murals from Thera before the eruption.' If EMIA is now taken as running from 1675 to 1600, the painting of these motifs in the decades before 1026 would have been in 'mature' LMIA.

As mentioned above, the one point where the traditionalists scored over the proponents of the radio carbon dating was on the lid with the name of the Hyksos pharaoh Khyan, which Evans claimed to have found in a MMIII context at Knossos. Betancourt, Kemp and Mertillees end this ceramic period in 1700 or 1675 - 1650 respectively, while the conventional date for Khyan is in the second half of the 17th century. The radicals have tried to get round the discrepancy by following the rather shaky work of Palmer and Pomerance to discredit Evans's considered stratigraphy for the lid. It seems to me that this is the wrong way to tackle the problem. We now have to estimate the competitive plausibility of Evans's dating and that conventionally given to Khyan. I am convinced that, although Evans's conclusion is open to some doubt, it is far more rehable than the chronology now given for the Hyksos period.

THERA AND KALLISTE

According to Herodotos, the original name of Thera was Kalliste. It was called this when it was settled by the Phoenician Membharos eight generations' before it was settled by the later eponymous colonist Theras, a Lakonian of Kadmean or Phoenician descent ¹¹ The Semitic origin of the name Membharos will be considered below. Kalliste

could mean simply 'Most Beautiful', which, like the name Formosa ('Beautiful' in Portuguese) for China's volcanic island province Taiwan, would be altogether appropriate for its rich volcanic soils, or it could be related to the nymph Kallisto, the connotations of whose name will be discussed in Volume 4. One possible explanation for the change of name from Kalliste to Thera is the change of the island's form following the eruption.

The name Thera, or to be more accurate Thera, is conventionally supposed to come from their (wild animal, game), which in turn is not altogether convincingly derived from a reconstructed Proto-Indo-European form traditionally rendered *ghuer." However, the name Thera does not appear on the Linear B tablets although the gentilic Qerajo (He of Qera) does. On this basis, the Mycenaean linguist John Chadwick maintains that Thera comes from a labiovelar *Q"era." It will be argued in Volume 3 that, although the series of signs transcribed with an initial q- originally represented labiovelus, after the breakdown of this series they were used to transcribe the labials, velars or dentals which the sounds had now become. We are then faced with the origin and meaning of *Q*éra and, while the general solution to this problem is simple, the specifics are immensely complicated. There is no doubt that a word pronounced *k*er, *g*er or *kwr, meaning 'kettle' or 'cauldron', was current in the East Mediterranean in the 2nd millennium BC. The root's origin and development, however, are extremely difficult to trace. Johannes Friedrich, a linguist who wrote about Phoenician and Anatolian languages, saw the Hebrew kiyôr as deriving from the Urartian kiri.67 Against this, William Albright argued that kiyêr came from the Akkadian kturu which in turn derived from Sumerian keur,68 Friedrich was clearly right to draw attention to the Urartian, and more recently Soviet scholars have reconstructed a form *k*ar V for the Proto East-Cancasian word for 'vessel'. 'The Jewish scholar Aron Dolgopolskii saw this, the Urartian (a Northeast Caucasian language related to Hurrian, spoken in East Anatoha) and the Proto-Indo-Hittite for *k* er as all being derived from a Proto-Semitic root (q), often vocalized *qu'ur, meaning to be deep, hollowed out. This was then loaned back into Akkadian and Hebrew as knuru or kisôr with a k." This may or may not be the answer but some such complex scheme is necessary to explain the obvious but not simple relationship.

The root $\sqrt{q'r}$ was not restricted to Semitic within Afroasiatic. In Egyptian one finds krr or kr, meaning 'hole, cave or vessel'. Furthermore, there is a word krht (vessel) written with the determinative δ . This is very similar to the archaic δ 'cauldron'. Thus it is possible

that kiht was used in this sense. However, the most probable origin for the place name *K*era > 1 hera is from the Canaanite kin, which had the specific sense of 'smelting pot' or 'furnace'. The strong possibility that this may well have been pronounced * k/ϕ will be discussed in Volume 3.

The meaning 'smelting pot' would seem a far more appropriate name than 'wild animals' for an island whose dominant feature was a volcanic crater. If there were a loan from Semitical would have had to have taken place before the breakdown of labiovelars in Greek, which is generally agreed to have occurred in the 16th or 15th centuries in As mentioned above, it is very likely that by the 13th century, when (I shall argue in Chapter X) both the Knossos and the Pylos tablets appear to have been written, Qerajo was already being pronounced *T(h)eraio.

It is impossible to reconstruct the shape of the island before the great eruption and it may be that a giant crater was an important feature before this took place. If, however, this only happened after the eruption, the new dating at 1028 BC allows for the island to have been named from the crater after the explosion but before the breakdown of the labiovelars. This would also support the notion that the island was called 'most beautiful." *Kulliste* in Creek. before the eruption

VOLCANIC ALLUSIONS IN THE EXODUS STORY

In this and the next few sections, I shall be looking at a number of traditions that seem to refer to the Thera cruption. In much of Black Athena I have been trying to use myth and legend to help understand historical events and processes. Here I shall be attempting to do the reverse, that is to use known and datable events—the Thera cruption, the expulsion of the Hyksos and the invasions of the Peoples of the Sea—to interpret myths and legends. Apart from its intrinsic interest, such a procedure can also be useful in assessing the historical rehability of ancient traditions and the permissibility of using them to help reconstruct the past in cases where historical and archaeological evidence is not available.

As mentioned above, I eon Pomerance championed the view that the Book of Exodus contains passages referring to the Thera eruption. But he was by no means the only person to do so.: There is no doubt that, as he pointed out, some of the passages from the book do appear remarkably volcanic' For example, among the seven plagues with which Yahweh and Moses afflicted Egypt were 'the darkness

over the land of Egypt, darkness that can be felt... and it became pitch dark throughout Egypt for three days. This would be very much the kind of effect one would expect at such a distance from an eruption of this scale. The second 'volcanic' reference is equally striking:

They [the Israelites] set out from Succoth and encamped at Etham on the edge of the wilderness. And all the time the Lord went before them, by day a pillar of cloud . . . by night a pillar of fire 29

This, too, is how an eruption like that of Thera would appear from many miles away. However, there is a problem in that the Eastern Delta is over five hundred miles away from Thera so that the curvature of the earth would make it impossible to see the column. Thus, while it would seem clear that contributors to the tradition were aware of the phenomenon, there is nothing to link the passage specifically to Thera. Indeed, there is a clear biblical tradition not restricted to this section of Exodus that God lived in fire and cloud. On the other hand, this would seem altogether appropriate if, as I shall argue in Volume 4, although he made a covenant with his people to treat them gently—if they behaved—and he had more pacific and benevolent manifestations, Yahweh is chiefly to be seen, with Seth, Yam and Poseidon, as a divinity of unpredictable disruption and especially of volcanic disturbance.

Pomerance maintained that the most suggestive passage is that concerning the destruction of pharaoh's army.

the Lord drove the sea away all night with a strong east wind and turned the sea bed into dry land. The waters were torn apart and the Israelites went through the sea on the dry ground, while the waters made a wall for them to the right and the left. The Egyptians went into pursuit of them far into the sea, all pharaoh's horses, his chariots and his cavalry. In the morning watch the Lord looked down through the pillar of fire and cloud.— and at daybreak the water returned to its accustomed place, but the Egyptians were in flight as it advanced and the Lord swept them into the sea."

The early date of this image if not of the text itself is suggested by the song Moses is supposed to have sung in triumph, which is generally conceded to be very old. This contains the verses:

At the blast of thy anger the sea piled up the waters stood up like a bank: out at sea the great deep congealed . . . Thou didst blow thy blast; the sea covered them ⁷⁸ Although there is no explicit mention in the song of the parting of the waters referred to in the later prose passage, as with the volcanic nature of the image of the two columns, it is overwhelmingly likely that the composer of Moses' song knew about transmi. In this case the most likely transmi would be that of Thera, which, as we have seen above, almost certainly did strike the coasts of Lower Egypt. 'Furthermore, if one can rely on the prose passage there is a specific connection made with the pillars of fire and cloud. On the other hand, if we accept the date of 1628 BC for the eruption, even the song must have been written many centuries after the event as it refers to Philistia, which existed only after the first invasions of the Sea Peoples at the end of the 19th century BC.

As Pomerance and others have pointed out, this has caused difficulties for those scholars, like the Egyptologist Hans Goedicke, who have tried to reconcile the Exodus with the Thera eruption dated to 1450 or 1500. Dating the Exodus to the end of the 13th century be also raises difficulties for those who take seriously an Egyptian reference to the so-called Tsrael Stela' from the reign of the 19th-Dynasty pharaoh Merneptah in 1210 be. In this the name Israel clearly refers to a people living in Palestine at a time when, according to most traditional chronologies, the Israelites were just beginning the Exodus.⁵¹ They must, therefore, have set off earlier. It is to accommodate this that scholars like Albright tried to demonstrate that the Exodus took place before the middle of the 13th century. The reference to Philistines is, of course, not a problem if like Pomerance, one accepts both the mainstream biblical tradition and the fact that the Thera emption took place in the 12th century.¹³

I am inclined to see the basis of the Exodus tradition as a loose folk memory of what the Egyptians described as the Expulsion of the Hyksos (the relations between the Exodus and the Expulsion of the Hyksos will be discussed further in the next two chapters). Even in this case, however, it is impossible to tie these political events in with the Thera eruption and its associated *Isunami* since the Hyksos were driven out – at the earliest – in the 1570s, over fifty years after the eruption. M

In summary, the nature of the descriptions does suggest that the Exodus tradition contains some memories of the Thera eruption Furthermore, it would seem that these have been in some way incorporated with folk memories of the Expulsion of the Hyksos. Nevertheless, the descriptions do not form a coherent legend. For instance, the 'darkness that can be felt' is placed among six other 'non-volcanic' plagues of Egypt, and there would seem to be no reason to try to tie the Thera eruption and the Expulsion Exodus too tightly together

MEMBLIAROS AND THE PALL OF DARKNESS

We shall see in later chapters that the Israelites were not the only Canaanite speakers to be associated with Thera. Here, however, we are concerned with legends that may refer to the eruption, some of these seem to have been preserved in Western Semilic tradition. According to this passage from Herodotos, which I have cited earlier:

This island used to be known as Kallista, and certain descendants of Membliaros, son of the Phoemcian Poikiles, were living on it. Kadmos son of Agenor touched at it during his search for Europa and, whether because he liked the place or for some other reason, left there a number of Phoenicians with his own kinsman Membliaros among them.⁸⁵

As Michael Astour has pointed out, just as Theras is clearly the eponymous ancestor of Thera, the name Membliaros clearly comes from the toponym Membharos or Bliaros - the old name of Anaphe, the island closest to Thera. He has demonstrated that the form Bharos makes it impossible for Membharos to derive - as has been suggested - from membloman, a secondary present middle form of melô (to take care), which is in any event extraordinarily implausible on semantic grounds. Instead, he proposes that it 'represents a very accurate transliteration of Ugaritic or archaic Phoenician mêm bli 'âr "waters without light" or shorter bli- år "without light, darkness", " The Aryanist Francis Vian objected to Astour's hypothesis because mêm bli-'ar is unattested. However, Astour replied that records of West Semitic languages are very incomplete and the cosmogony of Philo of Byblos a Phoenician of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD who plausibly claimed to be translating ancient Phoenician sources - is full of otherwise unknown combinations of known words. Astorn does not answer the objections that nothing like this place name exists in the Canaanite-speaking Levant and that there are no parallel borrowings of phrases into single names in the Aegean.

Nevertheless, the phonetic fit is perfect and the association with the Phoenicians is clear, and Astour goes further by citing Apollonios of Rhodes of the 3rd century BC, whose erudite Argonautika was consid-

ered in the last chapter.*8

But straightway as they sped over the wide Cretan sea night scared them, that night which they name the Pall of Darkness, the stars pierced not that fatal night nor the beams of the moon, but black chaos descended from heaven, or haply some other darkness came, rising from the nethermost depths "

The Argonauts escaped from the darkness by calling on Apollo.

And quickly, O son of Leto, swift to hear, didst thou come from heaven to the Melantian rocks, which lie there in the sea. Then darting upon one of the twin peaks, thou raisedst aloft in thy right hand thy golden bow; and the bow flashed a dazzling gleam all round. . . , and straightway dawn arose and gave them light and they made for Apollo a glorious abode in a shady wood, and a shady altar, calling on Phoibos the 'gleamer' [Argletes] because of the gleam far-seen, and that bare island they called Anaphe, for that Phoibos had revealed it to men sore bewildered. "

This reference to Anaphe is supported by evidence from inscriptions and from Strabo which shows that there was a cult of Apollo Aigletes on the island.⁹¹

Astour points out the similarities between Apollo's bow and that shown to Noah lighting up the world after the Flood.' His main concern is to demonstrate the parallels between this description of Membharos and the 'Pall of Darkness' and the biblical and other Canaamite cosmogonies in which before the world begins:

the earth was without form and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss and a mighty wind that swept over the surface of the waters. God said let there be light and there was light."

There is little doubt that Astour has made his point and that not only the name Meinblianos but the legends surrounding his island indicate West Semitic cosmogonies. (In Volume 4, I shall be looking at ways in which the latter resemble and to some extent derive from Egyptian ones.) However, Astour fails to explain why these Greek myths should be localized north of Crete around. There and Anaphe. The reason would seem to be that there was a memory of the great. There eruption. Thus, as well as symbolizing the chaos before creation, Memblianos and 'the Pall of Darkness' which neither the stars nor moon could penetrate record the massive dust cloud emanating from There in 1628.

THE MYTH OF ATLANTIS

Plato's report of a dialogue between the Athenian statesman Solon and Egyptian priests has been referred to in Volume 1. "It was noted both for its assertion of the identity of Athena and Neit and then/her cities of Athena and Sais and for the aged priest's statement beginning 'O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children; there is no such thing as an old Greek.' When Solon questioned this, the priest continued

You are young in soul, every one of you. For therein you possess not a single belief that is ancient and derived from old tradition, nor yet one science that is hoary with age. And this is the cause thereof. There have been and there will be many and divers destructions of mankind, of which the greatest are by fire and water and the lesser ones by countless other means.

The priest then gave a rationalized view of the nixth of Phaeton and Helios as the shifting of heavenly bodies causing destructions on earth by fierce fire. 93 He went on:

At such times all they that dwell on the mountains and in high and dry places suffer destruction more than those that dwell near to rivers or the sea, and in our case the Nile, our saviour in other ways, saves us from this calamity by rising high. And when, on the other hand, the Gods purge the earth with a flood of waters all the herds men and shepherds that are in the mountains are saved but those in the cities of your land are swept into the sea... it leaves none of you but the unlettered and uncultured, so that you become as young as ever, with no knowledge of all that happened in old times in this land or your own.

After pouring scorn on Greek traditions he continued.

For verily at one time Solon, before the greatest destruction by water, what is now the Athenian State was the bravest in war and extremely well organised also in all other respects."

After expanating on the glories of Ancient Athens, the priest continued:

it is related in our records how once upon a time your state stayed the course of a mighty host, which, starting from a distant point in the Atlantic Ocean, was insolently advancing to attack the whole of Europe and Asia to boot. For the ocean there was at one time navigable, for in front of the mouth which you Greeks call... 'the pillars of Heracles' there lay an island which was larger than Libva and Asia together, and it was possible for the travellers of that time to cross from it to the other islands, and from the islands to the whole of the continent over against them which encompasses that veritable ocean. For all that we have here, lying within the mouth of which we speak, is evidently a haven having a narrow entrance; but that yonder is a real ocean, and the land surrounding it may most rightly be called and in the fullest and truest sense, a continent. Now in this island of Atlantis there existed a confederation of kings.

of great and marvellous power, which held sway over all the island, and over many other islands also and parts of the continent, and moreover, of the lands here within the Straits they ruled over Libya as far as Egypt, and over Europe as far as Tuscany. So this host, being all gathered together, made an attempt one time to enslave by one single onslaught both your country and ours and the whole of the territory within the Straits. And then it was that the manhood of your State showed itself conspicuous for valour in the sight of the world. ... whereby it saved from slavery such as were not yet enslaved, and all the rest of its who dwell within the bounds of Heracles it ingrindgingly set free. But at a later time there occurred portentous earthquakes and floods, and one grievous day and night befell them, when the whole body of your warriors were swallowed up by the earth, and the island of Atlantis in like manner was swallowed up by the sea and vanished."

A German writer has recently estimated that there are over 20,000 relevant writings, including 7,000 books, on these passages from Plato. Therefore, even if it were desirable, it would be impossible to cover all the secondary literature on Atlantis. For these reasons I shall restrict the discussion here to some of the recent academic work on the subject and to the primary sources.

A sceptical tradition, possibly dating back to Plato's pupil Aristotle and himly re-established at the time of George Grote in the 1840s, has viewed the whole story as an ahistorical myth." On the other hand, there have been others who have believed the story to be entirely true in The majority of those writing about it, however, have taken positions between these two poles, either hesitating between the extreme positions or accepting that there is some historical truth in the myth although history was far from the only reason for his recounting of the story.

I belong to the moderate majority on this issue. I believe that the narrative does not form a single historical whole. On the other hand, it would appear equally certain that some sections do refer to actual

places and events. The problem is how to sort them out

The Irish classicist John Laice has established a very strong case that Solon did go to Egypt shortly after 600 BC, and that he probably had both a nephew and a great grandhephew called Kritias and that the latter Kritias, who was the figure of that name in Plato's dialogues, was the philosopher's great grandfather. This fits well with the words Plato put in Kritias' mouth. Thus, despite the two hundred years and more between Solon's visit and Plato's composition of the dialogues.

Plato could well have been drawing on a family tradition. However, as Luce points out, he could have gained additional information from his own visit to Egypt.¹⁰

Atlantis and the 'Atlantic'

There is no doubt that when Plato referred to the 'Atlantic Ocean', Atlantikon Pelagos, he meant what we call the Atlantic Ocean. This is because he is quite explicit that it lay beyond the Pillars of Herakles, the Strains of Gibraltar. On geological grounds, it is equally clear that the island there that was 'larger than Libya [Africa] and Asia together' was not some lost continent lying in the middle of the Atlantic, where the Atlantic Ridge now is

On the other hand—as scholars have suggested since soon after Columbus's discovery—Atlantis could have been America. "In Volume 1, I considered the possibility of African contacts with Mexico at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC." We also know from Herodotos that Phoenicians employed by the pharaoh Necho (610–595 BC) had circumnavigated Africa and that in the 5th century BC Carthaginians had sailed down the coast of West Africa as far as the Gulf of Guinea." Therefore, the chances of sightings or landings on Brazil, while avoiding the African coastal winds and currents—in the way that the Portuguese sailor Cabral did in 1500 Ab — would seem quite high. Thus, I see no reason why educated Egyptians should not have known of America at the time of Plato in the early 4th century or that of Solon in the late 6th.

While at one level the Atlantikon Pelagos is the Atlantic Ocean and the huge island in it could be America, there are other levels at which they clearly cannot be equated. It would be extraordinarily implausible to suggest that an American 'confederation of kings' ruled over Africa as far as Egypt and Europe as far as Tuscany, and it is quite out of the question to suppose that anyone seriously imagined that America could have been 'swallowed up by the sea'.

I shall be returning to these issues and to the relationship between Atlantis and Thera but, before that, I believe it would be helpful to investigate the origin and the meanings of the Greek root Atla-

Atlantis and Atlas and his Mountain(s)

The most widely accepted theory for the origin of the name of the Atlas Mountains in Northwest Africa is that proposed by the French geographer Vivien Saint Martin in 1863, and put in a suitably esoteric

linguistic form by Walter Steinhauser in 1936; that the mountains get their name from the native Berbei word adrår (mountain). Adrar is attested only from the 19th century but there is no reason to suppose that it is not an ancient word. Although Steinhauser's reconstruction of a Proto Berber *adlår is open to doubt, there is no serious phonetic difficulty with deriving Atlas from adrar. Semantically, however, there are some problems in that adrår is not the local name for the Atlas Mountains; this has been Deren of Durin sometimes compounded as Adrår in Deren. Deren could have been the local name that led Strabo to refer to the mountain as Duris and Pliny as Additis. There are indirect references to the 'Atlas' Mountains in the periplois (description of voyage) of the 5th-century Carthaginian traveller Hanno and the geographical name 'Atlas' was widely known in later Antiquity.

Stemhauser argued that the giant's name came from the toponym. This could be so, but we cannot neglect the much earlier attested personal name and its mythological connotations. The name Atlas is first attested in Hesiod and Homer as the name of the Litan or giant who separated the earth from the sky which he continued to support by tall pillars. "In this function, he would seem to derive from the Egyptian god Shu, the god of dryness and air who holds Nut the sky up away from Geb the earth. Interestingly, there are two associations between Shu and the west. Firstly, there is his name. [And The 12] clearly refers to the possibly related words (a) (an, empty, free) and (teather), but the sign \(\beta \) is also the symbol of Libya and the Libyans—the people to the west of Egypt—who seem to have worn large feathers on their heads. The second connection between Shu and the west is his close association with the god. I'm, the divinity of the evening or western sun. [1]

The list reference to Atlas as a toponym comes in Herodotos who refers to it not as a mountain range but as a single mountain with a slender cone, whose peaks are always covered in cloud. According to Herodotos the local inhabitants were named. Atlantes after the mountain which they called 'the Pillar of the Sky' ^{1,2}. Thus, the original meaning seems to have been 'edge of the world' or Pillar of Herakles. In the myth-cycle of the Twelve Labours of Herakles there is the well-known story of Atlas' tricking the hero into holding up the sky and of Herakles' trick to hand the burden back. The parallel or connection between Atlas and Herakles has been touched on in Chapter II and the notion of Atlas holding pillars that keep the sky up at the gates of

the world is already present in Hesiod

The connection between the giant and the Atlas Mountains would fit the name of the Atarantes—a tribe that, according to Herodotos,

inhabited the deserts of Northwest Africa—as well as the Atlantes he referred to as inhabiting the mountains—'In short, it would seem quite possible that one source of the name Atlas Atlantis was the Berber Adrár.

Atlas and Ocean

It would seem unlikely to be the only source for Atlas Atlantis, however, as Adrår cannot explain a number of aspects of the name. For instance, the name Atlas was given by Herodotos to a major tributary of the Danube and the mountains from which this river flowed were called Athrys. These could hardly be Berber, but they could come from a sense of coincidential oppositorion or at least an affinity between cardinal points, as discussed in the last chapter. In some ways both the Atlantic and the Danube were seen as edges of the world. The notion of Atlas as a river raises the possibility that utla refers not to mountains but to 'rivers' or bodies of water. In which case the Atlantic would not derive its name from the Atlas Mountains but the mountains would take their name from that of the ocean.

There is no doubt of the intimate relations between Atlas and the Okeanos—the ocean of fiver that circles the world—according to Greek cosmologies dating at least from the time of Hesiod and Homer. Hesiod saw Atlas as the father of the Peleiades or Pleiades, the stars of storin; their mother was Pleione, who was herself the daughter of Okeanos (2). The Pleiades were, in fact, sometimes known as the Atlantides. (3) Atlas was also known as the father of the Hyades and the stars islands of the western ocean, the Hesperides. The 'ocean' that goes found the world and forms the film between earth and heaven would seem a much more likely source of constellations than a range of mountains. This would seem especially true of the Pleiades which have been seen since ancient times as the stars of navigation—plein in Greek.¹¹⁹

In Homer's eyes Atlas was a figure 'of baneful mind, who knows the depths of every sea, and himself holds the tall pillars which keep heaven and earth apart'. According to Homer, Atlas was also the father of Kalypso, the nymph who hyed in a grotto on the island of Ogygia set in the distant ocean. On the other hand, Hesiod referred

to Kalypso as the daughter of Okeanos 12

Overall, it is clear that Atlas' essential function was to separate earth from sky. However, there were two ways in which this could be done by mountainous pillars at the edge of the world or by the ocean which formed the rim between the two spheres. Judging from the mythological evidence, it would seem that his fundamental nature was watery

and that the 'Atlantic' Ocean was primary and the Atlas Mountains were secondary. In short, Atlas-Atlantos was an equivalent of Ökeanos. This would explain both the Atlantic Ocean and the name Atlas for the Danubian tributary on another edge of the world.

There is no Indo-European etymology for the name Ökeanos and it is generally acknowledged to be a non-Indo-European loan possibly related to the name of Kalypsos island Ögygia. Ogygia has already been discussed in Chapter II in its relations to the Semitic root, 'wg (to draw a circle) and the name 'Ög, king of Bashan. Its links to Okeanos, the river diagon snake that surrounds the world and separates it from heaven, can be argued through the names Ogenos, mentioned by the early 5th-century mythographer Pherekydes, and Ogen, referred to by the lexicographer Hesychios '- Although, I believe, there is another candidate for the etymology of Ögygia in the Egyptian Wgi (flood), the link between , 'wg and Ogygia is semantically and phonetically possible. '- However, it is not possible to make more than a loose connection between them.

Another possibility is the derivation of Ökeanos from the Sumerian *A ki an(u) (Water of the Land and Heaven). The concept of both earth, ki, and heaven, an, having wet rims that were parallel or ran into each other was well established in Mesopotamian religion. Furthermore, there is no doubt that Mesopotamian cosmologies and cosmogonies did have a significant impact on Greek theology and thought, and there are especially close parallels in the image of the snakelike oceanic rim of the world. Nevertheless, the term *Akian is unattested and the etymology must remain tentative.

One way or another, it is likely that Okeanos is a Levantine or Mesopotamian name. Could Atla samply be its Egyptian doublet or counterpart? The Egyptian word three is generally translated as 'river'. Whether or not it is genetically related to the Indo-European root *wet (wer, flowing) which frequently had a final -r as in the Hittite waa-lar (our 'water') there is no doubt that law had a wider semantic range beyond river. With the adjective #1 (great), Intwift (great river) was also widely used. In later times, this referred to one or more of the distributories of the Nile Delia. However, it was also used for the 'whole or main course of the Nile'; and the Coptic forms Liero or laro were applied to other great rivers like the Euphrates and the Jordan and - interestingly from our point of view - the Danube." The Canaanne borrowing from the Late Egyptian form the -t- in itru seems to have been dropped by the 18th Dynasts - is the Hebrew Ye'ôr. Like In(w)13, this is used both for the Nile as the river par ex cellence and for other great rivers. 129

In the Book of Coming Faith by Day, more commonly known as the

Book of the Dead (a guide to the soul, dating back to the 18th Dynasty, 1575—1300 BC), lb(w) in the plural was used for rivers in eternity. In later times at least it would even seem to have been used for the river or ocean that surrounded the earth. Diodoros Sikeliotes wrote that 'in their language the Egyptians speak of the Nile as Okeanos'. "Horapollo, the Upper Egyptian writer of the 5th century AD, also identified the Nile with the ocean as the noun 'abvss' or 'deep' from which the world was created. "Thus, ltr(w) or ltr(w) could refer to either the Nile or the ocean or any other substantial body of water.

Although the Greek borrowing from lir(u) or lir(w) to Atlas-Atlantos would seem to have been in this sense of river ocean, in either language there must have been considerable room for confusion with any body of water. Thus, although there is no attestation of lir(w) or lir(w) as an equivalent of Wid(w), the name used by the Egyptians for sea in general and the Aegean in particular, or of yam, the later Egyptian borrowing from the Canaanite yam (sea), the use of lir(w) or lir(w) in this way would seem very likely.

Plato's Atlantis and the Thera eruption

Now we come to the frequent association made in modern scholarship between Plato's Atlantis, with its fiery destruction, and Thera. ⁵² The most plausible explanation for the geographical confusion between the vast island in the Atlantic and Thera in the Aegean is to suppose that, given the specific links between ln(w) or ln(w), Atla- and Okeanos, Solon, or Kritias in Plato's dialogue, found it useful to associate the lost island with Atlas, Okeanos and Poseidon in the ultimate sea, the Atlantic.

As well as the geographical confusion between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean in Plato's text, there appears to be a temporal one between what in Egyptological terms would be called the 2nd and the 3rd Intermediate Periods, that is to say, the 18th and 17th centuries BC on the one hand and the 12th on the other. Plato's kings of Atlantis, with this generalized sense ltr(w), look very much like the Egyptian chieftams of the Peoples of the Sea, the confederation that attacked Egypt in the early 12th century BC. This confederation is referred to in the famous inscription of Ramesses III: 'as for the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their islands. No country could stand before their arms. Hatti, Qode, Karkamesh Arzawa and Alashiya. Their League was . ''''' This looks remarkably like the quotation from Plato given above:

Now in this island of Atlantis there existed a confederation of kings, of great and marvellous power, which held sway over all the island.

and over many other islands also and parts of the continent, and moreover, of the lands here within the Straits they ruled over Libva as far as Egypt, and over Europe as far as Euscany [Tyrremas]. So this host, being all gathered together, made an attempt one time to enslave by one single onslaught both your country and ours and the whole of the territory within the Straits.³³

The geographical names cited above give further indications of a close connection in that, although not mentioned in the Ramesses' text itself, two of the best-known confederates of the Peoples of the Sea were the Labyans and the Tis or Tursha who have been plausibly identified with the later Tyrsénon-Etruscans. If Plato's text was referring to the 12th century and some parallel were drawn between the invasion of the Sea Peoples and the 'Dorian Invasion' of Southern Greece which took place some decades later, a historical basis could be found for the description of Athens reported by Plato, despite the obvious fulsome praise and hyperbole.

acting partly as a leader of the Greeks, and partly standing alone by itself when deserted by all others, after encountering the deadhest of perils, it deleated the invaders and reared a trophy, whereby it saved from slavery such as were not yet enslaved and all the rest of us, who dwell within the bounds of Herakles."

According to both Greek tradition and archaeological evidence, Athens and Attica did resist the Dorians and other northerners and

provided a refuge for others fleeing from them "

But Plato was not merely describing the 12th century. In his dialogue the Kritius, which is a sequel to the Imaios. Plato referred to the war of that period in connection with the names of the Athenian kings Kekrops, Friechtheus, Friehthomos and Frysichthon. These were not the names of the kings at the time of the Dorian invasion, who were Melanthos and Kodros. It is, of course, very incertain how much weight one can put on such information. These chronologies and even the royal names themselves are extraordinarily inconsistent and unrehable. Nevertheless, as I have stated repeatedly. I believe that one should sift through these traditions for possible nuggets of historicity.

According to the most complete ancient Greek chronology, the Parian Marble—inscribed in 264 BC—which seems to correspond to the chief Athenian tradition. Kekrops began to reign in 1582 BC and the others mentioned in the Kritus were among his successors over the next century or so 150 The possibility that the name Kekrops refers to the much older figure of Sesostris will be discussed in Volume 3. Even discounting this, it would seem that the Parian chronology may be too

low. Tradition reported that the greatest flood in Greek history, that of Deucalion, took place in the reign of Kekrops' immediate successor Kranaos ¹⁰. It is possible that there is a connection between this flood and the Thera eruption, either through a tsunami or through the years of heavy rainfall which seem to have succeeded it in China and may well have done elsewhere. If the two events are connected, their we should have to place Kekrops before 1628. Whether or not this is the case, and despite the lack of any description that would fit the latter, Plato would seem to have conflated reports of the wars and invasions of the Peoples of the Sea with those of the Hyksos, whose invasion of Egypt in the 18th century BC will be discussed in the next chapter. One could even take seriously Plato's report:

But at a later time there occurred portentous earthquakes and floods, and one grievous day and night befell them, when the whole body of your warriors were swallowed up by the earth, and the island of Atlantis in like manner was swallowed up by the sea and vanished.¹⁴²

Can Atlantis in this passage be identified with Thera? In Kritus Plato gave a detailed description of the island. The name he attributed to its first king was Atlas, the eldest son of Poseidon – yet more evidence of his oceanic nature. Here, as in the Innaeus, the island is set beyond the Pillars of Herakles in the Atlantic. Poseidon constructed a complicated succession of land and sea circuits around the island linking the outside to the centre by an underground tininel 115 ft is possible that some elements of Plato's descriptions derive from the actual wealth and fertility of Thera or Kalliste before the eruption. However, the symbolic importance of these constructions, and the detailed and intricate mathematics and harmonics used in the description of the island's wonderful arrangements and extraordinary wealth, thickly overlay any such kernel of historicity.116

It is also possible that the island's assocation with Poseidon is in some way connected with the facts that Poseidon was the most widely worshipped divinity in Mycenaean Greece and that he was the counterpart of Seth, to whom, according to the Egyptians, the Hyksos were passionately devoted. Furthermore, Poseidon was the patron of chariots which were introduced into Egypt and probably into the Aegean by the Hyksos. Here too, however, any possible historicity is obscured by the mythological importance of the story of Poseidon as the father of Atlas, the patron of the sea and of the earthquake that destroyed it.

THE HERLA ERUPTION IN ICELAND

Having discussed the conflation of the 2nd with the 31d Intermediate Periods on political and military grounds, it would seem useful at this point to reconsider Plato's or the Egyptian priest's first point. There have been and there will be many and divers destructions of mankind, of which the greatest are by fire and water and the lesser ones by countless other means. There is a good case for claiming that there were two events to which the Egyptian priests were especially referring the Thera eruption of 1628 and its aftermath and the eruption of Hekla HI in 1159 BC. The results of this pair of disasters in China have been touched on above and will be discussed below. At this point, I want to consider the impact of the 12th-century explosion in Western Eurasia.

As the Hekla eruption was in Iceland, it is not surprising that its most dramatic affects were in Britain. According to the paleo-climatologists Chris Sear and Mick Kelly:

The dust veil [put up by the volcano] may well have created an area of low pressure and low temperature over the British Isles. This, the research indicates, led to extremely high rainfall, which, combined with cold weather, would have made agricultural life impossible in areas such as the Scottish Highlands, the southern uplands, the Pennines, the Lake District and Wales.

The archaeologist John Barber now postulates catastrophes and major depopulation in Northern Britain in the mid-12th century BC, which he and Bailhe tentatively link to Hekla III. 1 They also suggest that the breakdown of the economy of the Highlands led to social disruption:

The catastrophe was so sudden and severe that it appears to have forced hundreds of thousands of people to leave their upland homes to seek a new life in the already inhabited valleys and lowlands. Widespread warfare would have followed and in the later half of the twelfth century is a valley settlements start to be fortified. [48]

However, the drama had a background. Barber and Baillie agree that for several centuries before the cruption the Scottish Highlands had been under severe environmental stress as a result of long-term climatic changes. Nevertheless, they insist that the final breakdown occurred only after the eruption.

To what extent can one apply these data elsewhere? It is clearly

impossible to maintain that the social collapse of the East Mediterranean basin occurred only after 1159 BC. The invasions of the Sea Peoples, then destruction of Hatti (the Hittite Empire in Central Anatolia) and other states began decades earlier and the disturbances around the Aegean began in the late 13th century. These facts would seem to fit the theory proposed over thirty years ago by the American classical archaeologist Rhys Carpenter and revived in the 1970s, in a different way, by the archaeologists Bryson, Lamb and Donley. However, more recent studies have been unable to detect any long-term deterioration. What is more, while the scholars working on this admit that there must have been droughts in Southern Greece, some of which may well have lasted for several years in a row, they also insist that similar disasters would have occurred in earlier centuries but were overcome without any drastic reduction of population."

In Chapter XI, I shall argue that during the period of the Pax Aegyptiaca, from \(\epsilon\), 1470—1220 BC, Egyptian grain was shipped to the Aegean at least for famine relief. In Chapter XII, I maintain that it was the political collapse of this structure and the trading pattern dependent on it that led to the breakdown of the Mycenaean economy and consequently the high population density supported by it being unable to survive climatic adversity. Now it may be that the Invasions of the Peoples of the Sea were at least partially precipitated by long-term climatic deteriorations in regions beyond the Mediterranean of the type noted above for Britain, but in the East Mediterranean itself the prime cause of the end of the Bronze Age seems to have been political rather than climatic.

Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the situation deteriorated sharply after 1159. It is after this that Mycenae and Tryns were destroyed, and the Southern Aegean islands were settled by Dorians, Western Anatolia by Ionians, and the Phrygians spread destructively through much of Central Anatolia. At the same time, Middle-Llamite power in what is now Iran mysteriously collapsed. While one cannot attribute the social, economic and political collapse at the end of the Bionze Age to Hekla HI, there would seem little doubt that some of what Michael Baillie has shown to be the world-wide effects of this massive volcanic activity would have been present during the worst years of the crisis. 154

Thus, just as the Thera eruption seems to have been associated, by later tradition, with political and military events surrounding the Hyksos, it would seem that the eruption of Hekla III was seen as a manifestation of the social and political chaos of the 12th century

Plato and his predecessors Kritias and Solon were therefore connecting not only the Hyksos and the Peoples of the Sea but Thera and Hekla 111.

CHINA: THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL IMPACT

The plausible suggestion, made earlier in this chapter, that the Theraeruption took place just before the overthrow of the Xia Dynasty and may have facilitated the triumph of its successor the Shang Dynasty has interesting implications for the influence of the eruption, in conjunction with that of Hekla III, on the course of Chinese history over the last 3,000 years. Before considering such long-range impacts, however. I should like to investigate the impact of the relation of the Thera eruption to the fall of the Xia Dynasty on historiography.

As mentioned above, Pang and Chou collected sources on the fall of Xia, some of which purported to be contemporary documents from the Shuping or 'Book of History' while others were drawn from different sources from up to one thousand years later. These describe a dimming sun and moon, the appearance of many suns, a dry fog, fall of ashes, frosts in summer and destructions of crops. All these would fit well with a mini 'miclear winter' of the type which seems to have taken place in 1528 Bc and which it is assumed would have followed the cruption on Thera. ¹⁵⁶

The claims of Pang and Chou must be put in the perspective that the meteorological events they draw attention to are not the only ones in the Chinese records of the periods concerned. Furthermore, there is no answer to the charge that this synchronizing of European eruptions with Chinese dynastic changes is merely based on a series of unverified suppositions. On the other hand, as I have repeated throughout this work, the same is true of all general hypotheses in pre- or proto-history, including those that deny connections. In these and many other areas it is unfair to demand *proof* for any new scheme when *proof* is not available for most conclusions in natural science and is certainly not the basis of conventional wisdom on these nebulous areas. The best one can hope for in such cases is competitive plausibility. Here I think Pang and Chou have made a sufficiently strong case for the relation between the Thera eruption and the fall of the Xii for it to be taken as a working hypothesis.

If they are correct, the apparent accuracy of some ancient Chinese metereological reports suggests that we should take a number of early historical sources more seriously. Notable among these is the *Shujing* (Book of History), which was supposedly edited by Confucius in the 6th century is. The tendency of 20th century scholarship has been to see the *Shujing* as essentially made up of pions forgeries intered by Confucius and later writers. The new meteorological evidence now indicates that in many cases Confucius may well have been, as he said merely editing some truly ancient documents and that several of its texts do indeed date back to the early Zhou and possibly even the Shang Dynasty.

This confirmation for a number of its sections, as well as for the Shang chronology of the Zhushu finian (Bamboo Annals), comes in addition to that provided by the results of modern archaeology and from the 'oracle bones' which will be discussed below. Put together the new sources of information indicate that there should be a major teassessment of the antiquity and accuracy of many Chinese classics.

Chinese tradition had no doubt about the existence of the first two dynasties, the Xia and the Shang. However, in the late 19th cen ury Western and Chinese scholars, carried away by the prevailing positivism and scepticism, considered them as largely or wholly figurents of the imagination of the Confuctan and other later philosophical schools concocted for moral and didactic purposes. Thus, as with that to wards Western Asia and the Eastern Mediterraneam, the 'scientific approach to Chinese history has been to down date traditional periods and to reduce the geographical scale of the ancient claims for travel, conquest or contact.

In the West, the approach of Besserassen has continued more or less unchecked, but in China it was rudely shaken in the late 1920s by the large-scale discovery of what has now become a linge corpus of inscriptions on oracle bones. These were bones heated to form cracks, the cracks were then interpreted as answers to inquiries put to the ancestral spirits and were then inscribed on the bone. The bones, usually excavated in the context of sites traditionally associated with the Shang, were found to contain the names of the emperors of that Is nasts and the relationships recorded between them his very well with the traditional historical sequence. Since 1949, extensive archaeology has continued to strengthen the credibility of the tradition. Further more, as elsewhere in the world, dates from carbon 14, though they do not indicate as high a dating as some of the traditional claims, rend to point away from the low dating of sceptical schotars.

However, the spirit of the 20th century is not to be balked so cas by The oracle bones are now the only accepted source on the Shang. The traditional materials on the dynasty, notably those in the Book of Itis tors, are considered virtually unusable and there continues to be a tendency to deny the historicity of the Xia altogether despite the increasing archaeological evidence to back it.

Scepticism about the Shaping is in fact, very ancient. As Confuents disciple Meneius put it in the 4th century is. It would be better to be without the Book of History than to give entire credit to it. Severtheless for Meneus as for many later scholars the best course was clearly to believe some sections and reject others. H. G. Creel, writing in the rogos, at the height of the sceptical period depicd that the corpus had existed at the time of Confuence but argued that it munber of books including the Oath of Ling' are undoubtedly Pre-Conflician - Pre Conflician is a deliberately vague term and essenhally means simply that Confucius referred to or quoted from, the document. However, the meteorological confirmation of apparently fantastic phenomena must be added to astronomical backing for observations quoted in other texts dealing with the period of the Three Dynasties Na Shang and Zhou. Taken together, these give considerable credibility to the authenticity of some sections of the Shiging, not merely as Pre Confucian but as dating from at least the 12th or rith century ac in the early Zhou and possibly even from the early Shang in the 17th, which is the period from which they are purported to come.

The Fallacy of the Axial Age

Scepticism about the date of these sections of the Shung and the Zhushu Jimun should be seen in the light of late 19th, and 20th century Besseratises and the related appeal of the widespread notion expressed most clearly by the German historian and philosopher Karl Jaspers of an 'Axial Age'.

According to this scheme in the middle of the 1st millenium 86 hs some mysterious osmosis, there was supposed to have been a simultaneous cultural breakthrough in Greece with Sokiates, Plato and Aristotle, in Iran, with Zoroaster, in India with Briddha, and in China, with Confucius and Laozi Laotzul the founder of Liojstii.

Because it includes from India and China, this scheme is less Furocentric than most of those current when it was established. Interestingly, though not surprisingly the nature of this breakthrough is tather unclear. The smologist Benjamin Schwartz has provided a working definition used by the two latest conferences on the Axial Age.

If there is nevertheless some common underlying impulse in all these axial movements it might be called the strain towards

transcendence ... What I refer to here is something close to the etymological meaning of the word—a kind of standing back and looking beyond—a kind of criticial reflective questioning of the actual and a new vision of what lies beyond—. In concentrating our attention on these transcendental breakthroughs—we are stressing the consciousness of small groups of prophets, philosophers and wise men who may have had a very small impact on their immediate environment.¹³⁹

This description would seem to be to a fee what we know of the priesthoods of Egypt and Mesopotamia of the 3rd and 2nd millen nums. Why should there have been such an insistence on a transformation in the 6th and 5th centuries? In some ways, the whole scheme can be seen as the result of as well as a reinforcement to the Aryan Model. By denying the scientific and philosophical and religious significance of all the great Bronze. Age civilizations, the idea of an Axial Age eliminates Mesopotamia, the Levant and Egypt as sources of Greek and hence European civilization. It also sets Archaic and Classical Greece in the vanguard, at the centre of 'true civilization."

In Volume 1 of this work, I put forward some of my objections to the idea of an Axial Age as it affects Greece. This also very dubious when it comes to Iran, a strong case is now being made for the great religious reformer Zoroaster's having lived in the 2nd millenmin.

The great Chinese philosopher Confuents claimed that he was a transmitter of ancient culture and he seems to have had no difficulty in envisioning the existence of an elite class acting in a very 'Confuential way almost a thousand years before his birth in about 550 BC.' The increased credibility of some of the claims to antiquity of the Shuping makes it likely that there was a thoroughly Confucian' world-view in the late and possibly even the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. Thus, the Chinese 'leg' of the 'Axial Age, now appears equally shaky.

The chronology of the Xia and Shang Dynasties

Now that it seems very likely that the fall of the Xia Dynasty was within a decade or two after 1028, it is interesting to look at previous attempts to date the change of dynasty. Kevin Pang's conclusion that the Xia fell i 1000 BC was anticipated in the 1930s by Perceval Yetts, working from the two chronologies of Sima Qian and the Bamboo Vinals'. On the other hand, one of the leading Western historians of the Shang. David Keightley, ientatively postulated the year 1400 on

the basis of astronomical data recorded on oracle bones. However, K. G. Chang, an equally emment expert on the Shang, disagreed about the astronomical data and held out for the early 17th century on the basis of very early Shang radio-carbon datings. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, later information from the first Shang capital points to the Shang Dynasty as being in place in the first half of the 16th century BC. 167

The religious impact of the Thera eruption

In China the cruption would seem to have had an impact on both religious and political thought. That on religion, in the strict sense of the word, would seem to have been shorter lasting. Immediately after the fall of the Nia Dynasty around 1020 BC, there would seem to have been a real awe of heaven and Shangdi, the high god. Tang, the founder of the Shang Dynasty, is reported by contemporaries or writers some five hundred years later as having said in a passage that has an almost biblical flavour:

High Heaven (ruly showed its favour to the inferior people (refering to himself) and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. Heaven's appointment is without error, brilliantly now like the blossoning of flowers and trees the millions of people are reviving. It is given to me the one man, to give harmony and tranquillity to your States and Families, and now Eknow not whether I may not offend the powers above and below. I am fearful and trembling as if I should fall into a deep abys.

Fing Yuslan, the most famous 20th-century historian of Chinese philosophy, has pointed out that 'Here in a speech of less than a hundred and lifty characters, we find heaven and God referred to three times 'as It is no wonder that Tang was a great favourite of Protestant missionaries. For example, the 19th century German K.E.A. Gutzlaff wrote: 'From his frequent invocations of Shangste, we might be led to believe that he was a pious prince who knew something of the true God.'

Nevertheless in China, this transcendent power of heaven was reduced in some significant ways. Firstly, it was insisted, from the beginning and throughout, that the reason for the withdrawal of the Mandate of Heaven – discussed below—was the dissolute behaviour of the last ruler of the dynasty, which had caused an imbalance of nature. Thus, there was a clear anthropocentrism. However, as by the

end of the Shang Dynasty in China only the imperial clan had access to heaven, it was the dynasty—not the people as, for instance, in Israel that was reponsible for the disaster. Secondly, and in sharp distinction to the Israelite tradition, there was an attempt in China to remove the arbitrary power of heaven by stressing the regular, cyclical, almost 'seasonal' nature of such happenings.

The political impact: the Mandate of Heaven

The long-term impact of the Thera eruption, in conjunction with that of Hekla III, was seen in the formation of the Chinese religio-political concept of *Funning*, 'Mandate of Heaven' Before examining this concept and its possible relation to the eruptions we should consider ancient Chinese thought on the role of the emperor and the nature of *Tuan* (heaven).

In a recent survey of what he calls 'early cultural orientations', the American intellectual historian Benjamin Schwartz sees the salient characteristics of China before c 1000 BC as a powerful ancestral cult and the model of a hierarchical family in which the kinship roles are extremely important, though he hastens to reassure us that this did not diminish the individual. He sees the family model not only as central to the extended clan but also as imposed on society at large and even on nature. He suggests that, in China, the concept of a competitive and equal 'civil society' between the hierarchical family and the state was weaker than elsewhere.¹⁷¹

Associated with the direct conjunction of family and state was the image of the emperor and the imperial clan as the epitome of the world and as the only link between man and heaven. Schwartz believes that the great historian of Chinese science Joseph Needham—whose views on this he rather simplifies – has exaggerated the immanence or panthieism of Chinese religion and thought and underplayed the transcendental tole of Di of Shangdi, the high god, and Tran, heaven

Schwartz maintains the emperor's monopoly over the connection between man and heaven by insisting on the weakness in Chinese tradition of shamanism or cults of possession in which—in other cultures—the shaman's soul leaves the body and soars above the earth. One major qualification to this view seems to be needed, that is that the image of the emperor as the sole ruler seems to date only from the middle of the Xia Dynasty; earlier rulers appear to have been hege mons or first among equal lords. ¹⁵ Similarly, the idea of the emperor as the sole communicator between heaven and earth seems to have

emerged only in the middle of the Shang Dynasty. Before then, he appears to have been assisted by a 'college' of 'sorcerer-scribes' but their role was almost completely subordinated to his by the end of the

dynasty. 173

Even for later periods, I think that Schwartz is too quick to dismiss. Chinese shamanism and it seems that a shamanist tradition there is stronger than he claims. Furthermore, he fails to make a connection made clearly by Needham—between shamanism and the 'gnosis' seen in Taoism and elsewhere, through which an enlightened philosopher can rise up to heaven ' 'Nevertheless, for the period after the late Shang, Schwartz is clearly right to stress the central mediating role of the emperor and to emphasize that, in this respect, China went beyond other ancient societies in which the people or at least the priesthoods had direct access to celestial forces ' '

At this point, we should consider three related concepts that have dominated Chinese listory for the past three thousand years. They are turn (heaven), Turnzi (the 'Son of Heaven' or emperor) and Turn ming (Mandate of Heaven). Modern Chinese and Western scholars have had long debates on the meaning of turn. Some have argued that it was merely the sky and others that it represented a transcendental being analogous to the Jewish, Christian and Moslem 'God'. The Swedish smologist Bernhard Karlgren, who dominated Western studies of early China in the mid-20th century, saw a form of the character for turn. I found on Shang oracle bones as that of an 'anthropomorphic deity'. This would seem plausible from the shape of the character but the Japanese specialist on the oracle bones Shima Kuino had dented this adamantly and Shima's view predominates today.¹⁷

It would seem that, during and after the Shang Dynasty, the Chinese concept ranged from sky to transcendental god, but was centred on the image of turn as 'the solemnity of the dome of the sky'.\(^{+\text{*}}\) Some scholars imply that the concept of heaven as a divinity was impossible during the Shang because the oracle bone inscriptions often fail to distinguish between the character for $da^{-\frac{1}{2}}$ (great) and $turn^{-\frac{1}{2}}$, which is the same with a bar over the top. This, however, should not be taken too seriously as it would seem probable that the script used on the oracle bones was already archaic when it was used in the 2nd millennium. Furthermore, most Shang examples of turn are written with a circular 'head' rather than a single stroke'.' Nevertheless, most scholars today believe that turn with a religious sense was a concept developed during the Shang Dynasty in the western state of Zhou, which emerged only with the triumph of the Zhou Dynasty, which arose from that state. They base their case on what they see as the

absence of tran in a religious sense in Shang oracle bones. While Shang concern with divine tran was probably wider than this, there is no doubt of its special worship in the state of Zhou and an explosion of interest in it at the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty.

The Shang emperors were known as Di divinities and, at least at the end of the dynasty, were seen as powerful gods in then own right, subordinated only to the shangdi (Upper Di) who was the Shang an cestors' ancestor or the 'Di of Dis', St. This divinization was modified in the Zhon when the term Di seems to have become less current and the deceased Zhou rulers were seen to be living in heaven. Furthermore, by the early reigns of the Zhou Dynasty, the living emperor began to be called the Tuniti (Son of Heaven). The traditional reason for this was because he served heaven as a father

The title Tianzi was also closely linked to the notion that the emperor had received the Tianzing, the 'Mandate of Heaven'. This concept was well established by the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty Tianzing or the Ming of Tian appears repeatedly in the Hymns of Zhou in the Shiping (The Book of Poetry), the early date of which is generally accepted. 8- According to the Book of Poetry, 'The Mandate of Heaven is not constant'. 8- It was beseved that misrule by an emperor could so upset the course of nature that han – as a high god of agent, or merely as an inert reaction—could mainfest the disruption by produgies: floods, droughts, earthquakes, the birth of freaks, etc.

The general modern interpretation of this tradition has been that it was essentially a political ploy designed to give legitimacy to the new usurpers to whom the mandate was supposed to have been transferred. Furthermore, in a large country like China one can always

find plenty of such 'unnatural' events to justily such a claim.

There is no doubt that the concept of a change in the Mandate of Heaven was well established early in the Zhou Dynasty. Given the uncertainty about Shang thinking about tuan, it is not surprising that it is not generally believed to have existed during that dynasty. Nevertheless, David Keightley has speculated interestingly on the possibility that there may have been the concept of a *'Mandate of Di'during the Shang.' I am not so certain that the attestation of tuan in the state of Zhou and the Zhou Dynasty limits the concept to that region and that period, and the parallel drawn by the early Zhou rulers, who claimed to have been given the Mandate of Heaven [tuan], and Tang of Shang suggests that we should be careful before ruling out the authenticity of the texts allegedly from the early Shang, in the Book of History, which are in fact obsessed with tuanning

If there were major natural catastrophes near the ends of the Xia and Shang dynasties, how does this alter our picture of the Mandate

of Heaven? It would make sense of the puzzling but key statement attributed to the people of Xia: 'When will this sun expire? We will all perish with thee.' 85 'I his now could be seen as a moving attestation of loyalty in the face of what we should now see as a natural 'nuclear winter'.

The existence of mid- or late 2nd-millennium texts about natural catastrophes and dynastic change lessens our scepticism about the protestations of the founders of the new dynastics that they would never have rebelled if heaven had not removed the mandate from the previous ruler and given it to them. This, in turn, would help explain the central paradox of how a civilization so focused on the royal clanas the sole bridge between heaven and man could make such radical breaks. Nevertheless, there is little reason to suppose that natural catastrophes on their own could bring dynasties down. The destruction of the X_{ia} seems to have required the conjunction of three conditions: political crisis, an alternative 'royal' family and the catastrophe. The lack of any one of these would have made the shift impossible. All three conditions existed at the falls of both the Xia and the Shang dynasties. There were princes and principalities of Shang and Zhou from the beginning of the Xia, the political crises were detailed in the ancient chronicles of the events and now we know about the natural catastrophes.

Thus, the Thera eruption seems to have been necessary but not sufficient condition for the Shang triumph. As we have seen, the situation is not so clear when it comes to the fall of the Shang Dynasty itself. Nevertheless, the fact that the Shang themselves were overthrown some five hundred years later and their fall was rightly or wrongly associated with natural anomalies seems to have set the pattern of a 500-year cycle. In Han times, in the last centuries BC, this was clearly seen to relate to the conjunction of the five planets which seems to have come every 516 years and it is possible that Mencius was referring to this when he maintained that a new king should be born every 500+ years. 180 As mentioned above, the conjunction did appear in 1953 BC, near the beginning of Xia, and dates of its occurrence were manipulated to fit with the beginnings of the Zhou and Han dynasties.187 Thus, despite the short-term religious impact described above, by the middle of the 1st millennium BC the principle of immanence, with heaven as part of nature rather than dominating it, seems to have been largely established or re-established. Such a cyclical pattern would seem to be appropriate for a non-tropical agricultural civilization like that of China, where the basic temporal structure was that of the repetitive 'rhythm' of the seasons

Another piece of evidence that would seem to confirm the 'volcanic

hypothesis' is the fact that some late Zhou thinkers were surprised that, after much more than five hundred years, there had been no change of the Mandate." What had happened instead was that powerful lords in the 7th century is be aime ba (political hegemons), leaving the emperor with a small state and his central 'religious' position intact. This can be explained in purely political terms because the emperors lacked the inditary and economic power to dominate the other feudal rulers. Nevertheless, there was no discrediting of the Zhou comparable to that of the later Xia and Shang, and this may well have been due to the absence of a world-shattering natural event

Interestingly, the pattern of secular hegemony was that adopted by Japan in the institution of the 'Shogunate'. In Japan, the concept of the Mandate of Heaven does not exist and it is claimed that there has been no break in the imperial family. This could be explained by the fact that – despite frequent eruptions and other natural disasters in Japan – there have been no overwhelming events of the order of Thera and Hekla III coinciding with an acute political crisis since the foundation of the Japanese Empire early in the 1st millennium an

In China, however, the tradition of the removable Mandate was sufficiently strong for Qin Shi Huangdi to be able to use it to seize religious as well as secular power from the last Zhou emperor in 249 BC, and these precedents established a tradition of dynastic succession that has lasted in China ever since

In the 4th century BC, Confucius' disciple Mencius discerned another sign of the Mandate of Heaven, and argued that its loss was signalled by the peoples turning away from the unrighteous ruler and towards the new one as water flows downhill ⁶⁸. Mencius' picture of the people's preference as an expression of Heaven's removal of the Mandate — vox popular ox der — established an orthodox Confucian tradition according to which a popular revolt could set up a new and legitimate dynasty.

The choice of the word Kakumei (Removal of the Mandate) to represent the Western term 'revolution' was originally made in Japan However, in a culture where the concept was viewed only at second hand, it lacked the potency of its Chinese translation, geming. I wentieth-century revolutionaries from the time of the Nationalist Sun Yat Sen have seen themselves, and have been seen by others, as bearers of a new Mandate and therefore legitimate in a traditional sense. *

When Mao Zedong rose to power, his image was easily assimilated into that of a Son of Heaven—and more specifically to that of Qin Shi Huangdi, the founder of the Qin Dynasty and reunifier of China. This gave him enormous traditional beence to change the world to fit

the new era. The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was the result of the interaction of many different forces, national distinity in the face of imperialism, the desperate economic and unequal position of the peasants, and its offensiveness to traditional values of equality, Marxist-Lenmist theory and the brilliant mind of Mao limiself. Nevertheless, the traditional political implications of the Mandate of Heaven and its removal placed an important part in the Chinese Communist revolution.

However, the link between political and social shifts and natural catastrophes has never disappeared. The tradition's continued vitality is shown by the widespread rumours in 1976 that the three deaths, of Zhou Enlar. Zhu De and Mao Zedong, were related to three earthquakes, including the one that devastated the coal-mining centre of Tangshan causing the death of hundreds of thousands if not inflhous of people. Together, they were seen to signal the end of an era and possibly the removal of the Mandate of Heaven. Nevertheless, conditions of possibility for the extraordinary transformations between 1949 and 1976 lay in the paradox of the double traditions of the 'Son of Heaven' and the movable Mandate expressed by natural disasters and popular movements, which go back more than three thousand years to the fall of the Nat Dynasty and thence partially to the Theracruption.

THE WORLD-WIDE IMPACT OF THE THERA ERUPTION

Positing the world-wide effects of the Thera eruption provides a lascinating example of the responses of different cultures to the same event. The Chinese case has interesting parallels and contrasts with those in Western Asia. Whether or not one can follow Pomerance in linking the traditions around the Exodus to Thera, there is no doubt that Israelite culture was acutely aware of the devastating effects of natural catastrophes. In a tradition that almost certainly antedates 1628, the god of Israel was fundamentally a divinity of turbulence of the type of the Egyptian Seth and the Greek Poseidon. He had a ditect responsibility for earthquakes, tidal waves and disasters of fire and water. Thus catastrophes of this type would confirm his might and that of his people even if they were the victims' Furthermore, It was within his power to strike wherever and whenever he chose Nevertheless, the Israelite scheme was anthropocentric to the extent that the disasters were thought to have been brought about by the smfulness of the peoples affected

In the Israelite tradition the possibility of unpredictable disaster from on high is held strongly. Not surprisingly, in Mesopotamia there was generally more concern with floods than with volcanoes. Myths about floods long antedate the time of Thera. As we have already considered earlier in the chapter, there were Greek legends of catastrophic floods many elements of which were borrowed from earlier Near Eastern ones. The most notable of these, which was generally placed in the 2nd millennium BC, was that of Deukalion, whose wife was called Pyrrha (fire).

Another Greek tradition that may reflect. Thera, among other seis mic events, is that—discussed in Chapter II—of the battles between Athena, the goddess of order, and Poseidon, the god of disturbance in general and the sea and earthquakes in particular.—Nevertheless, the Greek tradition of major catastrophes was generally weaker than those of Israel and China.

Paradoxically, however, the relative weakness of a Greek catastrophic tradition could be the result of the catastrophes themselves. As the Egyptian priests were reported to have told Solon, there were serious discontinuities in the Greek tradition which they attributed to the disasters. Other reasons for the relative weakness of the catastrophic tradition in Greece, where after all there are frequent earthquakes and the Thera explosion itself took place, were the pleasant consistency of the Mediterraneau climate and the great dependence of Greek tradition on Egypt. In Egypt, the principle of uncontrolled transcendence was at its weakest. If we can believe Plato, Egyptian priests of the 6th century BC were well aware that periodic disasters of the and water devastated other countries but they were smugly confident that Egypt itself was always saved by the Nile.

In ancient Egyptian culture as a whole, the movements of sun, the stars and the Nile floods were all complicated but regular, predictable and generally beneficent. In Greece, despite the tragic or 'Nietzschean' view of man and the caprices of Zeus and Poseidon, it seems to have been this generally positive attitude that dominated views of nature

CONCLUSION

We can now see that the huge eruption of Thera has had a massive and long-lasting impact on world history. The fact that its influence seems to have been most persistent in China many thousand miles away is not surprising when one considers that only China has had a continuous cultural history since 1028 BC. All the other major contemporary civilizations — in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Elam — have

disappeared. Some legends referring to the cruption have been preserved in both Greece and Israel, but, as the Egyptian priests pointed out, the Greeks had no long-term cultural memory. We must now return to the central theme of this book and consider what our new knowledge of the nature and date of the eruption can tell us about East Mediterranean history around the middle of the 2nd nullennium BC.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HYKSOS

N THE PREVIOUS CHAPTERS, I have drawn attention to what could be called the two 'anchors' of the chronology of the 2nd millennium. The first of these was discussed in Chapter V. It is the establishment of a chronology for the 12th Dynasty based on the coincidence of the beginning of the Egyptian solar new year with the rising of the star Sothis - which announced the Nile Flood - recorded in year 7 of the reign of Senwoste III. If, as would seem reasonable, the observation was made in Memphis, this would have been in 1872 BC. This correspondence has been recognized by Egyptologists for many years, and a chronology for the whole Dynasty from 1991 to 1786 was established by Parket in 1950. More recently, however, Parker and others re-examined the traditional reign lengths of the pharaohs with the result that he compressed these and lengthened every co-regency. In this way the Dynasty was shortened by forty-two years and now set between 1979 and 1801. As mentioned above, the new movement of German Egyptologists prefer to lower this date by forty-two years, citing the observations at Elephantine

The second 'auchor' is the establishment of 1628 rather than 1450 or 1500 BC as the date of the Thera eruption, which was discussed at

length in the last chapter.

The chronology for the Egyptian 12th Dynasty has been generally accepted for several decades. The high Thera dating tends to discredit the low chronolgies given by the mainly Central European scholars who have dominated the historiography of Egypt in the 2nd Inter-

mediate Period, that is to say between the end of the 12th Dynasty and the Middle Kingdom around 1800 BC and the rise of the 18th Dynasty

and the New Kingdom in the 15708 BC.

There is little doubt that the Eastern Nile Delta was being heavily infiltrated or invaded from the Levant by the late 18th century BC. This chapter is concerned with the nature of these migrations and with that of the 'Hyksos'. These foreigners were given the name 'Hyksos' by the Egyptian priest Manetho in the 3rd century BC. However, the Egyptian prototype for this name, hki hist (chieftains of the hill country), is attested before, during and after the 'Hyksos' period

In this chapter, there will be an extended discussion of the historiography of the problem of the ethnic composition of the Hyksos. The chief struggle here has been between those who maintain that the Hyksos were merely the neighbouring Canaanite-speaking inhabitants of Palestine and those who believe that they contained Northern Hurrian or even Aryan elements from Northern Syria and the Eastern Caucasus. The champions of the Canaanites argue that the fifte 'Hyksos' or his hist always retained the meaning of chief or rulei and never had any special ethnic connotation. Against these, the 'Hirrianists' and 'Aryanists' follow Manetho, who had described the Hyksos as 'invaders of obscure race' from presumably distant 'regions of the east'.

By the 1880s, attempts were being made to identify the Hyksos with the Hurrians, speakers of a language that is neither Semitic nor Indo-European. At that time, the Hurrians were seen as analogous to the later Turks and Mongols in having come from as far away as Central Asia. Since then, it has been established that by the 2nd Intermediate Period Hurrians had lived for many centuries if not millenniums, in

Northern Mesopotamia and its surrounding mountains.

There is no doubt that, in the rising anti-Semitism of the late 19th century AD, the view that the dynamic, aggressive Hyksos came from the north was far more appealing than the image of them as local 'Semites'. Interest in the Hurrians and their kingdom of Mitanni, which flourished in Northern Mesopotamia and Fastern Syria in the middle of the 2nd millennium, became still more intense when it was discovered that the Mitanni swore by Indian gods, some of their kings had Aryan Indian names and, even more sensationally, some of their charioteering terms – the Mitanni were famous for their horses and chariots – were found to be very close to those in Sanskrit. The most plausible explanation of this situation was to suppose that speakers of Indo-Aryan, that is to say of an Indo-Iranian language that resembled Indian not Iranian, had conquered the Hurrians and retained

a dominance over Hurrian society, which gave the latter the dyna-

mism to sweep through Southwest Asia-

This view was widely stated, especially by Indo-Europeanists and general historians of the ancient world. But it was resisted by some archaeologists of Palestine and by many Egyptologists. These could not see archaeological evidence of a 'northern' presence in either Palestine or Egypt at this time. They also seem to have had the professional dislike of sensitional or widespread events, and to have disliked outside intervention in their academic provinces. What is more, as anti-Semitism became more virulent in the 1920s and 1930s, many liberal scholars hated the ideological implications and uses of such an historical scheme.

This 'professional-liberal' current of thought became dominant in the anti-racialist atmosphere after the Second World War. After 1950, the Hyksov 'myasion was generally demoted to a slow and undramatic infiltration of Semitic speakers, who had had the collaboration of many Egyptians. One of the most effective ways of discrediting the old Hurrian hypothesis was to use the generally accepted middle or low chronologies for Mesopotamian history to show that, as there were no Hurrian movements in Northern Mesopotamia until the late 17th century is c, Hurrians could hardly have been involved much farther south in Egypt a hundred years earlier. However, the acceptance of the 'long' or high chronology for Mesopotamia removes this objection to the Hurrian hypothesis.

Hurrians and Indo-Aryans have also been linked to the development and use of the light war chariot, and diffusionists have tended to see this as the secret of their military success. This seemed plausible as there is little or no trace of horses and chariots in Middle Kingdom Egypt, while they played an important role in the 18th and later Dynasties. Against this attempt to link the Hurrians and Hyksos scholars were able to argue, until recently, that, as chariots were first mentioned in Egypt at the end of the Hyksos period, there is no reason to suppose that they had been present at its beginning. In the 1960's, however, horses or at least 'equids' were found buried in association. with Hyksos graves dating from the second half of the 18th century BC. Thus, there would seem no reason to deny the inherently plansible notion that horses and chariots came in with the Hyksos, and that the Hyksos 'myasion' was directly or indirectly connected to the Hurtian expansion and further that there may have been Indo-Arvan speakers involved in the movement.

All this looks disturbingly like the Arvanist or even Nazi image of the Indo-Europeans as a 'master race'. However, I am convinced that one should clearly distinguish between what one likes and what is likely. Fargued in Volume 4 that the fact that arguments suit or are even created for distasteful or immoral reasons does not in itself falsify them. Here, as in Northern India but unlike in Ancient Greece, there seems to be a case where the Arvan Model works.

However, 'works' is a relative term, the importance of the presence of any Hin rians and Indo Arvans in the Hyksos migration seems to have been largely confined to military technology, the Huns had no long term influence on Europe and the Turks who formed the core of the Moghuls in India left virtually no trace there. What these far ranging movements did achieve was the breakdown of existing political structures and the mixing of neighbouring cultures. German language and 'culture' entered the Western Roman Empire and Persian civilization came into India. Similarly, the material and linguistic culture introduced by the Hyksos into Egypt seems to have been overwhelmingly that of the neighbouring Canaamites and it was this Egypto-Levantine civilization with some barbaric elements that dominated Lower Egypt between 1750 and 1570 BC.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE 13TH DYNASTY: CHAOS IN EGYPT

In Chapter V. I mentioned our good fortune in having such a relatively well established chronology for the 12th Dynasty. In stark contrast to this, the period that followed was one of the most confused periods of Egyptian history. This problem is all the more acute because, until very recently, Egyptian chronology has been the one upon which all those of the East Mediterranean. Tevantine, Cypriot. Anatohan and Aegean. This been based. Thus, up to now any attempt to reconstruct Egyptian history on the basis of rerainic evidence from these areas has required circular reasoning. Now, however, the situation has improved somewhat with the anchors provided by the independent datings from Thera, though this does not by any means eliminate the many problems involved.

There is even dispute about the beginning of this Intermediate Period. As mentioned in Chapter V, in this book I use the compromise of 1801 BC. The end of the 2nd Intermediate Period and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and the New Kingdom are also debated. Conventional wisdom, as represented by Gardiner in his Leypt of the Pharaohs, put it at 1575 BC. However, the Continuity Ancient History places it at 1567, most German scholars have it at 1550 and one radical puts it as low as 1599 BC.

Whichever date one accepts, the gap we are considering was one of between 211 and 260 years. Somewhere within this period we have to fit the 13th Dynasty and the dynasties of Hyksos invaders from the north. In his History, written in the 3rd century BC, Manetho or his copyists distributed the Hyksos dynasties—with a great deal of repetition—among the 15th, 16th and 17th dynasties. The so-called 14th Dynasty seems to have consisted of local rulers in the West Delta Modern Egyptologists have appropriated the title of '17th Dynasty' for the Egyptian lords of Thebes, whose descendants later drove out the Hyksos, reunited the country and established the 18th Dynasty Thus, it is possible that the 13th Dynasty overlapped some of the Hyksos rulers and it is certain that at least the latter to existed with the 14th and '17th' dynasties for many decades.

The chaos of the period meant not only that many kings ruled simultaneously but that their power tended to be unstable and their reigns short-lived and that therefore they built few monuments from which one can establish the lengths of their reigns. Furthermore, the Abydos and Saggara king-lists inscribed on stone in the 13th century 8C avoid the period. The Karnak Table from the 18th Dynasty and the 15th century contains the names of pharaohs from this period but mixed up with many other real and imagined names.1 The Turn-Canon, the king-list dating from the 19th Dynasty in the 19th century BC, covers the period, and is taken seriously by most archaeologists. However, the portion concerned with the latter part of the 2nd Intermediate Period is extremely fragmentary. It is virtually certain that the Canar originally contained a continuous list of pharaohs with then reign lengths for this period, though some of these appear to be fanciful. As it is, we are now left with small fragments with one or more names, which were put in some sort of order in the 1920s and 1930s by the charming and meticulous Heinrich Ibscher, whose feel' for papyrus was quite extraordinary, although he could not read Egyptian.5

There are also apparently insuperable difficulties with Manetho's History. In the first place, the fragments of the work preserved in later Instorians' works are frequently at odds with each other. Secondly, many of the ligures they give for the length of dynasties are longer than the whole period between the 12th and the 18th Dynasties and some, though not absolutely impossible, seem improbably long. Finally, where we are able to check monuments and contemporary documents at the end of the 15th Dynasty, the sequence of pharaolisis completely different from that given by Manetho. Thus, Manetho, whose generally reliable work has formed the basis for the recon-

structing of Ancient Egyptian history, is internally inconsistent and of only very limited value for this period?

The only relatively secure datings we have for this period come from before the complete political breakdown of order, that is to say, in the very earliest years of the 13th Dynasty. At the beginning of the dynasty there were two pharaohs, who controlled the whole of Egypt for three or more years each. This was followed by a period of six years without a pharaoh. After that we are at sea, or have been until yery recently.

The only major outside indicator for the dating of the 19th Dynasty would seem to come from the identification of a prince of Byblos named Yantin, who paid homage to the pharaoh Neferhotpe, with Yantin Hammu, prince of Byblos, who was a contemporary of Zinna Lim, king of Mari on the Upper Euphrates, William Albright put this plausible double synchronism at about 1790 BC and he has been followed in this by many Egyptologists. However, Albright was working. on the low Mesopotamian chronology and this has caused problems. for the majority of scholars, who have felt obliged to take the middle. chronology into account. Thus, in an article published in 1967, the Egyptologist K. A. Kitchen gave Yantin a twenty-five- to thirty-year. reign so as to reconcile his subordination to Neferhotpe with the 'middle' or 'low' dates for Zimir Lim, 1775 1762 or 1705 1685 BC. Wolfgang Helck felt this was impossible and, though happy with the synchronism if made with the low Mesopotamian chronology, he telt obliged to separate Yantin from Yantin Hammu if he followed the middle chronology. The situation was made still more complicated by the new low chronology for Egypt devised by Krauss. Thus, when writing about the subject twenty years later. Katchen had to carry out permutations for high and low Egyptian datings with the middle and low Mesopotamian ones. Nevertheless, by giving Yantin twenty live to thurty years, he was still able to maintain the synchronism."

All of these computations were based on the assumption that Neferholpe ruled about 1730 BC. This littled relatively well, though by no means perfectly, the ordering of the names on the *Trim Canon*. However, it presented historical problems in that Neferholpe seems from his monuments to have been a powerful ruler controlling the whole of Egypt as well as having influence in Byblos. This would seem unlikely on the eye of what many historians believe to have been the invasion or infiltration of the Hyksos from Syro-Palestine into Egypt. Therefore, before Albright proposed his synchronism, there had been a tendency to adjust the ordering of the *Turin Canon* and to put Neferholpe, and the relatively powerful pharaoh called Sebekholpe.

who preceded him, towards the beginning - rather than the end - of the 18th century.11

Acceptance of the long Mesopotamian chronology would create even more acute problems for Albright's synchronism. This is because it puts the reign of Zimri Lim of Mari between 1831 and 1818 BC, near the end of the 12th Dynasty. We know that two other punces of Byblos were contemporaries of two of the last pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty - Amenembe HI and IV - who, according to Parker, reigned from 1859 - 1811 and 1814 - 1805 BC. Thus, Yantin Hammu would have ruled before the end of the 12th Dynasty, that is to say in the 1820s. and 1820s. Tempting though the identification is, this can hardly be the same as the Yantin who paid homage to Neferholpe during the 13th Dynasty. The only way of reconciling the two Yantins is to break loose from the Sothic dating upon which the chronology of the 12th Dynasty is based and to raise it by several decades to end, say, in 1890. BC. While the Sothic date is the weaker of the two chronological anchors mentioned above and it should be questioned more seriously than Huber's 'long' chronology or the 17th-century date for the Theraeruption, there is no doubt that chronological chaos would ensue if we were to remove it. It would seem simpler to do what Helck did for different reasons and postulate two Yantins, thus abandoning the synchronism. There is no particular difficulty in two princes of Byblos having similar or even the same name. We know, for example, that there were two called Abishemu in the 18th century.6

Even though the synchronism did not necessarily require it, all scholars since. Albright's first acticle have placed. Yantin's overload Neterhotpe at around 1730. Although this may be the case, there is no reason to dismiss the proposal made by Stock in the early 1940s that Neferhotpe and the Sebekhotpe pharaolis belong between 1780 and 1760 bc... This would have the advantage of allowing some decades of weakened or non-existent Egyptian power in the Levant before the advent of the Hyksos. Whatever precise chronology one follows, there is no doubt that for much of the 13th Dynasty and the 18th century be. Egyptian government was extremely weak and ineffectual. At this point, we should consider a set of problems that are still thornier than the chronology of the 13th Dynasty — those surrounding the Hyksos.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE 15TH DYNASTY: THE BEGINNINGS OF HYRSOS RULE

The nature of the Hyksos invasion or infiltration will be discussed below. Here, we are merely concerned with chronology and the question

of when the Hyksos period began. One solution is to suppose that it began at the end of the 13th Dynasiy.

Thus, Hyksos rule would have begun around 1050 BC. Manetho refers to a 15th Dynasty of Six foreign kings from Phoenicia. but there are two different versions of the names and order of these kings in the epitome of his work by the early Christian chronographic. Africains and in a long quotation from it by the Jewish historian Josephiis which will be discussed below. The reign figures for these rulers add up to from 28 p to 250 years, which is clearly impossible. However, the Christian church father and chronographer Fusebius, referring to a Hyksos 17th Dynasty with some similar names and a scholia or commentary on Platos Timaeus, gave a shorter length to this dynasty. 103 years. This, in fact, corresponds well to the period of 108 years given to the kings in the Turin Canon. It has therefore led a number of Egyptologists to postulate absolute dates for the Hyksos 15th Dynasty of 6, 1650–6, 1540. 10

Such an interpretation requires a very low dating for the end of the and Intermediate Period and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. As with the right Dynasty, the anchor for the 18th is based on an observation of the rising of Smus or a Sothic date, which in this dynasty is recorded as having taken place in the minth year of the pharaoh. Amenhotpe I. Until recently, I gyptologists have assumed that this observation was inade at Memphis, as was customary, and deduced on the basis of reign lengths - that the Dynasty began around 1570 -More recently, however, scholars have argued that since Thebes was the administrative capital at the time the observation was made. and the papyrus recording the Sothic date was found at that city, this should be seen as the point of observation. Such a site would lower the moth year of Amenhorpe Land the beginning of the Dynasty by some twenty years to 1550. The German scholar Krauss has gone even further and argued that the observation was made at Eurphantine, still further to the south, thus bringing the start of the dynasty to 1530 18

There is something to be said for this last argument in that the Nile Flood was believed to have started at Elephanime. Nevertheless, it and Thebes would seem less likely than Memphis or neighbouring Heliopolis, which are the conventional sites for astronomical observations. Thus, we should consider both 6–1570 and 6–1550 as possible dates for the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. Fiftee of these make it difficult to squeeze in 103–108 years for the 15th Dynasty after 1650.

In any event, how much can we trust this figure of a century plus given for the 15th Dynasty Very little of the Turm Cation survives for this dynasty, though what there is would seem rehable. Like Manetho, it states that there were six Hyksos rulers. We also know from contemporary sources that the last king was, as the Canon states, called Hmwdy or Khamudi. The ruler before Khamudi is not preserved on the Canon but, according to Manetho, he was the king named Apophis, who clearly had a long reign of over forty years. This would seem likely, although there is some confusion about the name, which may have been used by a number of Hyksos rulers.

Apophis' rule seems to have started with prosperity and with the Hyksos sovereigns on good terms with the native Egyptian rislers of Thebes However, his rule ended with the revolt of these Egyptian rulers which led, after Apophis' death, to the expulsion of the Hyksos," If, as some versions of Manetho maintain, Apophis reigned for sixty-one years and we accept the conventional date of c 1570 for the end of the dynasty and allow Khaimidi a reign of six to eight years, this would place the beginning of Apophis' rule in the 1630s that is, before the Thera ecuption and its impact on Egypt in 1628. This chronology receives some support from a note on the back of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus which was copied in the thirty-third year of the pharaoh's reign. The note refers to the 'voice of Seth' and the 'precipitation of Isis' in the eleventh year of an unnamed pharaoh's reign. The Egyptologist Hans Goedicke has argued, with some plausibility, that this could refer to volcanic action, given Seth's role as the lord of disturbance, and has specifically linked the report to the Thera eruption. However, he maintains that the pharaoh whose eleventh year was referred to was Ahmose, the first ruler of the 18th Dy nasty. Such a solution could not refer to Thera, given the re-dating of the eruption. On the other hand, 1628 as the eleventh year of Apophis would fit nicely with the chronology proposed here. Thereare, however, many uncertainties with the text and Goedicke's interpretation of it.21

Even if one accepts such risky hypotheses. Apophis' survival for somany decades after the event makes it impossible to argue that Hyksos rule was destroyed by the eruption, though it is likely to have been weakened by it, whichever individual ruler was on the throne.

Before Apophis, in the absence of any names from the Furni Canon, the history of the Dynasty is almost impossible to trace. Some scholars have identified Salitis or Saitis, whom Manetho referred to as the first ruler, with the king Širk (Sharek), mentioned in a genealogy of Memphite priests one generation before Apophis. It his seems very unlikely, for, apart from the phonetic difficulty, there is Manetho's in sistence that Salitis was the founder of the Dynasty, if not the leader of the original Hyksos conquest. In fact, as the American Egyptologist H. Winlock pointed out, Salitis is very like the Semitic root, slt and

even the vocalization salit found in Hebrew, meaning 'rinler'. This is the root from which the Arabic Sultan derives and, like the latter, it may well have been a general Semitic title used for Hyksos rulers which became interpreted as a personal name. 'In any event, there seems very little to be gained from identifying Salitis with Sirk.

Similarly, the ruler referred to by Manetho as Januas or Staan is believed by many modern Egyptologists to be the pharaoli Hy in. Khyan, who is listed as either the second, the third or the fourth of the Hyksos rulers. On the other hand, the Israeli scholar Kempinski identifies By in with Apachian, a different name on Manetho's list. The uncertainty surrounding Khyan is still more tantalizing because be appears to have been a powerful and long-lived monarch. Official Girtouches with his names have been found throughout Egypt, in Palestine and possibly in Mesopotamia. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter VII, the lid of an alabaster bowl has been found inscribed. with his name at Knossos. The geographical issues raised by these finds will be discussed below, here, we shall focus on the chronological ones. According to Arthur Evans, the lid was found in a context of the ceramic period MMIII. We have seen that this date has been contested and defended." Nevertheless, if Evans is to be believed, this would put Khyan's lid before 1675 BC, according to the new dating of the Aegean ceramic periods. In this case, either Khyan cannot be identified with either fannas or Apachnan as the close predecessors of Apóphis, or the Hyksos 15th Dynasty began severai decades before 1650, or Manetho was not listing the six culers of any one dynasty but simply the six best-known Hyksov rulers

Another Hyksos leader, whose identification and date have caused some difficulty, is called Mit lb Rt. Ssy, and scarabs with his name have been found in Egypt, Palestine and Kerma on the Third Cataract in the Sudan. Some scholars have identified him with Manetho's pharaoh Assis but others have denied this and have linked him to Salitis. On the basis of pottery found in the same context at Kerma, Mit lb Rt. Ssy has been dated to the mid-17th century BC. Given that the Sudanese sequence should probably be updated to tally with the raising of Levantine and Aegean ceramic periods to fit with the higher date for the Thera eruption and the 'long' Mesopotamian chronology, one should now think in terms of the Just half of the century or even earlier. 36

An even more interesting and puzzling Hyksos ruler was Mr wsi-Rr /Yrkb hr. This name has not been connected to any in the *Firm* Canon or in Manetho, though it has been related to the biblical Jacob (see below). Stylistic similarities between his scarabs and those of Mr lb Re / Ššy have led scholars to associate the two very closely. Thus, you Beckerath sees Mr wsr Re /Yekb hr as the direct predecessor of Mr lb Re / Ššy, while Kempinski puts them the other way round. 30

However, Kempinski has discovered what he sees as an anomaly here. He has found a scarab of Yekh hi in a tomb at Shiqmona near Haifa, which he dates to the very beginning of the Levantine ceranic period Middle Bronze Age (MB)HB. He dates this between 1750 and 1720. Thus, Kempinski is forced to postulate two different rulers Yekh hi, the local Palestinian ruler contemporary to the 13th Dynasty and Mi wsi Re 7Yekh hi, the Hyksos pharaoh, who reigned over Egypt and Palestine some eighty to a hundred years later. Although, as we have seen in the case of Yantin and Yantin Hamniu, it is sometimes helpful to postulate two different figures with the same name, in this case there seems to be no such necessity. It would be simpler to suppose with von Beckerath that Mi wsi Re 7Yekh hi vas a close predecessor of Mie ib Re 7 Ssy, but that both reigned in the 18th rather than the 17th century.

THE HYRSOS CAPITAL AT TELL EL DABA'A

At this point it would seem useful to consider the archaeological breakthrough made since 1965, and especially in the 1970s, by Manfred Bietak and his Austrian team in excavating at Tell el Daba a, in the Eastern Delta. He has demonstrated that this is the site of the Hyksos capital Avaris. With meticulous archaeological technique in the very difficult digging conditions of the water-logged Egyptian Delta, Bietak has established clear stratigraphies for his site. As one would expect, given earlier knowledge of the Hyksos, the city contained a mixture of Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian material, indicating the place of origin of most of the Hyksos.

Apart from that Tell el Daba'a tells us about Hyksos culture, it also provides some interesting data on chronology. Unfortunately, Bietak has tried to fit this information into the low or ultra-low dates preferred by German-speaking scholars, neither of which hit the higher Aegean and Mesopotamian chronologies. Even in terms of orthodox Syro-Palestinian archaeology, his dates are disconcertingly low. Where, for instance, conventional wisdom places the transition of the Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze Age IIA to IIB in the middle of the 18th century BC, Bietak placed it about 1700. As he sees LBIBB as ending at around 1590, this involves considerable compression of

what had clearly been a very long ceramic period in Palestine. It saw, for instance, five substantial rebuildings of the city defences of Shechem, near the modern Nablus. In Bictak's latest article on the subject, he based his low dating on three pieces of evidence, which he claimed have provided dates that could not be raised. All of these are from styles of scarabs.

Scarab typology, scriation and dating are extraordinarily difficult subjects and theories based on them are notoriously liable to be over turned. Biotak himself has already destroyed one of his props. Since 1981, he has found a so called Rhy Rescarabe, which he had previously claimed were not made before 1650 in a stratum that even by his own chronology comes before that date. Thus, this cannot be used as evidence. Bietak sees another indicator in the forus back scarab found in his Stratum G.2. 3. This type he claims, was uniquely a product of the reigns of the Sebekhotpe pharaohs and Neferhotpe and therefore to be dated after 1730 "As we have seen above, however, the dating of these pharaobs is extremely uncertain and they may well have reigned some thirty or forty years earlier. 95 The third diagnostic type of scarab was that deeply cut with animal or human figures, found in Stratum F of Tell el Daba'a. These scarabs, he claims, began only in the reign of Me ib Re. Ssy. Therefore, according to his chronology, this can be no earlier than the beginning of the 17th century. However, as mentioned above, a case can be made for this ruler's having reigned in the 18th century.

In any event, the extreme unreliability of Bietak's use of scarabs for dating has been shown in a detailed argument by the specialist in autient relations between I gypt and the Levant, William Ward. In a recent article Ward has used the corpus of Egyptian and Levantine scarabs to argue in favour of a date in the early 19th century be—in the reigns of Scsostris II and III—for the shift from MBIIA to MBIIB, that is to say 150 years before that claimed by Bietak. Bietak argues that:

Palestinian chronology is dependent on Egyptian absolute chronology. Therefore, it would be methodologically wrong to date the Tell of Daba a sequence according to Palestinian dates in order to find its proper seiting within the Egyptian framework."

As mentioned above, this sentiment may be true in general, but it is certainly false for the 2nd Intermediate Period, for which Egyptian chronology needs all the outside help it can get. Given the newly established higher chronology for the Aegean, there can now be no question of lowering the conventional dates of the Syro-Palestinian.

ceramic periods; the likelihood is, in fact, that they should be raised, though, if one accepts Parker's dating of the 12th Dynasty, this process cannot be taken too far. Ward's dating of the key transition from MBHA to MBHB to the early 10th century ac is untenable if, as he does, Ward accepts the accuracy of Bietak's stratigraphy. The application of Ward's chronology to Tell el Daba a would mean that Stratum F should be placed before 1850 and Stratum G some decades earlier than that. At the centre of Tell el Daba'a, there was an Egyptian palace before Stratum G which appears to have been destroyed and the area settled by Syro-Palestinians for two centuries. The idea that such a thing could happen at the height of the powerful 12th Dynasty is unthinkable. Thus, it is impossible to reconcile Ward's chronology, Bietak's stratification and any of the conventional datings of the 12th Dynasty.

It would seem better to take a date for the transition from MBHA to MBHB closer to the conventional 1750 or a little earlier. This would be Bietak's Stratum F, which he sees as the beginning of the Hyksos period at Tell el Daba'a. There have been only two radiocarbon dates from Tell el Daba'a Stratum G but, for what they are worth, they have 'central dates' in the unid-18th century BC Bietak hunself admits that the first of these 'fit very well into the absolute chronological scheme generally accepted by Palestinian archaeology'. There is no destruction layer associated with Stratum F. As mentioned above, however, a thick layer of ashes separates its predecessor from the one before that Thus, according to the chronology proposed here, the Egyptian palace of the 12th Dynasty would have been destroyed and replaced by a predominantly Asiatic population late in the 19th or early in the 18th century BC, that is to say near the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th Dynasty

THE 400-YEAR STELA AND THE LEMPLE OF SETH

The notion that Svro-Palestinians of Hyksos were in power—at least in the Fastern Delta—during the 18th century by is made more credible by a stela found at Tams to the north of Tell el Daba a commemorating the 400th anniversary of the foundation of a temple of Seth. There has been considerable debate as to whether or not this has any connection with the establishment of Hyksos power at Avaris. No one contests that the Hyksos were especially devoted to Seth of that there was an important temple dedicated to him at Avaris. Although there were arguments in favour of Tams being the site of Avaris, these have now been silenced by Bietak's discoveries at Tell el Daba'a.

The stela at Tams was erected by Seti (an ancestor of the pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty) who was an official under Harembeb, the last ruler of the 18th Dynasty Harembeb is generally thought to have ruled between 1348 and 1320 BC. There have been some questions about the exactitude of the period of 400 years inscribed on the stela but most scholars have accepted that the figure should be taken at face value. Thus there is a range of dates for the temple's original foundation between 1748 and 1720 BC.

Despite the great general uncertainty, there is widespread agreement that this cult of Seth was in some ways linked to a king Nehesy. whose name appeared in the Turm Canon. This is because a fragment has been found with the inscription 'Nehesy beloved of Seth, Lord of Risht', Risht, meaning 'Entry into the Fertile Land', was probably used for Avaris, the Hyksos capital 12 Conventional wisdom has seen Nelvesy as a king belonging to the 14th Dynasty " However, all yerstons of Manetho insist that that dynasty was based at Xois in the West Delta, while inscriptions with the name of Nebesy come from Tanis and Tell el Daba a in the East. It would seem better to follow the Canadian ancient historian John van Seters's more modest claim that Nehesy was simply a local ruler in the region of Avairs 6 Given the proven Hyksos dedication to Seth at the end of their period of dominance, van Seters is plausible when he speculates that one teason for establishing the cult at Avaris was that there was already a strong Asiatic presence in the region. However, like other scholars, he assumes that, as Nehesy's name meant Nubian (Nhs), he must have been an Egyptian official and this precludes his having been Asiatic 1.

Nehesy may well have been Nubian. On the other hand, we know that Semitic speakers used the same name. The biblical name Pinhas comes from the Egyptian Pt Nhs, 'The Nubian' or 'The Black'. It is particularly interesting to note that the first attested use of this name was for a grandson of Aaron referred to in Exodus (the connections with the Hyksos will be explored below). There is, of course, no way of telling the age of this name. However, as names tend to be the elements most resistant to change in mith and legend, it could well date back to the 2nd millennium or even to the period of the Exodus itself.

This is in no way to propose a connection between Nehesy and Pinhäs. It is merely to indicate that the name Pinhäs (The Black) was in use among Canaanite speakers with no direct contact with Nubia. The name Pinhas also casts an interesting light on the Tacial make-up of this population with its indication that there were people with pigmentation darker than the Mediterranean norm, but that this feature was uncommon enough to be remarkable. Thus, given our knowledge of the Syro-Palestinian presence in 18th-century. Tell el Daba a

and the later Hyksos dedication to Seth, I see no reason to deny the possibility that Nehesy (Black) was lumself an Asiatic dynast. We also know from another inscription and scarabs that Nehesy claimed to be a king's son and was therefore probably not the first of his line. It is generally assumed that his father founded the 'dynasty', but this is by no means certain

Bietak has found a limestone fragment with the name Nebesy that he believes come from a major temple. In admitted contradiction to his other datings, he places the temple in the 18th century and believes this necessitates forcing his Stratum F up to about 1715 BC. If, following the archaeologists of Palestine, we push Stratum F to before 1750, we arrive at a date for the foundation of the major temple at Tell el Daba'a quite compatible with the period 1748—1720 specified by the stela's 400th year anniversary of the foundation of the Temple of Seth at Avaris. Furthermore, as van Seters has pointed out, even before Nebesy there were probably cults of Seth in the northeast frontier region. These were not necessarily Asiatic However, the chances that they were are increased by the fact that Tell el Daba'a was inhabited by people using a Syro-Palestinian material culture many decades before Nebesy, which if we take the chronology proposed here means from the early 18th century BC.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

To sum up this section on Egyptian chronology in the 2nd Intermediate Period, I propose the following working hypothesis. Around the time of the fall of the 12th Dynasty in 1800 BC there was political collapse during which some regions in the Eastern Delta tell into Asiatic hands—where they remained for the next two centurics. Despite this, however, the 13th Dynasty rallied in the 1770s and under the Sebekhotpe pharaohs and Neterhotpe re established at least nominal power throughout Egypt and some of the traditional spheres of influence beyond.

This goes against the conventional wisdom that these powerful monarchs ruled in the 1730s. However, as mentioned above, the conventional late dating is largely based on Albright's induced synchronism with Zimir Lim of Mari, as the synchronism may be mistaken and Zimir Lim could well have ruled eighty to a hundred years earlier, it is almost certainly wrong. The earlier dating for Neterhotpe is difficult, though not impossible if one follows the *Turm Canoni*, although this in itself is too shaky to be used as evidence. However, the advantage of the higher dating is that it allows time for the

consolidation of Svro Palestinian power in Lower Egypt during the second half of the 18th century shown by archaeology, particularly at Tell el Daba'a. It is to this period that the Hyksos rulei Ykb hi would seem to belong. There seems little doubt, however, that the 13th Dynasty continued in a reduced state at Memphis and later in Upper Egypt for many decades, possibly until the middle of the 17th century, and it was probably under Hyksos suzerainty for the later part of that period. The 14th Dynasty lasted on a small scale in the Western Delta over approximately the same period.

The group of six Hyksos kings with a total of 108 years referred to in the Furin Canon ruled from about 1680 to 1570 BC. These would seem to correspond to Manetho's 17th Dynasty. It should be emphasized that, even though some of their names appear in the Timm Ganon, the succession of native Egyptian rulers of Thebes, who are today called the 17th Dynasty, were not called that by Manetho. There is no doubt that the last pharaoh of the later Hyksos dynasty was Khamudi and it is almost equally certain that his immediate predecessor was Apophis. Before that, although Manetho was probably referring to real names - with the exception of Salitis, which was almost certainly a title - it is impossible to be sure which dynasty they belonged to. The same is true of the jumbled names on the Canon, some of which may correspond to those in Manetho, However, while there is clearly confusion in their sequence, all the versions of Manetho refer to two dynastics of Hyksos pharaohs. This would suggest that there were Hyksos rulers in Egypt before c. 1680 BC and this indication is reinforced by the archaeological evidence of Syro-Palestiman material culture from the Fastern Delta. Thus, powerful Hyksos rulers such as Khyan, who are well attested from monuments, could have well have reigned in the early 17th century BC or even at the end of the 18th.

The idea that sections of Lower Egypt were dominated by Hyksos rulers from the second half of the 18th century would also fit well with the genealogy of priests at Memphis inscribed on a stela from that city. As mentioned above, one of these came from the reign of Apophis and one from his otherwise unknown predecessor. Statk (Sharek). Then there are the priests who correspond to five rulers before the sixth, who was called tkn, who was the immediate successor of a king called Tbit (one with this last name appears in the Turin Canon). Gardiner claimed that:

The important point about this Memphite Stela is that it covers the whole Hyksos period and can accordingly have envisaged no more

than six reigns provided that these were of no more than normal length.³¹

This is uncharacteristically sloppy thinking. If, as is not entirely clear, the intervening rulers were not Egyptian, the priesthoods covered five generations before the third to last Hyksos monarch, Sharek Thus, if the priestly generations were as long as the royal reigns, therewould have been a total of eight Hyksos pharaohs - more than specified in the Canon or by Manetho. There is every reason to suppose that the priestly generations were like those of most privileged groups, approximately twenty-five years. Hence if Stark was reigning in the 1620s of 1630s, Ckit and Ibl would have fuled approximately 125 150 years earlier, that is to say around the mid-18th century. In such a case Memphis would have been under Hyksos control seventy or eighty years before the beginning of Manetho's 17th Dynasty or the modern 15th Dynasty. Thus, Hyksos rulers would seem to have controlled most of Lower Egypt from the mid-18th century. In this way Egyptian chronology can be brought into line not merely with Palestiman archaeology but also with the new high datings for the Aegean

WHO WERE THE HYKSOS?

Although I believe it is essential to establish a temporal framework at the outset, in many ways treating the chronology first has put the cart before the horse by describing the dating of the Hyksos, and using the name interchangeably with Syro-Palestinian without considering whom the title 'Hyksos' was used to designate, where they came from or even how they arrived.

Some of the longest extant passages—as opposed to epitomes from Manetho's history are those concerning the Hyksos. These were preserved in Josephus' polemic against the anti-Senutic writings of the Alexandrian Greek Apion in the 1st century AD. The key passage begins:

Toutimalos. In his reign, for what cause I know not, a blast of God smote us, and unexpectedly, from the regions of the Fast, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily seized it without striking a blow, and having overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others. Finally, they appointed as king one of their number whose name was Salitis. He

had his seat in Memphis, levying tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and always leaving garrisons behind in the most advantageous places . . . in the Saite (Sethroite) nome he found a city very favourably situated on the east of the Bubasute branch of the Nile, and called Avaris after an ancient religious tradition. This place he rebuilt and fortified with massive walls . . After reigning for 19 years, Salitis died; and a second king Bnön succeeded and reigned for 44 years. Next to him came Apachinan, who ruled 36 years and 7 months, then Apophis for 61, and Jannas for 50 years and 1 month, then finally Assis for 19 years and 2 months. These six kings, then first rulers, were ever more and more eager to extirpate the Egyptian stock. Their race as a whole was called Hyksos, that is 'king-shepherds'; for Jok in the sacred language means king and so in common speech means 'shepherd' or 'shepherds', hence the compound word 'Hyksös' Some say that they were Arabs. In another copy the expression lisk, it is said does not mean 'kings': on the contrary, the compound refers to 'captive-shepherds'. In Egyptian hyk, in fact, and hak when aspirated expressly denotes 'captives'.

Egyptologists and ancient historians have described this passage as derived from Egyptian folktales, thereby implying its untrustworthiness." Although this is certainly the case, no one doubts that the text also contains some historical facts. As I have argued elsewhere, names tend to be more resistant to change than other elements of traditions and we should, therefore, consider their authenticity here

It is certain, for instance, that some version of the name Hyksos was used at the time. The term hki hist (chief of the hill country) had been used to describe Bedouin sheikhs since the Middle Kingdom and it was a title used to describe the 'Hyksos' leaders and kings during the 2nd Intermediate Period.' The first part of Manetho's etymology is correct and the second is based on the fact that there was a Coptic word for from the earlier (size, meaning 'Bedouin northeast of Egypt and their land'. Josephus' alternative — that hisk meant 'captive' — seems, at one level, to have been created to tie the story of the Hyksos in with the biblical tradition of a captivity in Egypt Even here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki. Leven here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki. Leven here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki. Leven here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki. Leven here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki. Leven here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki. Leven here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki. Leven here, however, there is a basis for the etymology in the word hiki.

There has also been considerable speculation linking the name Toutimaios to a pharaoh called Ddw-nis, whose names are inscribed

on monuments from Upper Egypt and who may be the ????-ms' whose name appears in the Turin Canon. The Egyptologists Hans Stock and William Haves argue that they should be identified with each other Gardiner and his most talented student Battiscombe Gunn denied the identification in a very influential article, maintaining that the Egyptian name element -ms was transcribed into Greek only as -mosts or -mbis. "This seems to me to be a case of inisplaced precision and, although the rendition of the name may have been modified by the name. Timaios, after whom Plato's most famous—and thoroughly Egyptian—dialogue was named, this does not provide sufficient grounds to dismiss the striking similarity between Toutimaios and Ddw-ms. Thus, I believe that Stock and Haves were right to stand by the identification.

DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THE ORIGIN AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE HYRNOS

Until the end of the 19th century AD, most scholars took Josephus' extract of Manetho literally and saw the Hyksos as a people who had entered Egypt in a single violent invasion. On the other hand, many writers, seeing the parallels between Manetho's report and the biblical 'sojourn' or 'captivity' in Fgypt, assumed that the invaders were Israelites or Proto-Israelites, and in any event of Seminic type. At the end of the 19th century, however, the idea of a people sweeping down on the rich valley lands in a way generally associated with the Arvans did not seem at all 'Semitic', at least in the Jewish sense, there was an increasing tendency to believe that they had come from further north, and were possibly Aryan.

Such a view had the backing of Manetho's statement that the Hyksos had come 'unexpectedly, from the regions of the Fast, invaders of obscure race'. This did not seem to refer to the neighbouring 'Semites', with whom Egyptians had long been familiar. For example, in the first edition of his quickly canonical History of Antiquity, published in 1884. Eduard Meyer argued that, while the Hyksos were basically Semitic and specifically Canaanite, they possibly belonged to an Inner Asian nationality'. By Inner Asia, Meyer meant Inner Asia! In the 1880s, it was decided that the faces on certain sphinxes which had Hyksos names written on them had definite Mongol features. Soon after that, however, it was realized that, even if there were similarities, the sphinxes were 12th Dynasty and predated the Hyksos. 'In point of fact, the sphinxes do not look European or Fast Mediterranean Could it be that, like some other portraits of 12th-Dynasty pharaohs, they have African features?

By the end of the roth century xo, an ancient text was found that seemed to support the view of the Hyksox as a separate 'master race' In 1808 the aged polymath Friedrich Max Muller, who had donnnated English Oriental, Indian and Indo European studies since the 1840s when he had been appointed to a chair for these helds at Oxford at the behest of Christian Bunsen, published an article on Near Eastern Instory. The text he examined was an inscription made. by the woman pharaoh Hashepsowe in the early 15th century Be at Speos Artemidos in Northern Upper Egypt. In this according to Muller she described the Yunwas having fixed in the Northlands, in Avairs with the Snick in their midst. Muller interpreted crink conventionally, as meaning the Semitic nomads, who had always been to the north of Egypt. By contrast, he saw Smiw, which is normally understood as simply wanderer. If on on (travel) or loreigner, as refer ring to Manetho's 'obscure race' from the regions of the East. He also speculated that this 'master race could be Arvan'

This view gained more plausibility—and ideological baggage—with the discovery that the Hittites were Indo-European—speaking and the discovery of the Mitanin kingdom of speakers of Hurrian (a language that is neither Semitic nor Indo-European), which flourished in Northern Mesopotamia during the Egyptian New Kingdom. We now know that Hurrians were living in Northwestern Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium and they could well have been there since the 7th millennium be." However, at the turn of the 20th century 8D, the Hurrians tended to be seen as nomadic forerunners of the Arvans Excitement about them became still more intense when it was recognized that some Mitanin divine and royal names and chariot-driving terms were "Vivan", that is to say they belonged to the Indian branch of the Indo-Iranian family.

These discoveries could scarcely have been more welcome. They seemed and still seem to suggest that the Hurran-speaking Mitamii Kingdoin was founded, or at least dominated, by Indo-European chariot-driving lords. This fitted perfectly with the right century view of the Aryans as the 'master race' which had expanded from tentral Asia or the Steppe with the chariot. In 1908 Eduard Mever published an article on the Indic names among the Mitamii and on evidence for some Indo European divine names among the Kassites, the people from the mountains to the east who had conquered Mesopotanna at approximately the same time that the Hyksos had invaded Egypt. "The following year, he wrote in the second edition of his History that the Hyksos 'came from much further away, from Asia Minor. They overran both Syria and Egypt, probably they were associated with the Hittites'. In 1910 the Egyptologist Kurt Serbe

published an article discussing the Hyksos. In this, he demonstrated that his hist was used as a term for Bedoum chiefs in the Middle Kingdom and that Hyksos leaders had used the term to describe them selves. Thus, he suggested that it referred to a rank rather than a 'people'. On the other hand, he pointed out that at least by the reign of Tuthmosis III in the 15th century BC, Hist hist referred to a whole people. This provided a pedigree of at least twelve hundred years for Manetho's claim. Sethe, however, left open the question of whether hist hist had been used with both meanings in the 2nd Intermediate Period. ⁵⁶

In general, as professional specialists, the Egyptologists disliked wide-ranging speculation on the Hyksos as an exotic people American Egyptologist James Breasted, in his massive compendium Ancient Egyptian Records published in 1906, challenged Muller's reading of the Speos Artemidos inscription. He argued that instead of reading it as 'the cumw as having lived in the Northlands, in Avairs with the Smiw in their midst', camw and Smiw should be understood as synonyms and the lines should be read in parallel; 'their' su referred not to the sumw but to the Northlands " Forty years later, Gardiner translated an improved copy of the inscription in which, although he did not explicitly reject the translation made by his old friend Breasted, he clearly followed Mullet's version.68 In 1912, M. Burchardt published a response to Meyer in a note called The racial affiliations of the Hyksos'. Burchardt went over the clear Semitic etvmotogies of many of the Hyksos names and insisted that the Ginw were always seen as Semitic, though he admitted that some Hyksos names were not readily explicable as Semitic and that there was probably a Hittite or Aryan influence on the Hyksos "

Despite this professional response, the idea of the Hyksos as a 'master race' from the east retained considerable appeal in the increasingly racist and anti-Semitic atmosphere of the 1920s. This was especially true among general historians. In his article on 'The Semites' in the first edition of the Cambridge Ancient History, S. A. Gook interpreted the Speos Artemidos Inscription as saying of the Hyksos, 'They brought many Amu (Bedoums) but were themselves foreigners.' He approved of the Mitanni who had what he called a 'strikingly virile organisation', and he thought that the Hittites and other Indo-Europeans were involved ⁷. H. R. Hall's chapter on 'The Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos conquest' in the same volume was more cautious, but he too saw the Hyksos invasions as the result of movements of the Indo-Europeans, whose influences he detected among the Mitanni and the Kassites ⁷¹.

The following year, 1925, Eduard Meyer published a new article on early Indo-European expansion, in which he emphasized the crucial impact of the Indo-Europeans upon the Mitanni and Kassites. He also saw both Indo-Europeans and Hurrians - he tended to confuse the as dominant over the Semitic Hyksos' movements into Syria, Egypt and - interestingly from the point of view of this book the Aegean - In the 1928 edition of his History Meyer linked together the widespread finds of objects with the name of Khyan to postulate a Hyksos empire stretching from Crete and Syria to Egypt and the Sudan, which, with the Central Asian image still in his mind, he likened to 'the ephemeral empires of the Huns or the Mongols' 3 Even in the intensifying anti-Semitism of the late 1920s, there were opponents of this view and in 1929 the Egyptologist W. Wolf published an article emphasizing the Semitic nature of the Hyksos and denying any Arvan influence, though he conceded that there might be a Hur-Thus one 3

In 1933 the White Russian Indologist N. D. Mironov tried to reinforce the Aryan hypotheses for both the Rassites and the Hyksos not only by finding Indian etymologies for names that had not been explained in terms of Semitic or Hurrian but also by even challenging

some of those given in these languages.24

All these writings mentioned so far belong to what would generally be considered to be the 'prehistory' of Hyksos studies. Its 'history' began with the dissertation of the Egyptian Egyptologist Pahor Labib on The Hyksos Rule in Egypt and Its Pall, which was published in 1936. It was a detailed study of the epigraphic and literary sources on the subject. Labib concluded from the Semitic royal names that the Hyksos were Semitic. The Danish-American Egyptologist R. M. Engberg took a less clear-cut line in his monograph. The Hyksos Reconsidered, which appeared in 1939. Engberg accepted Manetho's use of 'Hyksos' as an ethnic term and argued that there was 'the certainty that there was other than Semitic blood among the Hyksos'. In general he concluded that:

It is clear that the Semitic element was strong. Hurrians too seem to have played a major part in the movement. It among other possible participants. Indo-Iraman elements appear to have made important contributions.

Germans in the Third Reich found the situation simpler and felt less need for academic equivocation. The Egyptologist Hermann Junker saw the Hyksos as the result of an Arvan push in the 18th century BC, with a mix of 'different races'." As the younger Egyptologist Hans

Stock put it in his History and Archaeology from the 13th to the 17th Egyptian Dynasties,

Nevertheless, it appears doubtful to think of the Hyksos as purely or predominantly Semitic. The leaders of the whole movement doubt less had a non-Semitic origin, . . . The Hyksos are above all not to be seen as Canaanites or princes from Palestine——this population never displayed the necessary military might and force (emphasis in original).79

Later, while he admitted Semitic influence on Egypt during the period, Stock insisted

Nevertheless, one must turn to characteristics of an invasion from the north with a non-Semitic layer. Therefore like Goize one should think of a movement fed by Arvan fords of Hurrians and also Semites.⁸⁰

Stock's language, like that of his contemporaries Gotze and von Soden, was academic, but, as will be discussed below, there are some internalist grounds for seeing 'northern' influences on the Hyksos." Even so, there is no doubt that these conclusions were heavily influenced by the Weltanschauung in which the 'Semites' and at least those from Palestine (Arabs had to be excluded), were 'known' to have been essentially passive and incapable of large-scale political organization throughout history. Nor was this attitude restricted to Nazi Germany, it is evident in the writings of Max Muller and Eduard Meyer, as well as in the English authors of the Cambridge Ancient History cited above

Given the power of anti-Semitism in the period, it is more surprising that the notion was fought so hercely. The opposition came from various sources. There was a parochialism in the suspicion felt by Egyptologists and archaeologists of Palestine towards attempts to invade their fields from Asia Minor and the Caucasus. There was then positivism in that, as the remains and records of the Hyksos were overwhelmingly Syro-Palestinian and Semitic, they saw no need to speculate more widely. They also, as I have mentioned, had the professional dislike of the reconstruction of dramatic and far-reaching events as promoted so often by general historians and amateurs. Finally, however, there was then scepticism towards racism as a principle for organizing history and—after 1933—this was reinforced by their distaste of its political implications.

For these reasons, there was an essential shift with the exposure of the Holocaust and the creation of Israel. Before the 1940s the lines had been drawn between most professional Egyptologists on the one hand and, on the other, general historians with their views of the broad sweep of history and some Egyptologists who retained a respect for Manetho and were sustained by the prevalent racial interpretations of history and anti-Semitism. By 1950, the boot was on the other foot—the narrow professionals were now supported by the wide-

spread revulsion among academics against anti Seimtism.

In 1951, the Swedish scholar I. Save-Soderbergh published an extremely influential article in which there was no room for 'Northerners or even for an invasion. According to him, the Hyksos domination in Egypt was the result of an internal rising by Asiatics, who had settled in Egypt over the previous centuries in collaboration with native Egyptians "It is interesting that the same healthy atmosphere of revulsion against 'master races' and then conquests, and the preference for social revolutions over ethnic conflicts in the late 1940s and 1950s, produced George Mendenhall's demal of the Israelite 'conquest' of Camaan and his argument that in reality the 'conquest' had been a popular rising "I Gardiner, who as late as 1947 still believed that Hurrians 'contributed a large ingredient to the Hyksos invaders of Egypt', accepted Save-Soderbergh's arguments fourteen years later in his Egypt of the Pharaohs."

Save-Soderbergh's position was also backed by the leading brench and German Semitists Roland de Vaux and Albrecht Alt, who argued that the new activity among the Semitic-speaking Syro-Palestinians was the result of the Semitic-speaking Amorites moving into the Levant and Canaan from the Syrian desert. Alt believed that traces of this could be seen in the so-called 'Execration Texts' from the 13th Dynasty in which I gyptians had cursed the names of princes of inland Syro-Palestine, who threatened Egyptian power there."

This view of the Hyksos as an exclusively Semitic and largely Palestiman local movement still predominates today, at least outside Middle Europe. It has been forcefully maintained by the German spenalist on the 2nd Intermediate Period Jurgen von Beckerath and the Canadian Egyptologist and ancient historian John van Seters, as well.

as by William Hayes in the Cambridge Ancient History 8

However, Wolfgang Helck, who has written the standard work on Egyptian—Near Eastern relations in the 3rd and 2nd millenmums, has stood out against the new trend and has argued forcefully that there were Hurrian elements among the Hyksos. Helck believes that one should not dismiss Manetho's description of the Hyksos as an 'obscure tace', 'from the regions of the East'. He has made a sharp distinction between the Seimtic-speaking infiltrators of the East Delta and their kinglets and the later pharaohs who were called Hyksos. He argued,

and maintained against the objections of the dominant school, that many of the Hyksos pharaohs' names cannot be explained in terms of Semitic or Egyptian.** Helck's need to make such a sharp distinction between the 'Semitic' and the 'High Hyksos' periods came from his acceptance of the low chronology for Mesopotamia. This appears to have prevented him from postulating the presence of Hurrians in Egypt before the middle of the 17th century BC, which in turn leaves him with the Semitic invaders or infiltrators of the 18th. If one accepts the 'long' chronology it becomes possible to admit 'northern elements in Palestine by the beginning of MBHB, c. 1760. With the middle chronology they can be there in the 1740s. It is only with the low chronology that Helck's apparently clumsy two-stage solution is necessary.

Even though he did not believe that they were there in the 18th century, Helck still argued that the presence of Hurrians in Syro-Palestine should be dated earlier than was commonly accepted. At this point, we encounter one of the strongest arguments for a Hurrian and possibly Indo-Aryan presence among the Hyksos. This is based on the fact that, while there is no indication of their presence among the Syro-Palestinian population in Egyptian documents from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, Hurrians are reported in considerable numbers in those of the New Kingdom, to such an extent that by the Ramessid period in the 13th century, one of the names of Palestine was 'Land of the Hurru' * Furthermore, both Egyptian and Ugaritic documents attest the names of princes in the region with Indic names. These Hurrians and Indo-Aryans clearly placed a great cultural emphasis on chariot warfare ** Nevertheless, the New Kingdom references to Hurrians and Indo-Aryan warriors or 'Maryannu' begin only with the conquests of Tuthmosis III in the 15th century, that is, two centuries later than Helck posits his Hurrian-Hyksos invasion of Egypt. Van Seters maintains that the fact that the Egyptians knew the name of the Hurrians and used it from the 15th century means that their use of the old term smw for the Hyksos indicates the absence of Hurrians among the outsiders.

Van Seters also believes that the Hurrian presence in Palestine in the 15th century can best be explained as the result of early 18th-Dynasty attacks on the Semitic-speaking Amorite principalities in Syria leaving a power vacuum then filled by Hurrians. For instance, Van Seters and other writers have pointed out that the archives from Level VII of the Syrian coasial city of Alalakh refer to horses and chariots but give no indication of Hurrians or Indo-Aryans. However, if one accepts the 'long' chronology for Mesopotania, one can

see the Hurrian and Kassite movements (the latter was into Mesopotamia from the northeast) back into the early 18th century. Further more, Alalakh VII would be placed not in the 17th or 16th but in the 18th century BC, as the city was destroyed by the Hittite king Hattu sili. I, who according to the 'long' chronology reigned before 1700, and in the second quarter of the 17th century according to the middle chronology.

The linguist and ancient historian Anneliese Kammenlinber points out that the westerimost expansion of the Hurrians in Anatolia took place in the reign of the Hittite king Hattusili I, which she dates to the 16th century. But this evidence has a very different significance if one accepts the long or middle chronology and places him decades or more than a century earlier. It would then seem to strengthen the case that there were Hurrians in the Levant by the 18th century.

THE HYKSOS AS A MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION

In recent years, Manfred Bietak, the excavator of Tell el Daba a, has developed a new picture of the Hyksos. He has noted the huge quantity of Syro-Palestinian storage jars for wine and oil found at his site and has shown that in Hyksos times there must have been a massive trade up and down the Nile and into the Mediterranean. On this basis he argues that the ancient sources and previous archaeologists must have been wrong in seeing the Hyksos as land-based conquerors. In stead, he postulates that there was a sea-borne migration of Semitic speaking. Levantines from Byblos to Avairs and that the rise at the latter can be corellated with a decline at Byblos. Thus his vision of the Hyksos is of an essentially unwarlike commercial network with power-like that of the Phoenicians in the 1st millennium be.

Bretak's evidence for the massive trade carried out under Hyksos auspices is incontrovertible. However, the conclusions he draws from it are much less secure. Firstly, there is no Egyptian or later reference to a migration from Byblos to Avaris at this or any other period. Furthermore, it seems risky to ignore the widespread tradition in Antiquity which stated clearly that there was a major invasion by land from the northeast—the only one referred to in Egyptian history before that of the Assyrians in the 7th century BC. I his view is not contradicted by archaeology and, as we shall see below, some archaeologists believe they have found material evidence to back it. Bretak himself has found destructions at Tell el Daba a congruent with conquest and tombs with armed men with pairs of 'equids' buried in front of them.

I do not accept that any decline of Byblos during the period at which Avaris was flourishing has to be explained as having been caused by a sea-borne migration from the Levant to the Nile Delta. It would seem much more plausible to explain it as the result of a land invasion as described by tradition, which opened up to Syro-Palestmans the opportunities of controlling the trade of Egypt and the Nile as well as that of the Levant. This led to a new commercial concentration at Avaris, possibly at the expense of Byblos.

The most important point is, however, the general one that military conquest and riverine of maritime trade are by no means mutually exclusive. There are a number of parallel examples, such as that of the Islamic Arabs, who combined desert raiding and mobile land warfare with a profound commercialism and a later dominance of the trade of the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean. In Northern Europe there were the Vikings who combined then well-known raiding with extensive trade and the urbanization of much of Northern Europe. Thus I see no reason to throw out the traditional images of the Hyksos. Instead, I think that one should simply add the evidence of their riverine and maritime commercial activities revealed by Bietak's excavations, and—as I shall argue in the next chapter—by their remains in the Aegean.

HORSES AND CHARIOTS: HURRIANS AND ARYANS

It is not at all clear that Helck had just Hurrians in mind when he argued against the Hyksos being purely Semitic. As he wrote in his History of Ancient Egypt:

[The Hurrians] in their thrust to the South, had subjugated Syria, Kizzuwatna [Cilicia] and Palestine and broke into the Delia. They were later partly under an Indian aristocracy [Oberschicht], who in their migrations had brought with them the horse and the light war chariot from the Steppes of South Russia. Naturally the horse was known much earlier in Mesopotamia . . . but in compinction with the newly appearing light war chariot its significance and worth were greatly raised. 90

There is no doubt that four-wheeled vehicles were in use in Mesopotamia by 3000 BC. These were first drawn by cattle or buffaloes and later by onagers or asses. It is also recognized that horses and carts existed in Mesopotamia in Old Babylonian times (20th and 19th centuries BC), though it is not certain how they were used.' It is almost

certain that horses themselves were introduced to the Middle East from the Eurasian Steppe, but this does not mean that their use for war chariots first arose there or was associated with the speakers of Indo-European or its subsets, Indo-Iranian or Indo-Aryan.

Mary Littauer and Joost Crouwel, who have written the latest book on the subject, argue that the evolution of the four-wheeled vehicle into the fine-spoked two-wheeled war chariot took place long before there was any trace of Indo-Europeans in the region. "The Russian linguist and ancient historian L.M. Diakonoff has argued forcefully that, as Indo-Aryans are attested in the Near East only after 1600, and this was long after the use of chariots there, horses and chariots should not be used as markers of an Indo-European presence." This is clearly correct, as shown, to take an extreme case, by the presence of the bones of a horse that had worn a bit near the 12th-Dynasty fort at Buhen in Nubia. ¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, at least in a loose way, there is clearly some association between the Indo-European speakers who originated on the Steppe, for whom horse and wagon travel were of central importance, and the development of the chariot in the Middle East. The Russian archaeologist Roman Ghirschman proposed that Indo-Arvan (or at least Indo-Iranian) speakers with domestic horses and horse-drawn vehicles had been living in Northeastern Iran since the early 3rd millennium. He also argued that, around 1800 BC, Indo-Arvan speakers mixed with the Hurrian population of the Zagros Mountains—the present Kirdistan—and that it was this symbiosis that formed the Mitania society that dominated Upper Mesopotamia and its northern fringes in the middle of the 2nd millennium is Correct to the conditional conditions of the 2nd millennium is Correct to the conditional conditions of the 2nd millennium is correct.

There have been a number of acute challenges to the archaeological evidence he gives to support this Indo-Arvan movement. However, they do not to my mind destroy the plausibility of the overall scheme ¹⁵. One challenger, the German archaeologist Annelise Kammenhuber, has claimed that the notion of a conquest by Aryan charioteers is a myth. She argues that the Indic words in the Mitanni were telics rather than part of the spoken language, which was clearly Hurrian, and that the Aryan names of kings and gods were merely the result of casual contact between Hurrians and Indo-Arvans in the middle of the millennium. "The first part of her argument is persuasive; however, it suggests that the contact between Hurrian and Aryan speakers was earlier and therefore more likely to be involved with the introduction of chariots. The second part of her argument, the idea that the names of gods and kings are picked up casually, is extremely unconvincing.

In short, while the exact form of the symbiosis is unclear, the fact that the later texts specify that some Mitanni gods, toyal names and some charioteering terms are Indo-Aryan, while the basic vocabulary was Hurrian, does suggest the Aryanists' dream of a conquering élite. As the contemporary Indo-Europeanist J. P. Mallory puts it, it seems that

an element of Indic-speaking chariot warriors superimposed themselves on a native Hurrian-speaking population to form a ruling dynasty that endured for many centuries. The precise mechanism with which this Indic element fused with the Hurrians is unknown. ⁰⁴

Despite considerable ideological reluctance, I find this a very plausible picture. This does not, however, rule out the point made by Littauer and Crouwel that the light war charior may have been developed in Northern Mesopotamia, rather than in Iran or the Steppe. 'Nevertheless, the Aryan association with Mitanii chariots and the fact that Indo-European speakers were involved in their use from Central Asia to Ireland would make it seem quite likely that Indo-Aryan speakers were involved in its development, wherever it took place. "The most plausible scenario is that proposed by the German archaeologist Gertrude Hermes in the 1930s; that the light chariot was developed at a point of contact between horse and cart, using Indo-European speakers and Near Eastern technologists."

Thus, while it is quite clear that, as Diakonoff argues, there was no Indo-European monopoly of the chariot and that its use spread to many peoples speaking many different languages. I see no reason to

deny its first development to Indo-Aryan speakers.

HURRIANS AND HYKSOS

The further question remains of whether or not the formation of the Mitanin amalgam of Hurrians and Indo Arvans had anything to do with the Hyksos. References to the state in Mesopotamian. Anatolian and Egyptian sources appear only in the 15th and 14th centuries ac However, as Mallory points out,

Our dating of the Indo-Aryan element in the Mitanni texts is based parely and simply on written documents offering datable contexts. While we cannot with certainty push these dates back prior to the fifteenth century BC, it should not be forgotten that the Indic ele-

ments seem to be little more than the residue of a *dead* language in Hurrian, and that the symbiosis that produced the Mitania may have taken place many centuries earlier.

As mentioned above, many scholars have dismissed Hurrian—and even more strongly Indo-Aryan – influences on the Hyksos purely on the grounds of date. As the Belgian Assyriologist J. R. Kupper argued in the Cambridge Ancient History,

It is generally allowed that the Hyksos period opened towards the end of the eighteenth century. At the time when these were moving into the Delta the Hurrians were just beginning to spread into North Syria, the only route they could have followed into Egypt. This being so, it is impossible, without pushing Hammurabi's [the famous king of Babylon upon whose reign much of Mesopotamian chronology depends] date considerably further back, to connect the Hyksos with the Hurrian inigiation. In the same way there can be no influence of Indo-Arvans, who appear distinctly later, certainly after the period of level VII at Alalakh. "

If one follows the long chronology, Hammurabi's date is pushed considerably further back, to 1848 (1806 BC, and the Hittite king Hattusih I was fighting Hurrians in central Anatolia around 1700 BC. Following the middle chronologs, Hammurahi reigned in the hist half of the 18th century and Kassites whose migrations appear to have paralleled those of the Hurrians, appear in the reign of his successor Samsuduna. In both cases, a Burrian presence in Syro-Palestine in the second half of the 18th century BC becomes a very real possibility. This is only prevented by the low chronology. Thus, even if one accepts the argument from silence from the Mesopotamian and Syrian states, there is no cause to dismiss the presence of Hurrians or even Indo-Aryan speakers in the Levant in the 18th century BC. In all these discussions. I think there is an underestimation of the suddenness with which new military, political or religious forces can arise Islam, the Mongols and the Taiping sprang into widespread action, to be greeted with a shock of the kind Majietho expressed about the Hyksos.

The archaeological and linguistic evidence for a Hurrian presence

Does the supposed Hurrian presence in 18th-century Syro-Palestine show up in the archaeological record? In general, the only possible

line of demarcation that could indicate the putative arrival of Hinrians is that between Middle Bronze IIA and IIB, which, as argued above, should probably be dated to the second quarter of the 18th century BC. Ewentieth-century scholars have emphasized the lack of change involved. As Dame Kathleen Kenyon put it in the Cambridge Ancient History,

As far as Palestine is concerned. . . From the first beginnings of the Middle Bronze Age down to its end, and long past it, all the material evidence—pottery, weapons, ornaments, buildings, burial methods—is emphatic that there is no break in culture and basic population . . . this is the Canaanite culture of the Mediterranean littoral. ¹¹⁰

There is absolutely no doubt of the essential truth of this statement. Even so, there were changes in pottery styles, most notably the wide-spread use of the distinctive Tell el Yehudiyeh ware, named after a Hyksos settlement in the Eastern Delta. This has been found throughout the Levant and Northeastern Egypt. There has been some question as to its beginnings, but at Tell el Daba'a it first appears in Stratum G, which Bietak puts as 13th Dynasty and before the transition from MBHA to MBHB. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that it first appeared among a Syro-Palestinian population in the Eastern Delta in the second quarter of the 18th century, and that it remained in use throughout the Hyksos period. There is, however, no question of its having been introduced by Hurrian or Indo-Aryan invaders from the north.

Some scholars have drawn attention to what they see as a change in fortification styles, namely great ramparts with sloping glacis of teric profe or battered stone. This has commonly been linked with chariot warfare and then with the Hyksos and sometimes with a Hurrian invasion from the north. However, these 'improvements' had already appeared in the 12th-Dynasty fortifications in Nubia and were clearly widely used in Syro-Palestine in the MBHA period of the 20th and 19th centuries. On the other hand, there is an unprecedented form of construction in the fortified enclosures found – sometimes with a raised acropolis in one corner—at a number of sites from Northern Syria, through Palestine to Tell el Yehudiyeh in the Eastern Delta and Heliopolis, now a suburb of Cairo. Petrie speculated that they could be enclosures for chariots, and no one to my knowledge has come up with a better idea. Whether or not this is the case, there is little doubt that their purpose was military.

This leads us to consider the spread of chariots into Palestine and

Egypt. The possibility of ceremonial chariots in Egypt at the time of Sesostris has been considered in Chapter V. The earliest Egyptian reference to horses, hth, and chariots, tent http, comes in the inscription celebrating the campaigns against the Hyksos by the Theban ruler Kamose, in the early 16th century. Van Seters points out that there is no mention in the inscription of then being used for a warlike purpose, but an inscription from some fifty years later mentions kamose's successor, Ahmose I, riding a chariot in the siege of Avaris. Van Seters claims that this was an anachronism on the grounds that the inscription also mentions, at another point, the capture of a chariot in Naharavin in Upper Mesopotamia, which, he maintains, could have happened only in the 15th century. This would seem to be special pleading and there is virtually no doubt that was chariots were in use not only in Palestine but in Egypt by the beginning of the 16th century BC.

There is some debate on the origins of the vocabulary of this semantic field. The word his itself is clearly an adaptation of an Old Egyptian term for a pair, or span, of ploughing oxen. This was used for the new technology as a pair of horses for a chariot and hence a horse itself. Another word for 'horse' that appears for the first time. in the 18th Dynasty is wint. This has been linked to the Hebrew viz. (horse) and the Akkadian, siste. This cluster is still debated but it has commonly been derived from the reconstructed Proto Indo-European form found in the Sanskrit a3ca (horse), the etymology has been made even more plausible with the discovery of the Ugaritic form you, which would probably have been pronounced "year a. On the other hand, although the words are clearly related, the possibility remains that they originate from another unknown language. ' lbr. the Egyptian word for 'stallion', which also first appeared in the 18th Dynasty, is clearly derived from a Semitic form found in the Hebres. 'abh and the Ugaritic ibi 12 One Egyptian word for 'chariot', mikbt, is clearly derived from the Semitic form seen in the Hebrew merkávali, or in the construct form, merkebet. The other word, wr(r(y))t, was supposed by the Semitic linguist and early specialist in Hurrian E.A. Speiser to have come from the Hurrian umatishu, but the existence of this form is uncertain 12. Despite the uncertainty, however, therewould seem to have been not only native Egyptian terms adapted to the new needs, but also Semitic and possibly some Hurrian terms, and ultimately Indo-Arvan ones for the new species and technology

Apart from the Buhen horse, there have been other indications that horses were present in Palestine and Egypt well before the end of the Hyksos period. Petrie found bronze horse bits at Gaza at what he

described as a Hyksos level. In 1936, the specialist in ancient horses. Gertrud Hermes dated them to a 1700 BC.—Since then, other scholars have tended to lower these dates, but they do not—as the contemporary classicist Robert Drews puts it—'confront Hermes's arguments'. 'Given the general confirmation of the higher dating outlined earlier in this chapter there would seem no reason to doubt that the bits were from the 18th century.

Evidence from Tell el Daba a tends to confirm the picture that horses or at least equids -- were introduced into the Levant and Lower Egypt before 1750 BC. The skeletons of seventeen donkeys or equids have been found at the site from Stratum G to Stratum Dis. that is to say between 6-1800 and 1570 . Most are buried in pairs in from of tombs and it is assumed that they were harnessed together Looking at the ground plans of these tombs one has the strong impression that they were seen as symbolic wagons or carts being pulled by equids 5. In Stratum Eq (in the early or mid-18th century) in front of the grave of an important armed personage, the bones of two youths and five 'equids' were found. Bietak believes that both men and animals were probably sacrificed. Horses teeth have been found from Stratum F.2 from the late 18th century 1. The practice of bury ing donkeys or horses near or in human graves also occurred in MBH sites at Inshas. Tell el Farasha and Tell el Maskhutha in the Eastern Delta and Tel el Appl and Jericho in Palestine, and there appears to have been a general association with armed persons, presumably warriors. 48 Thus, while there is no direct evidence of chariots it would seem that the newcomers into the Delta freated equids and carts very seriously, either at a religious or at a practical level or both

The introduction to Palestine and Egypt of equids and vehicles as sociated with warfare from Syria, and or further north, at this time clearly strengthens the hypothesis that Hurrians and Indo Europeans were involved in the Hyksos migration.

HYRSOS MATERIAL CULTURE

Before the escavation of Tell el Daba a very little was known about the material culture of Hyksos Egypt. This was partly because of the conscious destruction of Hyksos remains by the rulers of the 18th Dynasty, who were violently hostile to them, but it was even more that 'Hyksos' material remains were not recognized as such because the culture revealed at Tell el Daba a was in fact one already well known to archaeologists of Egypt and Palestine... a mixture, or rather a range

of mixtures, of the MBII culture of Syro-Palestine and that of the Late Middle Kingdom in Egypt

Some features—like burials under house floors—seem to have developed in MBHA in the Levant, while others—like the Tell el Yehidiyeh ware—arose either there of in the Canaanite Fastern Delta. On the other hand, both phenomena became characteristics of the Hyksos culture and period—The graves at Tell el Daba'a contain many bronze weapons, especially axes, daggers and knives, made with the line inetal work styles that had been developed in Syro-Palestine since the Egyptian 12th Dynasty!—Although they have so tar not been found at Tell el Daba'a, swords, clearly developed from earlier daggers, have been found throughout Syro-Palestine during the MBHB C periods!! Thus, the Syro-Palestinian Hyksos culture of the second half of the 18th century BC already possessed the new weapons that were to dominate the Late Bronze Age—certainly donkeys, horses, carts and fine daggers and very probably chariots and swords.

The archaeologist and art historian Helene Kantor described the art of the Hyksos period as a Mischkunst, a 'mixed art'." The only specific object that could suggest a contact between the Hyksos upper classes and the north is a striking electrum headdress with four gazelle heads and one of a stag that looks distinctly Anatolian. This came from the so called Sallinya treasure found some ten kilometres from Tell el Daba a and thought to be from a Hyksos royal tomb there. "There is also a kind of barbaric quality not found in other periods in the striking bearded made portrait on a pot from the Hyksos period at lericho. 154

Furthermore, there is the appearance in many representations of the flying gallop, in which the impression of speed is given by showing the animal with its legs stretched out forward and back. This posture was often given to the fantastic new creature the griffin (the griffin and the flying gallop will be discussed further in Chapter IX). In her pioneering monograph on The Aegean and the Orient in the second inflenium be, published in 1947, Kantor suggested that the 'flying gallop' came to the Near East from the Aegean. Her chronological arguments were extremely imprecise and the basis for this opinion seems to have come from earlier authorities, who reasoned purely archaeologically that such 'vivacity' must have a European source. Nevertheless, Helck commues to support the same hypothesis. "

The carving of cylinder seals and ivories seems to have borrowed heavily from North Syria, although many Egyptian motifs were added. Even more widespread than the seals and ivories, in both

Lower Egypt and Palestine, were the Hyksos scarabs. Some of these followed or even copied patterns established in Middle Kingdom Egypt; others, while keeping the basic shape, developed their own distinctive designs on the flat surface showing the influence of Syro-Palestinian art.¹³⁸

One of the major sources for Hyksos fine arts was clearly Byblos, where for centuries there had been an eclectic Egypto-Levantine tradition. A striking example of this is in the *mello* work or metal mlay in bright colours which had been manufactured there since the Middle Kingdom. Van Seters described a spectacular example of this work on a Hyksos dagger with an embossed hilt and sheath:

On one side of the hilt is a figure done in Egyptian style with short skirt and a crown resembling the 'White Crown' of Egypt. On the other side of the hilt are two antelope standing on their hind legs, standing back-to-back, but with their heads turned facing each other. This is certainly an Asiatic motif and is common on Syrian glyptic. Above the two antelope is a third in a more natural pose, grazing. The design on the sheath is also a mixture. There are Egyptian motives, such as a boy with a baboon, the wild dog and the lish; the two men are also dressed in Egyptian style. But the theme of the antelope, lion and hunter, as well as the main on a donkey carrying a scimitar are clearly Asiatic. '5'

The same style is also found on what is frequently seen as the archetypal example of Hyksos art. This is a dagger found in a tomb at Saqqara in the coffin of a man named 'abd, a clearly Semitic name. The dagger had the Hyksos pharaonic name Apophis on one side. On the other is written 'the henchman of his ford Nehmen', presumably the West Semitic name seen in the Hebrew Nahāmāni (Compassionate). The sword type is 'Asiatic' and the design on the hilt in electrum on ebony portrays

a man in an energetic pose attacking a hon. He is dressed in a short Egyptian kilt but has Asiatic armlets, a torque, and bands with discs crisscrossing his chest. The two animals, a hon and a gazelle, are also portrayed in 'flying gallop'. 140

Van Seters follows this description with the statement:

In many ways this piece sums up the technical achievements, the artistic eclecticism and the political and economic interdependence common to Syria-Palestine and Hyksos Egypt in the MBIIB-C Period.¹⁴¹

What he does not go on to mention is the remarkable number of these techniques and mixed artistic themes that are to be found in the pre-tions objects from the contemporary Shaft Graves at Miscenae. Some of these parallels will be discussed in the next chapter.

THE HYRSOS AND THE BIBLICAL CAPTIVITY OR SOJOURN IN EGYPT

Before concluding with a general survey of the eelectre nature of Hyksos culture. I should like to consider one of the two non-Egyptian traditions that preserve some folk memories of the Hyksos conquest and of an expulsion from Egypt. The Greek version in the stories of the rivalry between Danaos and Aigyptos has been discussed in Volume 1 and will be looked at further in the next chapter of this volume. There we shall consider the other tradition, that of the sections of the end of the Book of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus.

Genesis tells, with some diversions and many folkloric flourishes, the story of Joseph's being sold into slavery in Egypt and his rise to power as seal hearer or vizier there. Then, in a period of hunger in Camaan, his father Jacob and his brothers seek food in Egypt and

Joseph settles them there as serls to the pharaoh 1

The story is taken up again in Exodus approximately three generations later. By this time the Hebrews have multiplied greatly and a new pharaoli saw them as a threat and used them to build his new cities in the Eastern Delta Moses, a Hebrew box brought up as an Egyptian, identified himself with his people and became involved with his god's backing in a political magical struggle to allow the lews to leave Egypt and return to Canaan. Some of the plagues Godand he inflicted on Egypt have been described in the last chapter be cause of their volcanic nature, but there were many others, culini nating in the killing of all the first born in Egypt, from which the Israelites were spared. This broke down the pharaoh's resistance. He allowed the Jews to go and they unmediately slipped away being guided by the pillar of smoke by day and fire by night. Pharaoli then changed his mind and ser out with all his chariots to bring them back After some hesitation the Israelites went on and God parted the seafor them to bring it crashing down on the Egyptian army However. the Israelites' problems were not over and it took them forty years in the wilderness before, under Moses, successor Joshua, they were ableto enter the Land of Canaan. 144

The Bible gives conflicting evidence on the date of the I sodus. The

Book of Kings puts it 480 years before the building of the Temple m r. 965, that is, r. 1445 BC.45 If one adds up the years mentioned chronologically in the books of Exodus, Judges, Samuel and Kings one arrives at a total of 554 years, with considerable periods unaccounted for.10 This would give a date in the 16th century. In the Book of Exodus itself, however, there are references to the building of the 'store cities' of Pithom and Ramesses, which point to the right Dynasty between 1308 and 1194 1. This later date seemed to fit the statement that a grandson of Moses was alive around 1150 Bc. Thus, conventional wisdom tended to prefer a reign near the end of the 19th Dynasty, probably that of Mereneptah 1221 1214. Even this, however, did not accommodate the reference in Exodus to the Philistines who are mentioned in Egyptian sources only from the 12th century Bc. Nevertheless, as discussed in the last chapter, the dating to the reign of Mereneptah was ruled out by the discovery of a stela from this time which referred to Israel as a people already settled in Palestine, 148

The early confusion has been confounded by modern archaeology. Arguments about the dates of the likely destructions of Canaamte cities mentioned in the conquest narrative have raged for over a century. Essentially, however, controversy has been between a 15th-century date backed by the quotation from Kings and a 13th-century one that would fit the genealogies. The latest round of this has come in the work of the British biblical archaeologists John Bimson and David Lavingston. They have revived the Kings 15th-century dating, and have shown conclusively that there are no 13th-century destructions to match those of the Bible. The only band of sufficient scale to satisfy them comes at the demarcation between MBHC and LBL. This is conventionally put at around 1550 but they have brought it down to 1420 to fit the Kings dating. [5]

The incompatibility of this chronological shift with all other evidence, and particularly the compression of the LBI period that would be involved, has made this hypothesis unacceptable to other scholars. On the other hand, the defenders of the 13th-century date have failed to answer Binson's and Livingston's basic criticism that there is no archaeological evidence to back the hypothesis of a conquest of Canaan in the 13th century. Against the latter, however, is the fact that the 16th- and 15th-century destructions in Palestine can best be explained as the results of Egyptian campaigns which we know to have taken place from Egyptian records.

Thus, just as an immense amount of wasted time and effort has gone into tracing with misplaced precision the geographical track of

the Exodus, it would seem equally futile to attempt to pinpoint its date. Clearly many different strands have been used or fabricated to create the legend as a whole. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the most important single base tor the stories of the sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus are the historical facts of the Hyksos' occupation of Egypt and their expulsion from it. The relationship between the Hyksos and the Israelites is uncertain, that is to say, it is impossible to discover whether or not Israel existed as an ethnic identity in the 17th and 16th centuries or, if it did, what role it played among the invaders. If, as would seem more likely, Israel developed later, did some of the elements from which it was constructed come from a Hyksos alliance? Or was it simply that the Israelites borrowed from the legends of other peoples?

Apart from the general suggestion of a connection by the fact that the majority of the Hyksos were, like the later Israelites, West Semitic speakers from Canaan, there are two specific reasons for supposing a more direct relationship. Firstly, there is the attestation in both Palestine and Lower Egypt of the name Yekb hi or Yekb as a Hyksos ruler in the late 18th century. This name is remarkably similar to Jacob, Ya'āqov. I Jacob Israel was not only the eponym and the specific ancestor of Israel, he was also the patriarch who, according to tradition, led the Israelites into Egypt. Secondly, there is the archaeological evidence from the fact that by far the highest density of Hyksos scarabs is to be found in the territory now known as the West Bank, which at the end of the Bronze Age was the Israelite heartland. It is also interesting to note that the computation of the chronology of the Book of Judges, mentioned above, gives a date that is compatible with a nud-16th-century expulsion of the Hyksos.

The equation of the Hyksos and Israelites is not new. Hekataios of Abdera, writing at the end of the 4th century BC, maintained that the Jewish tradition of the Exodus—and the Greek traditions of the migrations of Danaos and Kadmos—both came from the expulsion of the Hyksos! In one version of his history, Manetho saw the first pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty, whom he called Tethmôsis, as having expelled the 'shepherds'. In another they are called 'Jews' under their leader Moses! It is uncertain if it was Manetho who made the equation, rather than the later excerpters, but it would seem very likely. There is absolutely no doubt that Apion, the Alexandrian anti-Semite of the 1st century AD, and his polemical opponent Josephus treated the Hyksos and the Jews as identical, Josephus in fact described them as 'the so-called Shepherds, our ancestors'. According to the Byzantine monk Syncellos it was the 4th-century church father Eusebius

who presumably under biblical influence – placed the Exodus at the end rather than the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, thus separating the Israelites from the Hyksos. 58 Since then there has been a tendency to treat the equation of the two as anti-religious if not anti-Semitic. 159

With the seculization at the end of the 19th century, many scholars returned to the earlier equation. Most of the agnostic or atheist ancient historians and Egyptologists, including Michael Astour, James Breasted, René Dussaud, Alan Gardiner, H. R. Hall, Salomo Lauria and Raymond Weill, treated the period of the Hyksos domination as the direct or indirect basis for the biblical sojourn or captivity in Egypt and the Hyksos expulsion as the basis for the Exodus. This view has also been taken by some more broad-minded religious scholars. Thus, there is no reason to doubt that the Exodus story was – at least in part – a folk memory of the expulsion of the Hyksos.

CONCLUSION

Barbatian attacks or conquests are always confusing affairs; they tend to take place suddenly and disappear or are assimilated almost equally quickly. If their temporal range is short, their geographical one is huge and dispersed, making systematic excavation difficult. The 'barbatians' usually do not leave permanent monuments and, being nomads or at least in a nomadic phase, they tend to have relatively few material belongings. Those they do possess are generally made by the craftsmen of the local or other sedentary peoples. Thus, it is extremely difficult to use archaeology to trace the migrations or analyze the nature of such historically attested movements as the Hunnish conquests of the 5th century AD or those of the Mongols and Moghuls from the 13th to the 15th centuries AD.

What one does notice, however, is a certain mixture of styles and the faster diffusion of techniques at such periods. One can see, for instance, the intricate interplay of Chinese and Persian art in the 19th and 14th centuries AD **2 This leads to a breakdown of earlier local technical or artistic traditions. It is from this eclecticism and the presence of some of the original 'barbaric' traditions that any distinctively barbarian style tends to develop. However, it tends to disappear even before the barbarians' political power disappears or is assimilated. After this, the older sedentary civilizations tend to reassert themselves, sometimes with conscious archaism but usually with some modification.

Another characteristic of barbarian conquests is for the 'outer' bar-

barians directly or indirectly to encourage 'inner' barbarians, who have often lived adjacent to richer civilizations for centuries, to invade them. Thus, very few Huns or Turkish speakers penetrated the Roman Empire, while Goths and Germans, who had been set in motion by the appearance of the Huns, poured in Similarly, although the leaders of Moghuls, who conquered and ruled India, were Turkish-speaking, the culture their invasion introduced to India was not Turk ish or Central Asian but Persian, that of the highly civilized people who had lived to the northwest of India for centuries.

Such a model of cumulative impulses would appear to fit the archaeological evidence from Syro-Palestine and Lower Egypt between 1750 and 1570. As mentioned above, there was a basic continuity of material culture throughout the MBH period. Nevertheless, there are some changes in the 18th century, most of which involve a combination of Mesopotamian, Syrian, Levantine and Egyptian styles, there are also a few traces of northern or barbaric influences, that is to say, a new emphasis on motion and violence. But, even so, the culture that arrived in Lower Egypt in the 18th century be was essentially that of Syro-Palestine.

There is no reason to suppose that the balance of Imguistic influence was any different. From their names it would seem that the overwhelming majority of the Hyksos in Egypt were Semitic speaking and it is equally clear from names that, just as the material culture of the Hyksos at Tell el Daba a became increasingly Egyptian in the 17th century BC, the Egyptian language reasserted itself in the face of Semitic. Despite the fact that these two were undoubtedly the dominant languages, others may well have been spoken.

There is no doubt that it has been difficult to explain any of the apparently non-Afroasiatic Hyksos names in terms of Hurrian and Indo-European Nevertheless, given the Manethonian tradition, the Speos Artenidos inscription, the Hurrian expansion in Syria in the 18th century BC, the Mitannian association with horses and chariots, and the attestation of the presence of Hurrian and Indo-European speakers in 15th-century Palestine, I see no scholarly teason to deny that they could well have formed part of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt I find it difficult to admit this, because—as can be seen from my survey of the historiography of this problem—I feel a strong ideological sympathy with those who object to this apparent confirmation of the image of the Aryans as a 'master race'.

On the other hand, as I misisted earlier in this chapter, I am convinced that a scholar should try as far as possible to detach her or his historical interpretation from any ideological preferences. In this tase, where I accept the Aryanists' interpretation, I refuse to accept their basic Social Darwinist premise that conquest or domination through violence somehow makes a people or linguistic group morally or creatively better than those who are conquered or dominated I certainly would not accept a hierarchy Hun > German > Gallo-Roman or Mongol > Turk > Persian > Indian any more than I would put the German Nazis above the Jews, gypsies, homosexuals and Communists they had power over and murdered

CRETE, THERA AND THE BIRTH OF MYCENAEAN CULTURE IN THE 18TH AND 17TH CENTURIES BC A Hyksos invasion?

HIS CHAPTER IS concerned with contacts between the Near Fast and the Aegean in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. It is a critical period, not only because of the archaeological evidence, but also because, according to the most comprehensive ancient chronology—the Parian Marble—it was during the 10th century BC that the Egyptian and Phoenician princes established their rule in Greece. Thus, the Ancient Model in the narrow sense (that is, that Greek culture was the result of Egyptian Phoenician colonization) depends on the evidence from this period. The contacts during this period seem to have been both directly from Egypt and the Levant to the Aegean and Mainland Greece and indirectly through Crete and the Southern Aegean.

The eclectic and highly cosmopolitan nature of Cretan culture has been discussed in Chapters I and IV and the strong possibility of Egyptian and Levantine influences on Mainland Greece during the centuries in the 3rd millennium has been considered in Chapters II and III. Although the previous four chapters contain information about Greece, their chief concerns — Sesostis' conquests in Asia Minor, the chronological implications of the re-dating of the Thera eruption and the nature and rise of the Hyksos—were apparently peripheral subjects. Nevertheless, it has been necessary to consider them in order to understand the central issue of this chapter, the possible colonization of regions in the Aegean from Egypt and the Levant be-

tween 1750 and 1500 BC.

The archaeological evidence of extensive contact in the middle of the 2nd millennium provides powerful support for many of the ideas set out in *Black Athena*. If there was such extensive contact during the formative period of Mycenaean civilization on the material plane, objections to massive cultural and specifically linguistic and religious Greek borrowings from the Near East are substantially weakened. On the other hand, the archaeological evidence does not help the Ancient Model in the narrow sense. There is no hoard of purely Egyptian and Levantine objects—including weapons—from the last Middle Bronze Age settlements or palaces overlying a destruction level below which there are earlier primitive Hellenic artifacts.

Furthermore, as we shall see in Chapter XI, most of the Egyptian and Levantine objects found in Bronze Age contexts in the Aegean come from the 15th, 14th and 13th centuries. It is also probable that some Egyptian religious institutions were established in Greece in this later period. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the 'Greek' Mycenaean kingdoms were well established by then, and although there is a strong tradition, which will be discussed in Chapter XI, that the Pelopids arrived in the Peloponnese from Anatolia in the 15th or 14th centuries, the 'Egyptian' and Phoenician colonizations were always traditionally placed before that.

This raises the possibility that many if not most of the Near Eastern cultural traits found in Greek culture were not the result of the military conquests referred to in the Greek tradition but come from the long-standing relationship between Egypt, the Levant and the Aegean.

During the four years that have passed since completing Volume 1 in 1986, I realize that I probably overestimated the extent of Near Fastern cultural penetration during the 'colonizations' and undertated the extent to which this took place in later periods, particularly during the peak of the international power and prestige of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty.

There is, in fact, a historically attested parallel for this pattern of greater cultural borrowings after the establishment of independence rather than during the period of political domination. It comes from East Asia. There is no doubt that the Red River Delta, which later became the heartland of Vietnam, received cultural influences from China both before and during direct Chinese colonization by the Han and later dynasties from the 1st century BC to the 1oth century AD. However, the most intense sinification of Vietnam was imposed by a powerful native dynasty, the Nguyen, during the 19th century. A similar pattern may well be true of Greece, with the major reception of Egyptian and Levantine influence having taken place in periods after 1450 BC.

While the case for the eclectic nature of Mycenaean civilization and hence that of Iron Age Greece, which itself had further Phoenician and Egyptian admixtures, is overwhelming, the presence of this cultural amalgam does not, in itself, prove that there were Hyksos colonies in Greece between 1750 and 1500 BC. However, I believe that there is enough linguistic and other evidence from or concerning these two and a half centuries to indicate that significant cultural borrowing took place in this early period.

In the period between 1750 and 1500 BC, with which this chapter is concerned, much of the archaeological evidence of contacts between Egypt and the Levant and the Aegean has a distinctly infitary flavour This tallies well with the period known in the Classical Greek tradition as the 'heroic age', in which heroes from the east founded their cities in Greece. Thus, there would seem to be a plausible case in favour of at least indirect Egypto-Levantine colonization in these centuries. However, archaeology is too blunt a tool to provide clear answers to such problems and we shall see that the evidence can be explained in a variety of ways. That is to say, the archaeological evidence can be used to support both the Ancient and the Arvan Models. In this chapter, as in its predecessors, we will see that there appears to be clear evidence in favour of early cultural influences from the Near East. Here, however, I believe one can go further and find persuasive archaeological evidence indicating the presence of dynasties of foreign origin, who transformed the cultures of the Aegean basin.

The first revision of the Ancient Model I propose in Black Athena is to accept the 19th-century philologists' demonstration that Greek is essentially Indo-European and hence the implication that at some stage there must have been one or more invasions or infiltrations from the north. The second revision is the one that arises in this chapter. In Volume 1, I discussed the ancient writers' belief that the colomizations of Greece took place in the 16th century and the specific links they made between Danaos' acquisition of the Argolid and the Egyptian defeat of the Hyksos, which we know took place in the second quarter of that century. This chronology, which had always been difficult to maintain in the face of the archaeological evidence, with the updating of the Thera eruption and Aegean ceramic periods now becomes impossible. Therefore, I am forced to part company with the ancient historians and argue that the colonizations, or the wave of Egypto-Levanune influence, took place at the beginning of the Hyksos period in the late 18th century not at the period's end in the

In the introduction to Volume 1, I touched on various possible reasons why the ancient writers should have lowered the dates of these events. One possible cause is that it is not only modern historians who feel that understatement makes them seem more sober and reasonable and that these pressures were also in operation in Antiquity, alongside the opposite desire to astound their audiences with spectacularly high dates.

Another possible cause for down-dating is that it was less painful for patriotic Greek writers to see their country as a hospitable receiver of refugees than as the victim of conquest. This was reinforced by a resemblance seen between the name Hyksos and hikeles, adjective hikesias (suppliant). In Hellenistic times, there was also a desire to tie in the migration of Danaos with the biblical Exodus, which, as argued in the last chapter, gained much of its historical basis from the Egyptian expulsion of the Hyksos.

THE CRETAN NEW PALACES

In the treatment of Cretan archaeology so far, I have iended to use Evans's chronology based on ceramic periods from Farly to Late Minoan. As mentioned above, Evans based his periods on Egyptian chronology, with Farly Minoan corresponding to the Old Kingdom, Middle Minoan to the Middle Kingdom and Late Minoan to the New. One problem with this was that the significant changes in Egyptian and Cretan — culture often appeared at the end of a kingdom, before or during an Intermediate Period, rather than at the formation of the next strong dynasty.

Since the 1950s, however, a new scheme has come into use, which attempts to deal with this problem and to broaden the cultural range of the periods by paying special attention to architecture. According to this, the chronology of Bronze Age Crete should be divided into the Pre-Palatial, Early Palace, Late Palace and Post-Palatial periods. There is some argument about the boundary between the first two, some scholars seeing the ceramic MMIA as Pre-Palatial and others as belonging to the Farly Palaces. On the other hand, there is no dispute about the break in the middle of the Palatial Period. It is generally agreed that this took place between the ceramic periods MMII and MMIII. This has generally been put at 1700 BC, but because of the updating required by the new date for the Thera eruption it would now seem to be rather earlier, around 1730.

The break was marked by the destruction of all three of the major palaces on Crete, at Knossos in the north, Malha in the east centre and Phaistos in the Messara Plain in the south. These destructions are generally attributed to a massive earthquake. There is no doubt that Crete is situated in a zone of extreme seismic instability and there.

have been frequent and widespread destructions by earthquakes throughout Cretan history and prehistory. On the other hand, the palaces built after these particular destructions show slight but clear differences that have led scholars to see the break as the watershed between the 'Early' and the 'Late' palaces

The great extent of Near Eastern influences on Early Palatial Crete has been discussed in Chapter IV. However, it is generally and convincingly maintained that such influences – and especially those from Egypt – increased with the building of the New Palaces in the late 18th century BC.3 For instance, it was in the MMIII period (that is, 1730–1675 BC) that Egyptian-style bathrooms and elaborate banquet

halls were built in the Cretan palaces.5

Most of the surviving paintings from Knossos belong to the later period. As discussed in Chapter V, Egyptian conventions appear to have dominated painting at least from the beginning of the Palatial Period. Thus, one cannot be certain exactly when particular Egyptian motifs arrived on the island. Furthermore, while some of the themes first attested in the MMHI period appear to be Egyptian or Levantine, many other motifs, such as those of dolphins, octupuses and other marine life, are distinctively Cretan.

Nevertheless, there is little doubt that there was an intensification of Near Eastern and especially Egyptian influence on Cretan painting at the beginning of MMIII. Some of the new foreign mouts, such as the winged sphmx, the griffin and the 'flying leap', will be discussed in detail below. Others, with less direct 'political' significance, can be considered here. These include partialges and hoopoes, portraved almost exactly as they were in Egypt. There are also reeds, which are painted precisely according to the Egyptian convention, and papyrus, which if it was grown in the Aegean was not common there, as it was along the Nile; here too there was close conformity to their representation in Egyptian paintings." The 'Nile scene' with a cat stalking or catching birds is attested in Egypt only from the New Kingdom," In the Aegean, however, it appears even earlier, in MMIII/LMI in Crete and, as we shall see, in 17th-century contexts from Thera and Mycenae. Nevertheless, the gradual development, since the Old Kingdom, of the different elements that make up the scene make it virtually certain that it originated in Egypt. Blue monkeys may have existed in captivity in the 18th- and 17th-century Aegean. This in itself would be an interesting indication of Cretan relations with Egypt and the rest of Africa. However, it would seem equally if not more likely that the Aegean artists were imitating representations of monkeys in Egyptian art.11

The general increase of wealth and splendour at the beginning of

the Late Palace Period also seems to be reflected in the great decline in the standard of pottery from the sensationally beautiful Kamares Ware of MMI and II. This has been plausibly explained as the result of increased use of metal, especially gold and silver." New styles of pots also show Egyptian influence and it was in this period that the fast wheel for pottery making first came into general use in both Egypt and Crete. It was also in MMIII that objects made of faience become common in Crete. The earlier centres of production were in Egypt and Syria. Finally, there is the famous lavishly decorated 'royal gaining board' found in the palace for which there are close parallels from 18th-Dynasty Egypt.

It is a striking fact that, while tombs provide one of the staples of Egyptian and Mycenaean archaeology, they are hardly considered in 2nd-millennium Crete. The reasons for this are twofold: firstly, there is the mass of information provided by the palaces and, secondly, there is the confusion about the extraordinarily varied burial prac-

tices. There are, however, some major tombs

The "Temple Tomb" just south of the palace at Knossos dates to MMIII-LMIa. This splendid building had a court, a crypt and a sepulchral chamber, with a temple built above the crypt. As Arthur Evans pointed out, this pattern was neatly paralleled by Diodoros' descriptions of a tomb of Minos in Sicily in which there was a tomb concealed beneath a temple of Aphrodite. Although there are no strict parallels between this and any Egypuan Junetaly complex, there is no doubt that the Cretan construction belongs to the general class of mortuary temples, which had been built often quite close to the tomb itself - in Fgypt throughout the 31d millenmum. As well as this general similarity of plan, there are also some details of the Temple Tomb, such as the painting of the ceiling of the crypt in blue to represent the sky, which are purely Egyptian. In Volume 4, I shall attempt to link this to the Egyptian sky goddess Nut, who was portraved above the mummy in the sarcophagus and on the ceiling above the sarcophagus. Nur's Greek equivalent Rhea, whose name came from Ref, the female counterpart of Ra, was also an underground divinity of tombs and she remained a central figure in the Cretan pantheon of

There is also a cemetery containing some rich tombs at Isopata, be tween Knossos and the modern Herakleion, dating back to MMIII. The largest 'royal tomb' there had a dromos or broad sloping passage to the tombs and a huge burial chamber; it probably had a corbelled vault eight metres high, which implies it rose above the ground to form a considerable mound. Corbelling had been used in Egypt and the Near East at least since the beginning of the 31d millerimum, yet

there is no evidence of any considerable use of it earlier in Crete. However, this may be simply because stone masonry was used only for the bases of buildings. Other tombs at Isopata have shafts two or three metres deep from which the tomb chamber was approached. This appears to have been a new type of tomb in the Aegean but was well known in much of the Near East, most outstandingly at Byblos where there is a royal cemetery of shaft graves dating back to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, which formed a grave circle of very much the same type that we shall consider below at Mycenae."

THE WEAPONS OF CRETE IN MMILI

Ever since Evans first created it, the attractive image of the peaceful, childlike Minoans has been enormously influential. This theory has at its basis the fact that there is no evidence for palace or city walls. However, it should be remembered that Sparta had no walls and then absence in Crete indicates merely a lack of outside influenty threat rather than a lack of interest in violence. In any event, a number of Cretan tombs of the MMIII period contain fine bronze weapons, strongly suggesting that the tombs' owners were concerned with fighting and warfare. There was, in fact, a striking development in MMIII of sophisticated daggers and swords.

It has long been noted that the bronze weapons of this period show a remainstable uniformity throughout the Middle East and Aegean. So much so that the archaeologist Rachel Maxwell-Hyslop, who catalogued the various types of daggers and swords, proposed that they must have been made by bands of wandering smiths, 'trained in the same school of metallurgy'.' Helck, however, convincingly dismisses the probability of this notion on the grounds that, firstly, there is no attestation of wandering smiths in Bronze Age texts and, secondly, the deportation of artisans reported in the 1st millennium be never referred to free workers and in Egypt weapon-makers were employees of the state. Indeed, in Chapter V Largued that one of the consequences ~ if it was not one of the intentions—of Sesöstris' conquests in the 20th century be was to transfer East Anatolian metal-workers to Egypt and the Levant.

To return to developments in Crete two centuries later, as Pendlebury wrote more than lifty years ago in his *The Archaeology of Crete*, which remains the standard work.

The bronze weapons show a distinct advance on those of MMI. The great sword of Mallia must certainly be regarded as an exception to that date and we are justified in saying that the sword as such is first found in MMIII.²⁶

The question of the origin of MMIII weapons manufacture in general and sword-making in particular has been considered very difficult. Nancy Sandars, who has written on the origin of the sword in the Aegean, argues that the sword was invented in the Aegean under Syrian influence.²⁷

The archaeologist and expert in ancient metallurgy Keith Branigan, who has studied the problem in great depth, maintains that the situation was especially complicated because—as I mentioned in Chapter IV—he believes that Minoan weapon-making had been substantially influenced by the Levant since EMITE* When it comes to the change between MMII and MMIII he finds no single origin and concludes with the compromise:

It is rarely that the mixture [of weapons during MMHI-LMI] does not contain some Syrian or Levantine element.... Despite these features' inspiration the weapons still have an Aegean rather than a Levantine appearance.²⁹

There are three types of daggers and swords that seem to be at issue here—those catalogued by Maxwell-Hyslop as 31, 32 and 33. Type 31 is characterized by 'flanged hilts'. The flanges allowed for decorated infaid hilts held in by rivets. The basic type is attested from the Hyksos levels at Tell Ajjul and Tell Fara in Palestine. It is impossible to be certain but this type of dagger also appears to be illustrated on some Middle Kingdom coffins, sometimes labelled mogac, that is bisgue, the word for dagger written with the determinative ^{X-5}. Thus, it may well have been part of the komê (common standard) of military technology of the late 20th and 19th centuries BC ⁵. A similar type of sword also appears in MMIII Crete and was later improved upon there

Maxwell-Hyslop's type 32 was generally found among daggers and short swords. These lacked the rivets of 31 and had a rather different ridged shape. They appear to have originated in Byblos in the 18th century and, although they have been found throughout the Middle Fast and in the Aegean, they are most common in Syro-Palestine.

Maxwell-Hyslop described type 33 as having a 'pointed blade with straight sides, plain flanged hilt cast together with blade; the sides of the hilt are concave, the base practically flat, and the ricasso rectangular shaped'. This type was the one which most commonly had inlaid blades, as, for instance, on the dagger decorated with a lion hunt of Nhimi who served the Hyslop saw this type as having originated in North Syria and its popularity in Hurrian-speaking regions during the Egyptian New Kingdom led her to believe it to be a Hyssos weapon, though later than types 31 and 32.31

What is clear from this is that, even within the close world of weapon types referred to above, there was a 'province' containing the Hyksos areas of Syro-Palestine, Lower Egypt and MMHI Crete in which there was a near identity of forms. It would also seem virtually certain that after the beginning of LMI innovations were made in the Aegean, some of which were exported to the Levant. It is also likely that the metallings of MMI and H played some role in the flowering of MMIII Nevertheless, I believe the probability remains that the basic weaponty of MMIII derived from the Hyksos zone in the Levant.

This view is drawn partly from the fact that it would fit with the direction of cultural diffusion in other areas, some of which have already been mentioned while others will be considered below. It is also because of evidence that can be retrieved from the Greek vocabulary of swords.

The Afroasiatic vocabulary of swords and daggers

The most common word for sword in Greek is xiphos. This name may appear in Linear B as qi-si-pe e^{35} . The broad-minded Indo-Europeanist Oswald Szemerényi sees this as indicating a form with a labiovelar initial $*k^a$ -siphos. However, he admits some surprise that this does not result in a later form *paphos. If think that postulating a labiovelar here may be a case of misplaced precision. It may simply be a rhyming velar and sibilant—as in ke-se-ne, xenos (stranger) and ku-su xyn or syn (with) — to indicate the presence of a velarized sibilant in a loan word. sign

In the 1850s, before the Aryan Model had triumphed over Egyptology, both Samuel Birch and Heinrich Brugsch proposed that xiphos was derived from the Egyptian sft, the Coptic sefe (sword, knife). The neatness of the fit has led several Egyptologists to preserve the etymology despite its being anomalous to the Aryan Model, but others

have not been so happy. 59

In 1912 the Egyptologist M. Burchardt tried to dismiss it on the grounds that xiphos could not have an Egyptian etymology because the Egyptians did not possess double-edged swords of the Greek type." However, both his premise and his reasoning were faulty. There is now absolutely no doubt that there were double-edged blades in Egypt during the 2nd Intermediate Period. Even if this had not been the case, it is a commonplace that innovations almost always borrow and change meanings from previously known similar objects. For example, there is the use of 'corn' by English settlers in America to describe the

previously unknown maize, or the application of the horse-drawn 'cai' for the new automobile. More closely related to this is the origin of the Egyptian word for 'dagger' bigsu from the earlier bigs (thorn). The weakness of Burchardt's arguments would seem to indicate his ideological difficulties with the derivation. These seem to be shared by most classicists, who, while perfectly willing to accept Phoenician names for luxury goods, have preferred not to discuss the possibility that a word for the super-weapon of the heroic age could have an Egyptian

origin.42

There is virtually no doubt that *yiphi* is a loan word, for not only is there the lack of an acceptable Indo-European origin, but there are a number of rregularly similar words in a pattern that is typical of loaning 15 Firstly, there is the dialect form of skiphos, showing the common Greek uncertainty over complex sibilants. Secondly, there is the word sēpia (cuttlefish). The usually resourceful Julius Pokorny was unable to find an Indo-European etymology for sepiu, and Chanti ame cannot accept Fraenkel's proposal to derive it from sepomar (be putrid) because of its ink," It would seem more likely that the gastropod gained its name from its internal 'blade' which looks remarkably like a Hyksos or Mycenaean dagger. This of course would be analogous to the English 'cuttle' of 'cuttlefish' which was influenced by, even if it didnot derive from, 'cut' or its extensions, 'cutler or 'cutlass'. Thus, upia could well be another foan from the Egyptian sft, the Coptic sefe, though both the initial s and the long e would suggest a later borrowing. The shift from Egyptian f to Greek p is paralleled in the derivation of the Greek kepos, kebos or keibos from the Egyptian gl (monkey) and in the origin of the Greek stem kapn- (smoke) from the Egyptian gfn (bake) written with the determinative & ('a brazier with flame, and smoke?] rising from it') " Similarly, the equation of the Egyptian I with the Greek ph, which would seem to occur in the borrowing of xtphos from sft, occurs elsewhere, for example in the transcriptions of such names and titles as -thphenis from tfnt, Kamephis from Ki mwt.f., Onnophris from Wnn whiw and Memphis from Mn nfr

However, in 1971 an Egyptologist challenged this plausible picture. The English scholar Richard Holton Pierce attacked the etymology on three grounds. The first of these was based on Burchardt's criticism. The second was almost equally improbable. Pierce argued that 'while the Coptic sefe shows that of a thad a long stressed vowel in its first syllable, the alleged loan of suphos has a short vowel in the corresponding position'." This demonstrates an extraordinary faith in the reconstruction of Ancient Egyptian vowels from Coptic. The more usual

view is that of Gardiner who wrote:

The disadvantage of Coptic is, however, its remoteness in time from the language upon which it is required to shed light; it would be as little legitimate to transfer the Copuc pronunciation of such a word as ob't' goose to the old Egyptian equivalent ipd as it would be to use modern English pronunciation as our authority for pronouncing Anglo-Saxon. The vowels and consonants of the older language have usually become modified in the course of time, so that the more recent equivalents can at best only serve as a basis for inference. (my italics) 47

Pierce's third argument, which is the only one with any value, is to question why the Egyptian initial z should have been considered a cluster of k, which is what both q-x1 and x1 indicate. This again would seem to be a case of insplaced precision. Firstly, there is no doubt that there has been considerable interchange between the different Greek sibilants. Secondly, there is the objection that Pierce failed to distinguish between the Egyptian x1 and z2. This is partly excusable because many Egyptologists consider that the two sibilants had merged in Middle Egyptian and there are confusions between x1 and z2 in the writing of x1, z1. On the other hand, it is striking that in Babylonian and Assyrian transcriptions of Egyptian made from the x1 thus, it is quite possible that at the time of loaning the form was x1, making the initial x1 rather more likely.

Nevertheless, while there is an undoubted equation between the Egyptian ξ and the Greek x in the transcription of the Labyan tribe the Mšwš as Maxyes, apart from s/2f to viphos there is no other accepted loan or transcription from Egyptian or Semitic ξ as x. In Volume 3, however, I shall argue in some detail that there are a number of loans involving this kind of transcription – notably xen (strange, foreign) from the Semitic (n) (hate) and xyn or syn (with) from a Semitic stem found in the Eblaite (n) (movement to, up to) and the preposition syn (up to, until, as far as) found in the Gunnan Gurage Semitic languages of Southern Ethiopia.

There is also xanth, not 'blond' but 'chestnut brown' and the 'colour and aroma of cooked meat' and 'sacred', which, I shall argue in Volume 3, comes from the Egyptian snfr (cense or consecrate). Sometimes confused with xanthos as a word of colour is xouthos. Xouthos' other and probably primary meaning is 'rapidly moving to and fro, nimble', used of bees, grasshoppers, etc. The Egyptian sutwit (to walk about, stroll, promenade) would seem to fit this very well. A possibility that the Egyptian word was not always reduplicated comes from the

Coptic sôt or sot (return or repeat) which has no other erymology and would seem to be related to sieter. Thus, there would seem to be quite a number of likely cases in which an Egyptian suppears in Greek as an x. Not one of the Greek words referred to here has an acceptable Indo-European etymology. 35

Whether or not any of the derivations I propose holds up, the loaning of sibilants is far too uncertain a matter for Pierce's objection on these grounds to block the conventional and thoroughly plausible

derivation of xiphos from sft.33

If viphos comes from Egyptian, phasganon, the other Homeric word for 'sword', which is attested in Linear B pa ka na, has no acceptable Indo-European etymology and would seem to be Semitic. 'Without the final (a)n, which is one of the commonest Semitic suffixes with very imprecise functions, the root is pg - Psg (cut in two) is found in the biblical place name Pisgāh, a mountain with a cleft. Although the medial is written with the letter sameh rather than with the letter sin, it would seem probable that psg is a reflex of a fricative lateral psg, which in turn is related to the root plg (divide, split), which is well attested throughout Semitic. "The latter stem seems to occur in Late Egyptian as png (detach or divide), written with the knife determinative sin. Thus, there would seem to be a high probability that the Greek phasganon came from a Semitic derivative of the root sin psg, and meant 'cleaver'.

It should be noted that the signs in Linear B with which the two words were written, qust per and paskasna, both indicate that if they are loans they were introduced before the breakdown of labiovelars in Greek; otherwise, qust per would have been pronounced *tisa per, and I also maintain that later loans from Afroasiatic sounds pa or bar were transcribed into Linear B with the sign for qu which was already a ho

mophone with pa.

The dating of the breakdown of labiovelars is uncertain and controversial, but it is generally considered that, although it may have taken place before the vowels it and yithe other labiovelars were still pronounced as such when the Linear B tablets were written. However, I shall argue in Volume 3 both that the spelling conventions of Linear B were established well before the 14th and 13th centuries to which the extant texts belong and that by that time the labiovelars had been transformed in most Greek dialects. In such a case, the introduction of the words siphos and phasganon would seem to have taken place by 1400 BC and possibly several hundred years before that. This would bring the introduction of the words into the same span as the first appearance of swords and advanced diaggers in the Aegean.

It should be noted at this point that the situation is complicated by

the fact that the dominant language in Crete during the first hall of the 2nd inflennium be may well have been a Semine one, and, if not, there is no doubt that dialects of West Semite as well as Egyptian were widely spoken on the island." This leaves open the possibility that even if the words xiphos and phasganon derive from Egyptian and Semitic roots they could have originated in Crete and therefore tell us little about the development of swords on or off the island. However, the fact that sft became a standard word for 'sword' in Egypt and was earlier used to mean 'knife' makes it very probable that it developed in Egypt itself. This is less clear in the case of phasganon, where there is no attestation of psg. psg or plg being used as the name of a sharp implement or weapon in the Levant. Thus, it is possible that phasganon has a Cretan Semitic origin, although a Mainland one would seem more probable.

In any event, taken together, the etymologies would seem to support the archaeological evidence in suggesting that Cretan swords and advanced daggers were introduced to the island from the Hyksosdominated regions of the Levant in the second half of the 18th cen-

tury BC.

The composite bow, horses and chariots

It was in MMIII that the 'composite' bow, in which the wooden stave is reinforced by strips of horn, first appeared in Crete'. This too seems to have had a Syrian origin. In Egypt, it appears to have been present from the 12th Dynasty but was reserved for the king and high personages and appears to have retained its association with 'Asiatics' in Egyptian representations.' Thus, its presence in MMIII would lit well with a Hyksos invasion.

The original introduction of the chariot to the Aegean will be looked at m more detail when we come to consider Mainland Greece. Here, however, it should be pointed out that the first Gretan representations of horses and chariots occur in MMIH. A sealing with a chariot drawn by two horses has been found from that period at the small palace at Aghia. Triada in the Messara Plain in the south of the island. The significance of horses in the New Palace Period is also shown by the discovery in an apparently royal tholos tomb at Archanes south of Knossos of the sacrificed and dismembered body of a horse.

THE FLYING GALLOP, THE SPHINX AND THE GRIFFIN

There is little doubt that the 'flying gallop' came late to Egypt as the first examples of its use are attested only from the 15th century is ''

On the other hand, it seems to have appeared almost simultaneously in Crete and Syria. In Crete it appears at the beginning of MMIH but it is also seen in Hyksos art from the Levant "Kantor's argument that such vitality had to be European seems to me less convincing than to associate the 'flying gallop' and a taste for hunting and combat scenes with the Hyksos way of life as we know it from other sources. The appearance of the 'flying gallop' was only one aspect of a development of movement and naturalism in Cretan art that began with the start of MMIH." Thus, in art as in architecture and metallings we gain a picture of the creation of striking new forms that drew from both Minoan tradition and the contemporary Hyksos Near East.

Now let us examine two specific motifs both connected with royalty and conquest. The name 'splinx' probably comes from the Egyptian stp enh (living statue) possibly used in the Story of Smuhe for splinxes guarding the palace of Sesostris "The composite of lion and man is first attested in Crete in MMII but its adoption and the appearance of the earliest winged splinx dates only from MMIII. Obviously, however, its origins in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotanna go far further back.

Although the monster is represented in both Egypt and Mesopotamia from the first half of the 3rd millennium, there seems little doubt that it began as a solar symbol in Egypt and that it was there that its winged form developed, probably by analogy with the griffin. It is certain, Lowever, that Syria always played a very important role in its iconographic development and dissemination. 8 It is also clear that, as André Dessenne, who has written a substantial monograph on the sphinx, described the situation during what he saw as the anarchy of the Hyksos period, 'Not only does it [the sphinx] not disappear, but it takes, can one say, new forces '69 Given the undoubtedly close relations between Egypt and Syro-Palestine during the Middle and New Kingdoms, Dessenne was surprised how seldom sphinxes appeared then, in comparison with during the 2nd Intermediate Period. This led him to the conclusion that the monster had a special significance for the Hyksos. He described the extraordinary frequency with which sphinxes appear on Hyksos scarabs. Dessenne also remarked on the wide variety of types, without wings, with wings, moving, still, standing, lying, crowned and uncrowned. Nevertheless, he emphasized how Syrian and un-Egyptian most appeared. He considered this surprising given the undoubtedly close contacts with Fgypt

Dessente maintained that the sphinx arrived in Crete at the beginning of MMHI. Furthermore, the forms it took in that period had Sviian origins. Dessente demolished the old Atvanist claim that there was a fundamental distinction between the male Egyptian sphinx

and the female Aegean one by demonstrating the great confusion of gender in both regions. However, he was reluctant to claim that the sphinx had been brought to Crete by Hyksos invaders. Writing in the 1950s, when the idea of a Hyksos invasion of Egypt was unfashionable and one of Crete unthinkable, he had to resort to the hypothesis of two simultaneous events:

. . . after the catastrophe that brutally put an end to the existence of the Farly Palaces, one sees the arrival of an orientalizing wave which it would be interesting to study—which brought with it a number of oriental motifs and themes including the sphinx and the griffin. Why should Crete have shown itself more receptive then? One can only speculate. It is possible even though there appears to be no break in community between the first and the second palaces, that there the shock created a vacuum . . . As we said in our first section, it is probable that relations between Crete and the Orient were greater in the Hyksos period than is generally believed.

This picture of the Cretan sphinx coming from regions under Hyksos control is repeated when it comes to the griffin. The griffin—a lion with the head of a hawk or eagle—also dates back in Mesopotamia, Elam and Egypt to the 4th inflemium. Its existence in Egypt and Syria throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms meant that it could have been borrowed by Cretans at almost any time. The first example of the creature's representation on the island comes from two seal impressions found at latest levels of the old palace at Phaistos. The Austrian ancient historian Eritz Schachermeyr argued that this was probably the result of Egyptian influence—However, Anna Maria Bisi, who has written a monograph devoted to the griffin, maintains that:

Iwo firm points seem already established in the development of the Cretan griffin, that it does not appear on the island before Middle Minoan III 1700–1580 [1730–1675 in this book] BC and that from the beginning it was not an autonomous creation but an import from outside the region, Syria in the 2nd millennium

Reconciliation of these two statements is not as difficult as it might appear. Firstly, as with so many 'breaks' in history or the archaeological record, there are a number of instances in which phenomena associated with the new period appear in small numbers at the end of the previous one. Secondly, Schachermeyr's preference for Egyptian influence, which follows that of Arthur Evans, as opposed to Bisi's for Syria, which was also that of Henri Frankfort, is just another example

of an uncertainty expressed about this period in many different areas of archaeology, art history and, for that matter, in the Ancient Model itself; Herodotos, for example, was uncertain as to whether the ancestors of the Spartan kings were Egyptian or 'Assyrian'." The answer is clearly that during MMIII both Southern Syria and Lower Egypt were under Hyksos control. This combination can be seen clearly in the case of the griffin. In a brilliant article written in 1936, Henri Frankfort compared the konography of the griffin in the Aegean and New Kingdom Egypt, and on seals from Mitanni and Middle Assyria, and established that it was a creation of the Hyksos period. Bisi completely accepts this view. Bisi completely accepts this view.

The representation of the griffin is not a trivial matter of concern only to art historians; it has a vital political significance. Like the sphinx, the griffin seems to have started as a creature that protected the pharaoh. Nevertheless, it always had its aggressive, rapacious as pects and—while it kept its royal connotations—these became dominant in Syria in the first half of the 2nd millennium. This aspect of its nature, together with its temporal and spatial coincidence with the Hyksos, make it virtually certain that the griffin was a symbol and supporter of Hyksos royalty. This would correspond with the functions of what seems to be its Canaanite equivalent, the *kriûb* (cherub), which in the Bible is a fantastic and varied creature supporting the throne and chariot of God.⁸⁰

The word kerûb is well-tooted in Semitic, being found in the Akkadian karûbu or karîbu, and the idea that it is connected to the Greek gryps grypos (griffin) was proposed by many 19th-century scholars. It later fell into disfavour despite the mability of lexicographers to find an Indo-European etymology. In 1968, however, the classicist and Semitist John Pairman Brown used a massive corpus of biblical, Greek and Latin texts to demonstrate that the Greek gryps and the Hebrew krûb had strikingly similar appearances and functions and that there was no possible reason to deny the etymology. However, Brown did not speculate on the date of the loan. The word 'griffin' does not occur in Hesiod or Homer and it is possible that the borrowing took place during the 'orientalizing' period in the 6th century BC, when, in fact, the griffin was a very frequent motif. In the light of the considerable iconographic evidence from the Bronze Age, the linguistic loan probably took place in the 2nd millennium.

Given the predominantly Semitic-speaking composition of the Hyksos, it is very likely that the beast was already called $kar\hat{u}bu$, $kar\hat{u}bu$ or $k^{\alpha}r\hat{u}b$ in the 18th century $BC_{i}^{(\alpha)}$. The use of the name in the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age is made more likely because, running,

flying or hunting, the griffin was one of the most frequent images in Late Minoan and Mycenaean art. Most striking of all is the evidence that pairs of griffins were painted on the walls on either side of the throne in both Late Palatial Knossos and Mycenaean Pylos. This suggests that they were a standard symbol of royalty throughout Late Palatial Crete and Mycenaean Greece. The Cretan pair probably belong to the EMH period and should be dated to the first half of the rifth or 15th centuries and the Pylian ones were even later. Thus, it could be suggested that the griffin was a purely Mycenaean symbol. However, it will be argued in Chapter XI that the Greek takeover of Central Crete did not take place until the beginning of EMHLA, that is, after the Knossian griffins. Furthermore, there is enough attestation from smaller objects to show the importance of the motif in MMHL and LMIA and enough circumstantial evidence to indicate its royal connotations in those periods. **

Thus, with the griffin as with the sphinx, there appears to have been a direct influence on the iconography of Cretan royalty in MMIII from Hyksos-controlled Syria and Egypt.

Was There a Hyksos Invasion of Crete c, 1730 BC^2

At the beginning of the ceramic period MMIII, all three palaces on Crete were destroyed and rapidly rebuilt. Although there was clearly continuity from before to after the destruction, there were enough changes to justify archaeologists and ancient historians in describing it as the only break in Cretan palatial culture. Most of these changes—in architecture, tomb construction, painting, minor arts as well as in the making of bronze weapons—indicate a combination of local developments with the borrowing of styles and techniques from Egypt and Syria. Some of them, such as the introduction of the chariot—or at least the knowledge of it—suggest specific contact with the Hyksos. This Hyksos connection is further indicated by the introduction of the flying gallop and of the two royal emblems, the splints and the griffin, in their Hyksos forms.

What explanation is there for these new features and the destruction of all three palaces? There is no doubt that during the 20th century there has been a strong preference to explain these and other destructions in any way rather than that of an invasion. Such 'sound' and undramatic explanations have sometimes turned out to be mistaken. For instance, the archaeologist Leonard Woolley made an extremely plausible case in 1953 that the seventh city of Alalakh in

Northwestern Syria could not have been destroyed by foreign invasion of However, a Hittite text discovered in 1957 showed that the city had been destroyed by the Hittite king Hattusili I around 1700 BC of In Crete, the seismic explanation remains predominant, although the archaeologist Sinclair Hood has tried to explain the destructions in terms of internal warfare of Would it not be more economical to propose that the palaces were destroyed by Hyksos 'princes' who established themselves as rulers in Crete?

Arthur Evans saw the changes at this time as evidence of 'new ethnic ingredients', but he insisted that they were not enough to suggest a 'foreign yoke'." Most modern scholars would not even accept this degree of infiltration and insist on the continuity between 3000 BC and the 'Greek' invasion of the island around 1400 BC. Although Frank Stubbings maintained that Hyksos princes had settled the Argolid in the early 16th century in his article on the early Mycenaeans in the Cambridge Ancient History, which itself was generally unpopular, the idea that there should have been Hyksos rule of Crete in the 18th and 17th centuries is unthinkable today. "2

There are a number of examples of land-based 'barbarian' conquerors adapting to the sea. While it is true that the Mongols did not conquer Japan, there is no doubt that they were able to imister and construct large fleets and mount major expeditions. Despite strong Roman prohibitions against any subject instructing barbarians in ship-building or navigation, the Germanic tribe of Vandals were able to seize much of North Africa and dominate the Western Mediterraneau by naval force for many decades in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

In the case of the Hyksos – as discussed in the last chapter. Bietak's excavations at Tell el Daba'a have revealed that they were deeply involved in navigation and he himself has linked this activity to Gyprus and Crete. It his new light on the Hyksos has not yet been absorbed by historians who still tend to consider as absurd the suggestions made by Eduard Meyer and other ancient historians of the early 20th century that there was Hyksos rule in the Aegean Meyer is supposed to have based his case largely, if not exclusively, on the alabaster lid found in a MMHI level at Knossos with the name of the Hyksos pha raoh Khyan." However, it is a travesty of their thinking to reduce the foundation of their hypothesis to this single object. Their overall concept was based on what they saw as similar transformations of Egypt and Crete at the same time. It has a similar transformations of Egypt and Crete at the same time.

Nevertheless, the main challenges to Meyer's ideas are based on the lid, especially since a parallel find of Khyan's name on an obsidian cosmetic box at the Hittite capital. As the latter has been plausibly

explained as a gift from the pharaoh to the Hitute king, it has been argued that the Cretan find was the same and that, far from demonstrating the existence of a Hyksos empire, it indicates a concert of independent powers; thus the find merely indicates the existence of contacts and not of an empire. The Egyptologist and art historian Stevenson Smith accepted this but was unwilling to discredit Meyer and wrote: 'Meyer's penetrating intuition nevertheless gave imaginative emphasis to the signs of increasing contact [of Egypt] with the Aegean and Syria which are even more evident today.' It would seem to me plausible to take Meyer slightly further than this and to see the 'increasing contact' as a sign of some kind of confederation of Hyksos princes at times under the hegemony of the Egyptian Hyksos pharaoh. However, given the wealth and splendour of the Knossos palace, it would seem likely that the rulers of MMIII. EMIA Knossos were kings or hegemons over the other princes in the Aegean.

Archaeological evidence, discussed below, indicates that there was close attachment if not direct rule of at least some of the Cyclades. The massive Cretan influence on the material objects found in the shaft and other graves of the Early Mycenaean Mamland would seem to strengthen the legends of Theseus and the annual Atheman tribute to King Minos and the Minotaur, these legends indicate some kind of Minoan 'thalassociacy' or maritime empire with some kind of suzerainty over Mainland states. At a recent conference on 'The Minoan thalassociacy, myth or reality?', the majority of the participants, while rightly not wanting to see an absolute equation between the two, believed that the legends chiefly referred to the beginning of the New Palace Period. 99

As mentioned above, Stubbings maintains that there was a conquest of parts of Mainland Greece, though not of Grete, by Hyksos princes I believe that the same probably took place in Grete. In their attacks on Meyer's image of a Hyksos empire, Schachermeyr and Helck pointed out that gifts similar to the ones found at Knossos and the Hittite capital were sent during the Middle Kingdom to the rulers of Byblos and other Syro-Palestinian princes. This leads us back to the arguments discussed in Chapter V on the nature and extent of Egyptian power or influence over the Levant in the Middle Kingdom Nevertheless, no one doubts that Byblos, which was a dependency of Egypt during most of the 12th Dynasty, received gifts from its pharaohs. Thus, it is quite clear that the pharaoh could send personal gifts to rulers under his suzeranty

To sum up this section, we know that all the Cretan palaces were destroyed at some time around 1730 BC and that when they were

rebuilt they showed slight but significant changes, many of which resemble contemporary trends in the Hyksos-dominated Levant and Lower Egypt. In particular, we know that the symbols of the sphinx and the griffin, which have plausibly been associated with the Hyksos royalty and conquest, appeared for the first time in Crete in MMIII. We also know that there was contact between Crete and the 'Hyksos region' in the succeeding decades.

There is another piece of evidence pointing in this direction, the so-called 'Hieroglyphic Deposit'. This is a number of sealings found at the palace at Knossos precisely on the destruction level between MMH and MMHL. The name comes from the Cretan hieroglyphs found on them, but as Friedrich Matz put it in the Cambridge Ancient History.

Apart from seals with decorative designs and hieroglyphic characters, there are some with pictures which have no precedent in Crete, Egypt or the East for the directness of their reproduction of nature.

It is likely, as Matz suggested, that some precedent for these could be found in Gretan gems from the preceding MMH. Nevertheless, it would seem that a major ingredient was the eclectic and vital 'Hyksos international' style discussed in the last chapter. Two of the most remarkable of the sealings were the naturalistic portraits of a mature and fully bearded man generally known as 'the ruler' and of a young beardless man, 'the prince'. The portrait of 'the ruler' resembles the portrait (mentioned in the last chapter) found on a pot found in a 'Hyksos' grave from Jericho and a seal from a Shaft Grave and the golden royal masks from Mycenae, which will be discussed below." 'H these were, as has been generally supposed, the portraits of rulers, the possibility that they were Hyksos barbarians would seem quite high.

All mall, while there is no direct proof that Crete was conquered in the late 18th century BC by Hyksos warriors from Lower Egypt, it would seem more economical to employ this hypothesis than to agree with Andre Dessenne that there had been two events—a mysterious destruction of the palaces at the end of MMII followed by an openness to foreign influence—especially given what we know of the newly established and very aggressive Hyksos. 11

THE HYKSOS IN THERA?

There is no doubt that, if the Hyksos conquered Crete, they formed only a thin veneer over what was already a well-established and so-phisticated civilization. Thus, almost immediately after the hypo-

thetical conquest, the Hyksos barbaric influence on material culture disappeared into the Minoan tradition and that of the cultivated East Mediterranean as a whole.

The situation would have been rather different to the north of Crete While, as discussed in Chapters II and III, there seems to have been considerable Egyptian and Levantine influence and a high level of local civilization there in the 3rd millennium, the indigenous culture was at a rather low ebb at the beginning of the 2nd millennium. Thus, the cultural influence of any Hyksos colonizations on the Greek Mainland would have had a much more lasting impact.

Furthermore, just as the greatest 'Hyksos' influence on Egypt was the introduction of neighbouring Palestinian culture, it would seem likely that in the Aegean the greatest influence of a 'Hyksos invasion' would come from Crete. Thus, while the Egyptian Hyksos would seem to have been Indo-Aryan-Hurrian-Semitic and those in Crete would be Indo-Arvan-Hurrian-Semitic-Egyptian, those in the Cvclades and Mainland Greece would have been Indo-Arvan-Hurrian-Semitic-Egyptian-Cretan. If such complexity seems improbable, one has only to look at the Hunnish-Turkish-Transan-Gothic nature of the invasions of the Western Roman Empire of the Viking-French (Italian) combination behind the Norman Conquest. It should also be noted that in each of the historically attested cases, the neighbouring culture was the most influential. Thus, in terms of material culture in the Aegean as a whole, one would expect to see an expansion of Minoan forms and styles and to the extent that Crete had been Semitized and Egyptianized one would expect to find an introduction of these cultures in the realms of myth, religion and language.

Archaeological evidence from Thera

The Thera eruption and its dating have been discussed at length in Chapter VII. Here we shall sumply consider some aspects of the considerable remains of the culture destroyed by the explosion. Before coming to the sensational finds at Akrotiri, it would seem useful to mention the two finds from elsewhere on the island that would seem to indicate some contact with the Hyksos

The first of these are three juglets in the Tell el Yehudiyeh style, exhibited at the Thera museum. The identification of the Tell el Yehudiyeh style with the Hyksos has been contested, but despite dubious cases the overlap between the two is overwhelming. There is also doubt about the provenance of the juglets, which could have been brought from Egypt to Thera in modern times. As they are undecorated and not characteristically Egyptian, this would seem unlikely. It would seem best to accept the judgement of the Swedish archaeologist Astrom that they were taken to the island in ancient times, as were the similar juglets found in Cyprus. There is also a sword said to have been found on Thera which is decorated with the Syrian technique of mello referred to in the last chapter in connection with Hyksos art.

Among many other things that the Thera eruption destroyed was the town now known by the modern village name of Akrotiri. This was overwhelmed by volcanic debris and created what the archaeologist Christos Doumas has appropriately called a 'Pompey of the Ancient Aegean'. As mentioned in Chapter VII, in 1939, Spyridon Marmatos put into academic form the widespread belief that Minoan civilization had been destroyed by the Thera eruption in about 1450 BC. It was this, he maintained, that had allowed the Mycenaeans to conquer the region. Marinatos was unable to test the hypothesis until the 1960s, but then he began a well-funded and equipped excavation of the site he believed to be the most promising. The results were sensational. Within hours, the archaeologists discovered a city, and over the subsequent years they have excavated a dozen or so splendidly preserved buildings sometimes two storeys high; technical difficulties and archaeological scrupulousness have, however, prevented further digging of what is clearly a much larger site. 100

Nevertheless, the town has shown the high level of sophistication of life in the South Aegean in the 17th century be. Its culture shows close affinities to that of Crete. The scanty remains of writing of the period, from Thera and other Cycladic islands, are in the Cretan Emeai. A. Weights from Akrotici mostly conform to Cretan and hence Middle Eastern metrology. There were many Minoan stone vessels at Thera and it is estimated that 6.5 per cent of the pottery was imported, mainly, as one would expect, from the northern and eastern

parts of Crete. 109

There appear to have been rather fewer contacts with the Greek Mainland, with only 2.5 per cent of the potiery coming from there Even so, there are parallels with pottery found in Shaft Graves and there appear to have been special connections between Thera and the Argolid in the Northeastern Peloponnese and the islands of Melos, Kea and Kythera in the ceramic period MHIII between 1730 and 1675.

Cycladic container vessels have also been found in MMIII Knossos However, it has been plausibly argued that from the Cretan point of view the Cyclades were essentially stepping-stones to Mainland Greece. On the other hand, wider contacts on at least a commer-

cial basis would seem likely in the light of the facts that Cretan lead weights from the MMIII period contain lead from the Laurion mines in Attica and that other metal objects contain copper from there and from Laconia as well as gold from the latter. Thus, there would seem ample archaeological evidence to back the many Greek legends concerning a Minoan 'thalassociacy', and the particular tradition of a Minoan settlement and distribution of land on the Cyclathe island of Keos. 113

Egyptian and Near Eastern objects have also been found at Akrotin just below the eruption level. There are nine gypsum vases, which are probably Syro-Palestinian, and a mumber of tripod stone mortars that may also be so.344 There is also a Levantine 'Canaanite Jar' with the standard shape and volume common over much of the East Mediterranean throughout most of the 2nd millennium. In addition, there is one possibly Egyptian alabaster jar and two ostrich egg rhyta of, at least ultimately, African origin. 115

In her massive study of the Thera murals, Lyvia Morgan makes the interesting and crucially important though paradoxical point about

the greater number of Levantine objects:

... the iconographic evidence suggests a slightly different emphasis, there being more connections with Egypt than with the Near East, Ideas may have infiltrated from the one via the other or, indeed, via Crete, but the possibility of direct contact between Therans and Egyptians should not be ruled out. 'Invisible' importsexports are inevitably a spectral presence and among them are ideas and images.116

The apparent paradox of the greater number of material finds from the Levant and the greater extent of Egyptian intangible influence is a general phenomenon throughout the Bronze Age Aegean. As Lyvia Morgan suggests, it is best explained as the result of contacts through Byblos and the other Semitic - though heavily Egyptianized - Levantine ports in the counter-clockwise trade we shall be looking at in-Chapter XI. Meanwhile, we should turn to the fascinating and important iconographic evidence from Thera

The Theran frescoes

The most sensational finds at Akrotiti were a number of frescoes, which were even better preserved than those found by Arthur Evans at Knossos. From the Theran paintings, it has been possible for the first time to gain some understanding of their overall structure and -

with the use of Egyptian parallels to speculate interestingly on their function. There is now little doubt that they were not merely decorative but had general religious and specifically cultic significance. Furthermore, scholars are agreed that the Theran mutals have both local and more general features. They are similar but not identical to the Cretan frescoes. They also have close relations to the Near East. As Nanno Marinatos puts it in her study of the frescoes,

Naturally, there were important difference between Crete and the Orient but the similarities were more basic. An Egyptian would not have felt totally alien in Crete. . If we are going to approach Minoan mentality at all, and that is all we can do in the absence of written records, we have to see Crete and Thera as part of the larger world of the Ancient Orient. 118

I shall be looking at the implications of the frescoes for Egyptian influences on Greek mythology in the fourth volume of this series. Here we are concerned with what they reveal about Theran society at the

time when they were painted.

In this respect, the most revealing murals are two narrow bands, which have been interpreted in a number of ways. Most of these distinguish the two, along the general lines that one portrays an urban and rural scene and what seems to be a naval battle and the other a ceremonial flotilla of ships moving from a city sited at the mouth of a river flowing from mountains to a welcome at another city, which is generally thought to be Akrotua itself

The art historian and Aegean archaeologist Karen Pollinger Foster sees the two panels as an integrated whole. She draws many precise parallels to back her contention that the whole scene is an Aegean version of the Egyptian Heb Sed festival in which there were a number of competitions and ceremonies to celebrate the jubilee and rejuvenation of the pharaoh. 25 This may be a case of misplaced precision, but even so the frescoes contain many indubitable features of Egyptian

ceremonies.

The frescoes' most ourstanding features are the portrayal of sophistication and luxiny of life and a high degree of social stratification There are clear social 'class' contrasts in dress, in positioning and, most strikingly, between the oarsmen and paddlers and the idle passengers seated under parangums of in private cabins.

The detailed pictures also reveal for the first time a great deal about the construction and rigging of a number of different ships. These show many features that are Egyptian and some that are Levantine and local Cycladic Distinguishing these strands is extremely difficult

as there had been borrowing of forms and equipment among these regions at least since the 31d millennium. In general, all that can be said is what the Israeli maritime archaeologist Avner Raban concluded in his detailed study of the Thera ships:

The Theran ships represent a fusion of Cycladic, Cretan and Egyptian naval traditions. Many Egyptian elements appear in the ships; some are characteristic of contemporary Egyptian vessels, while others can be traced back to Predynastic times a

Another interesting feature of the ships in the 'nautical procession' is that the ships in it are not sailed or rowed but paddled from a standing, bent-over position. As a number of writers have pointed out, this method of propulsion of such large craft was both inefficient and out of date by the 2nd millennium. The nearest parallel of such paddling of a large boat comes from a 5th-Dynasty (r. 2500 BC) relief from Saggara. From these features, they plausibly conclude that the ships were going only a short distance on a religious procession for which there was a desire for archaism appropriate to a Heb Sed or other ceremony.123

Despite this strong Egyptian presence, there is no doubt that the chief cultural influence on these paintings is that of Crete, seventy miles to the south. There are, however, interesting and probably significant differences between the Theran and Cretan pictures. The most striking of these is the representation in Thera of warfare that is absent from the paintings so far discovered in Crete. What is more, the warriors are wearing belmets made of boars' tusks, a feature that had previously been seen as distinctively Mycenaean. 4 However, as Lyvia Morgan points out, the boars'-tusk helmets here are of a 'zoned' type found in both Crete and Mainland Greece and 'marginally more' in the former, where they date back to the MMHI period. 22 No swords are represented on the Theran murals but the association of swords with royalty in archaeological finds from the Middle Fast and the Aegean at this time, as well as in Greek legends of the heroic age, would make this absence unsurprising by The 'tower' shields which the soldiers in the murals are often seen as using have also been found in Crete, especially from the MMIH and LMIA periods. 4 In general, Lyvia Morgan points out how difficult and arbitrary it is to try to distinguish between the Minoan and Mycenaean features of the people portrayed on the Theran frescoes.128 The idea of Mycennean features at Thera at this time is especially striking, when we realize that the frescoes date from before 1628, not to around 1450 or 1500 BC as Matinates and other archaeologists have supposed.

Some garments resemble the shaggy coats of Near Eastern and Acgean shepherds. Karen Pollinger Foster relates these to the designation of some of the royal entourage as rustics at the Heb Sed festival. 'Unlike Minoans, Mycenaeans and Egyptians, many of the men in the Thera murals are represented as wearing long, enveloping garments, which in their most elaborate forms had single or double bands around the hem and a band around the neck " Somewhat similar robes, also with coloured piping, are found in the portraits of princes of Tump and Kadesh in Syria on Egyptian tomb paintings from the reign of Luthmösis III in the 15th century. Despite the temporal and geographical gaps between Thera in the 17th century and 15th-century Syro-Palestine, this resemblance in clothing, together with the representation of a 15th-century 'prince of Keftiw' (Crete) as a fully clothed Levantine, would suggest the possibility of Hyksos prestige if not rule in pre-gruption. Thera ' 'Morgan does not note this parallel. She does, however, record that a number of scholars have pointed out that the additional piece of fabric hanging behind the shoulders of certain significant possibly priestly - Theranfigures 'has a long history in the Near Fast' going back to Sumerian

There has been considerable debate on the locality of the town from which the procession of ships sets out. Peter Warren and other scholars maintain that all its features can be found in the Aegean. Other scholars can find no Aegean parallels for a town at the mouth of a river flowing down from the mountains, or for the flora and fauna, especially the bon which is portraved hunting deer in the mountains. While there were bons at this period in continental Greece, as Nanno Marmatos points out, 'it is unlikely that lions roained on the dry Aegean islands'. It is also interesting to note that the Greek words for bon, leôn, the Mycenaean rewo- and lis come from the Egyptian rw and the Canaanite lays respectively.

Spyridon Marmatos argued on these geographical and biological grounds that the first city was in Libya and he was supported in this by the English classicist Denis Page and the Italian archaeologist S. Stitchi,. They maintained that the spectacular mountainous coast, full of exotic flora and fauna, with a river tumbling down to the sea around the city, could not have been set in the Aegean. Marinatos remitorced this with parallels he saw with Herodotos' descriptions of the appearance of Libyan tribes, the shaven head with hairlock, large earnings; circumcision; armour, clothing and the nakedness of drowning figures. * Marinatos drew attention to the African characteristics of two boys boxing, portrayed on another mural.

These arguments have been attacked from the isolationist stand-point by Lyvia Morgan. She argues that the painting is nothing like the flat East Libvan coast and even the mountainous coast of Circhaica lacks the capes and islands, let alone the major river. On the human characteristics, she points out that, although Labvan children and youths had shaven heads and hairlocks, so did Egyptian ones, that large earrings were present in the Aegean, that the pictorial evidence that Therans were circumcised is fanciful, and, in any event, the Libvans were not circumcised; that the similarnies of armour and clothing are wrong, and that it was a common convention to portray the enemy dead as naked. Most of these points are valid.

However, in denying a specifically Libyan connection, I yvia Morgan is admitting a more general African connection in the harlocks and the negroid appearance of many figures in Thera and elsewhere in the Aegean. Thus, there would seem little doubt that the Theran artists were familiar with Blacks either at home—as personal names discussed in the next chapter would suggest—or in Africa or, most likely, in both—Similarly, while Lyvia Morgan weakens the case for a Libyan landscape, she is unable to argue against the distinctively African animals and plants. However, neither Morgan nor Marmatos and his allies have considered another coast that would seem a much more likely prototype, that of the Levant. There sacred rivers poured down from mountains to the sea near such major cities as Byblos and Sidon.

Nevertheless, while Morgan is clearly right to point out that there is something fantastically exotic about the landscape, there is no escaping the conclusion that directly and indirectly. Therains had not only considerable knowledge of Crete, Egypt and the Levant but also some awareness of other parts of Africa.

As mentioned above, the various boats that make up the flotilla processing between the two cities are strikingly similar to Egyptian vessels. Lyvia Morgan has made a very convincing case that the Theran fresco portrays a celebration of spring and the opening of the navigation season. This, of course, has no strict parallel in Egypt with its very different seasonal pattern. However, she goes on to point to the precedents of the Babylonian Zagmuk lestival on the Euphrates and the Egyptian New Year 'Opet' festival of boats along the Nile. In all of these as well as in the nautical processions of the Heb Sed, ships were put in perfect trim decorated with garlands and the whole population came out in festival, as on the Thera mural.¹⁴

Another miniature fresco in the same room is known as the 'river scene'. The archaeologist Doumas describes it as follows

On both banks of a meandering river wild beasts are shown among palm trees and other exotic plants and bushes. Predominant among the beasts is a griffin at a flying gallop, a spotted panther-like feline stalks a group of ducks and below the griffin there is a galloping deer. . . . Both the flora and the fauna led Marinatos to recognize a North African landscape, which further supported his Labyan theory. 142

The presence of both the griffin and its flying gallop is fascinating. As argued in the last chapter and above, both the mythical animal and its motion appear to have been hallmarks of the Hyksos princes in Syria and the Aegean. Although there were some rivers in Labya in the 2nd millennium BC, the river in the fresco would seem more likely to be an idealized vision of the Nile. In support of this is the fact, mentioned above, that the feline stalking or catching ducks is a common theme in Egyptian painting. Thus it would seem that Spyridon Marinatos has put forth a convincing case for his claim of an African prototype for this scene.

Egyptian themes can also be found in the paintings from other buildings at Akrotiri. These contain representations of Egyptian plants, such as the papyrus, which — as in Grete—is not represented realistically but according to Egyptian convention. There are also many representations of East African antelope and monkeys. Although these may just possibly have existed on Thera and Grete, their general association with Africa is undoubted. Here, as with the hon, there is a common word for monkey—the Egyptian g(w)f, the Akkadian ukupu, the Canaanite $q\delta p$, the Sanskrit kupih and the Greek $k\delta pos$ or kebos. The lexicographer Chantrame follows the 19th-century Semitist Lewy in deriving all of these from the Egyptian $e^{i\phi}$

Spyridon Marmatos was convinced that the painters of the frescoes were intimately in fouch with Libya, Egypt and the Levant. He saw this as evidence for his hypothesis that Greece had been invaded—by Greeks—from these regions in the early 16th century, at the end of the Hyksos period. Since he dated the eruption at least half a century after the deteat of the Hyksos he had some difficulty with this. As he wrote in 1974,

We cannot as yet suggest definite dates. All antiquities unearthed at I hera show that the town was buried about 1520 to 1500 B.C. under the ashes of the tremendous volcanic explosion that took place then. The 'African' fresco should be assigned for preference to the turbulent Hyksos period with which some scholars have connected the legend of Danaos and Aigyptos.¹⁴

We now know that the eruption was in 1628, which, of course, puts it before the traditional date for the arrival of the heroic colonists. Given the earlier contacts referred to above, there is, in fact, no need to associate this detailed knowledge of the Near Fast with any putative settlements. Nevertheless, the military connotations of the frescoes still make Marinatos, association with the Hyksos attractive. This is possible if one accepts the Revised Ancient Model's dating of the colonizations, not at the end of the Hyksos period $\epsilon = 157\%$, but at its beginnings at the end of the 18th century is

THE ORIGINS OF MYCENAFAN CIVILIZATION

It has been mentioned above that there appear to have been special connections between Thera and the Argolid, in the Northeastern Peloponnese, and the islands of Melos, Kea and Kythera in the ceramic period MHIII between 1730 and 1070 BC. It has also been suggested that these led on to a relationship between Crete and the Greek mainland. ¹⁹ This is, of course, the period in which the earliest of the famous Shalt Graves of Mycenae in the Argolid must be dated.

The Shaft Graves were first discovered by Hemrich Schliemann in 1876 AD. Disregarding current academic opinion and following Pausanias' precise description of the site. Schliemann ding inside the citadel of Mycenae, where he very quickly hit on the extraordinarily rich remains of what later came to be called Grave Circle A. He immediately identified them with Agamemnion and his family, but the 'barbaric' 'un Hellenic nature of the art immediately made this attribution unpopular and in fact it is now universally acknowledged that the richest tombs belong to the beginning of the Mycenaean period, not the end when Agamemnon was supposed to have flourished. 'S for many decades, this circle was believed to be unique, but in the 1950s a second cemetery called Circle B was discovered and excavated.'"

Although the cemeteries in which the Shalt Graves are found contained some cist graves—or stone lined boxes—for contracted bodies from the earlier Middle Helfadic period, the Shalt Graves themselves seem to date from MHIII. Unlike the earlier cist graves they were larger, ranging from 4.5 metres to 6.4, and much deeper—from 1 to 5 metres. Some way down the shalt a wooden roof was set across it. The dead were laid full length and, especially in Cricle A, they were covered with rich ornaments and some had striking gold masks. Many were also surrounded with an extraordinary profusion of bronze spears, swords and daggers, gold, silver and bronze vessels, as well as ones of alabaster, rock-crystal and pottery.

Unfortunately, there are no traces of buildings associated with these early graves at Mycenae. This may be because of the considerable construction in Mycenae at the end of the Late Bronze Age. On the other hand, some scholars, influenced by what they see as the nomadic style of some Mycenaean art, have suggested that the rulers buried there lived in temporary wooden structures and that the layishness of their burials should be compared to those of the nomadic Scyths a millennium later. 199

This idea would seem to be reinforced by a Semitic etymology for the toponym. The traditional origin of the name Mykenar is from mykes, 'mushroom' and by implication 'knob', which would be appropriate for the hill upon which the citadel is built. This, however, is generally dismissed today. The the 1890s, the American Assyriologist W. Muss-Arnolt derived it from the Semitic m'konah (fixed resting place, base). The form mknt is found in Ugaritic and the masculine mkn is attested in Phoenician 1.5 A more plausible candidate would seem to be the Ugaritic toponym Mhnt (the Hebrew Mahaneh), 'camp', or Mlmm (Hebrew Mahanayîm), 'two camps'. In West Semitic. settlement names often appear in the dual form, apparently reflecting an upper and a lower city. This suffix, asim, would seem the most plausible origin for the common Greek practice of referring to cities. with their duality of the acropolis and the lower town in the phinal with ar for example. Athenai, Thébai, etc. Either of these Semitic etymologies would seem better than the vague one put forward by the German writer of the latest book on Ancient Greek place names, Adolf Fick. Fick proposed in 1905 that Mycenae was related to Mykale and Mykalessov and was Carian. He could not divine any meaning for them, and the relation between these words would seem simply to be that all have the Semine and Egyptian locative prefix in

Even if the name Mycenae originally meant 'base' or 'camps', the density of early Middle Helladic pottery at Mycenae itself makes it inflikely that any hypothetical invaders were camped away from the native population centres and there is no doubt that there were towns in the Argolid in the 17th century BC. Despite the fact that there are no archaeological traces of urbanization in Early Mycenaean Mainland Greece, there are village sites from Central and Northern Greece Furthermore, we know from representations in contemporary Crete and Thera and from the actual remains at Akrotni, as well as ones on the islands of Kea and Melos, that there were many multi-storeved 'Mediterranean' cities around the Aegean at this time ^{1,6} Indirect evidence comes from Mycenae itself, where a battered and fragmentary silver *rhyton* has been found decorated with the picture of the siege of a city of this type; the city could possibly be Mycenae itself. ¹⁵⁷

Nevertheless, there is no physical evidence of any palace or major city on Mainland Greece during the ceramic periods M1111 and LHL that is, between 1730 and 1600 BC. Apart from the unrehable chances of preservation, the most likely reason for this absence would seem to be the continuity of Mycenaean civilization, that is to say the sites of the first Mycenaean cities continued to be built on—and frequently—for the next five hundred years, thus obliterating the carbet structures.

In order, therefore, to reconstruct society on Mainland Greece in the late 18th and 17th centuries, we have to rely very heavily on graves and their contents. The Shaft Graves are not the only spectacular tombs from this period. Substantial tholos tombs, sometimes with rich grave goods, have been found in Sparta and Messenia in the Southern Pelopoimese. More recently, splendid 'royal' tumuli with pottery from the MHIII period have been excavated at Thorikos and Marathon in Attica. At one of the Marathon group it appears that, as sometimes occurred in Central Asian tombs, a horse had been killed on its roof, and at another, later one, a team of horses had been sacrificed in front of the tomb.

Shalt graves, tholor and tumuh

Shaft graves were not restricted to Mycenae. Examples from the Late MHIII, and LHI. the 17th century be have also been found at Lerna in the Argolid, Fleusis in Attica, the island of Skopelos north of Enbora and Leukas in the Ionian islands to the northwest. It is commonly but mistakenly believed that the earliest Cretan shaft graves were dug in LMII, after what has been seen as the 'Mycenacan invasion' of the island, whereas in fact they date back to MMIII. Outside the Aegean, there are close parallels in the royal shaft graves that have been found from the 3rd inflemnum at Alaca Huyuc in Central Anatolia. The Shaft graves sink into the ground or slanted into rock faces were common in Syro Palestine in Middle Bronze. Age IIB is 1760—1600 be the Hyksos period—and they became common in New Kingdom Egypt. These did not have wooden roofs—but, as the archaeologist Oliver Dickinson put it.

The essential feature of the grave type is not that it is cut into rock of roofed with wood, but that the grave is constructed in the lower part of the shaft, which after the earliest examples was always of considerable depth.¹⁶

The classicist and archaeologist NGT. Hammond, who has consistently championed the importance of northern influences on Greece,

has argued that shaft graves and the walled circles of shaft graves originated from the wall round single tumuli found in what is now Albania and Epiros. 'This theory has not been well received because of stratigraphical difficulties and major differences not merely between tumuli and shaft graves but between Albanian and Greek tumuli ¹⁰³

Some scholars believe that the Shaft Graves developed out of the cist burials of the early Middle Helladic period, maintaining that the relatively poorer graves in the somewhat earlier Circle B helped bridge the enormous gap between the very poor, crouched, shallow cist burials of the Middle Helladic and the deep and spacious splendour of the Shaft Graves. To take a recent example, the Belgian archaeologist Oliver Pelon sees them, and the circles within which they were set, as the result of a meeting of two traditions - the Cretan monumental circular tombs and family burials and the native Helladic traditions of cist graves and occasional high-status tumuli. 10 my mind. this conclusion demonstrates the futility of refusing to look beyond the Aegean. Although set in a circle, which was possibly walled, the Shaft Graves are neither circular nor monumental, nor does a single cist grave resemble larger chambers frequently containing a number of bodies. Other scholars also find such continuity difficult to accept For example, Frank Stubbings argued in his article in the Cambridge Ancient History:

Whether this collective use of a tomb by itself is a significant departure from the Middle Helladic practice of a single burial is debatable; the personal grave and the family vault can exist side by side in one period and culture. Again, the change from contracted to extended posture might simply be the result of using larger graves. But still the access of grandeur, the prodigal use of hitherto unparalleled riches, has to be explained, and in the grave goods themselves there are numerous innovations of form and decoration that hardly allow us to regard these burials as a natural development and elaboration of Middle Helladic practice. 154

Or, as Emily Vermeule put it with wonderful succinctness, 'Speaking honestly, there is nothing in the Middle Helladic world to prepare us for the furious splendor of the Shaft Graves' "If the Shaft Graves came, or were at least stimulated, from elsewhere, where should we look? The archaeologist of Anatolia Machteld Mellink, and James Muhly see the connection with the very similar graves at Alaca Huyuk and postulate influence across Anatolia to the Aegean, which they see reflected in other aspects of material culture and language." There are both temporal and spatial difficulties with relating Alaca Huyuk to

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Mycenae, as the Anatolian tombs are at least five hundred years earher than the Greek ones and there are no other similar tombs geographically between them. On the other hand, the resemblances are striking, and it might well be possible to see an Eastern Anatolian tradition, transmitted to the Aegean. Though the transmission could have occurred through Anatolia or around the north of the Black Sea, the most likely route would be with the Hyksos, through Syria and Egypt and Crete to the European Mainland (this will be discussed further below).

Stubbings and Marinatos, who on other grounds prefer to see the influences as coming from Egypt and the Near Fast, are interestingly silent on the question of the graves themselves 1. Although they lack the wooden roots of Alaca Huyuk, the shaft graves of 'Hyksos' Syro-Palestine and those of New Kingdom Egypt and Crete do offer some interesting parallels. Van Seters points out that those of Hyksos Palestine appear to have been restricted to the rich and that, as at Mycenae, the burnals were nearly always multiple, though there were some single ones. Another striking parallel is that with the royal cemetery at Byblos, which started during the Egyptian (2th Dynasty) in the 19th century and continued for seven hundred years, and was made up of shaft graves set in a semi-circle. 1 This would fit well with the plausible theory that at least the later tombs in Circle A at Mycenae were those of the kings of a distinct dynasty, or members of a restricted elite. 5 In general, then, this type of burial could possibly reflect earlier Anatolian influence and certainly indicates contemporaty Syro-Palestinian influences.

The other type of princely or royal burial common in early Mycenagan Greece were the tholos and the tumulus (1) The origins of the tholos in Crete have been discussed in Chapter 1. Despite some differences in form, there would seem no reason to doubt that its appearance at the end of MHIII in Mainland Greece and its increasing popularity and construction on a massive scale there in succeeding centuries was the result of the Caetan influence, evident in other aspects of Mycenaean material culture. As mentioned in Chapter I, tholor were first built in Crete in Neolithic times and they continued to be constructed as late as MMH and to be used in EMIA. Thus, there is no problem in arguing that they were introduced to Greece from the island in MMIII 11 However, the similarity of theler to pyramids may indicate some indirect Egyptian influence. The tumuli may possibly reflect some native Helladic survival. On the other hand, their apparent links to the Shaft Graves' Circles, which some scholars rather implausibly argue were originally covered by tumuli, would seem to show that they too were the result of Eastern influences 1

Burials and grave goods

Before coming on to the specific nature of the burials and grave goods of the Shaft Graves, it would seem useful to consider them and their social implications in general. The expense and elaboration of the graves would seem to indicate two things, the wealth available in the society and striking social differentiation. As has been mentioned above, the latter is also shown by the exclusive circle of graves. The huge quantities of weapons makes it clear that whether or not the individual buried was an outstanding warrior, warfare and military provess were important and desirable features. Thus, we are clearly considering the burials of a martial clite.

The only information to be gained from the physical anthropology of the skeletons is of their extraordinary variety. This is true for all social strata at Mycenae although the privileged appear to have been slightly taller. This could have been the result of better nutrition, of

elite interbreeding or selection for size 127

The gold-leaf death masks are the most distinctive objects from the Shaft Graves. The idea for them may well have come from knowledge of Egyptian minimies. However, their most striking features, which are distinctly un-Egyptian, are their strong beards and moustaches. The nearest contemporary parallels to these are the Hyksos pot from Palestine and the sealing from the 'Hieroglyphic Deposit' precisely between MMH and MMIII at Knossos.

One almost universal characteristic of early Mycenaean burials is that the bodies were stretched at full length. They were not crouched like those of the Early Middle Helladic nor cremations like those of what seems to be the Indo-Aryan tradition or of the Homeric heroes at the end of the Mycenaean period ¹⁷. As mentioned above, the bodies were lavishly bedecked with ornaments and jewels and heavily at med with bronze weapons. In at least one case, the body appears to have gone through some primitive minimification and this, together with the use of gold masks, has suggested to many scholars some knowledge of Egyptian burials. ¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, they are clearly not Egyptian minimities and sarcophagi

The Shaft Graves do, however, show some striking resemblances to the much poorer contemporary Hyksos graves found at Tell el Daba'a. These too had inhumation and the unmummified bodies were buried wearing their bronze weapons, which were very similar to

those from Mycenae.181

The Mycenaean tombs in Circle A had stelae, often with representations of chariots, set in front of them and the early Marathon tu-

mulus had the bones of a small horse, while a later one had a pan of horses sacrificed in its drimos. Similarly, the grander of the tombs at Tell el Daba'a had equids and carts buried in front of them. The major difference between the deep Shaft Graves, cut into soft rock or earth, and those at Tell el Daba'a is that the latter were shallow and brick-lined. On the other hand, this was inevitable given the fine soil of the Delta and the high water table. Thus, there would seem no reason to doubt that the rock-cut Shaft Graves of Palestine represented the major Hyksos style of burial.

The grave goods at Mycenae came from an extensive geographical range. There are ostrich eggs from Nubia, lapis lazuli from Afghamstan through Mesopotamia, alabaster and faience from Crete, raw ivory from Syria, silver from Anatolia, Hungary and Spain, rockcrystal from the Alps and amber from the Baltic. *- There are many Cretan objects and Stubbings and other scholars have identified some Egyptian pieces, in addition to the ostrich egg. These include a crystal bowl in the form of a duck, a sycamore box with applique ivory figures of dogs, and a faience vase. 85 The bowl, the vase and the duck seem to be Egyptian, but the ivory applique, which looks more Syrian, is more problematic. There is also a splendid lapis lazuli scarab of the Hyksos period of undoubted Egyptian provenance. 54 At a more practical level the grave goods included flint arrowheads, which, according to H. L. Lorimer, 'were almost certainly imported from Egypt' 85 All these goods show that there were direct or indirect trading or other contacts between Mycenae, Egypt and the Near East in the 17th century BC. If we want to investigate the origins of Mycenaean culture. however, we must examine the sources of the Mycenaean objects themselves

The sources of Early Mycenaean material culture

These have in the words of one scholar 'a promiscuous quality'. They appear to draw on a huge range of artistic styles, some known and others not. Nevertheless, three of these seem to predominate. Minoan or Cycladic, native Helladic and 'barbaric off-legyptian'

The Minoan and Cycladic influence on Mycenaean Mainland Greece is present from the beginning and increases until the 15th century with the Mycenaean domination of Crete. Despite this and the strong Greek tradition of King Minos' domination of parts of Mainland Greece, no scholar since Arthur Evans has proposed a purely Minoan invasion to explain the culture of the Shaft Graves.

This would seem to be because of the apparent lack of Cretan precedents for the 'barbaric off-Fgyptian' style

There is no doubt about the continuity of pottery styles, MHIII continues during the Shaft Grave period and although Late Helladic shows Minoan and other 'Mycenaean' traits, there seems no doubt of some continuity from the earlier period. Some scholars have used this to argue that the developments at Mycenae and elsewhere were indigenous ones based on local agriculture and trade with an increasingly prosperous Europe. 49 Against this, however, are not only the extraordinary changes in all the other aspects of material culture, but also what several archaeologists believe to be signs of widespread destructions during MHIII. This is true of the two key regions of the Argolid and Airica, and as the excavators of Kirrha and Kirsa in Phocis have written, 'In many places the constructions of MHIIIb rest on a layer of ashes, the presence of which fits well with the hypothesis of an invasion'.18 Spyridon Marinatos tried to reconcile the continuity of pottery with what he was convinced had been an invasion by the strange argument that there had been 'an identity of blood' between the natives and an invading group 11. There would seem to be no need for such contortions. Pottery is a technique or art form of the poor and therefore this survival of Middle Helladic material culture can easily be accommodated in theories, which have been widespread over the past century, of invasion by a warrior elite

The German ancient historian F. Grumach, who argued for the late arrival of the Greeks, pointed out, in support of an Arvan invasion at this time, that the word for potters' clay keramos and those for a range of vessels—kantharos, aryballos, lekythos, depas, phiale—were non—Indo-Fairopean. ⁹² However, the original stem keram- is concerned not with the clay but with the potter and metal-worker as a craftsman. It has a plausible etymology in the Egyptian kim, an attested variant of km 3 (hammer out, create). The Greek kantharos is a word with an extraordinary multiplicity of meanings, including 'scarab' and a 'mark on the tongue of the Apis Bull'. It would seem to come from an Egyptian form ki up (holy spirit). Depas must derive from the Egyptian dpt (boat or vessel). ⁹³ As no one suggests that the original population of Greece spoke Egyptian, this part of Grumach's argument must fall. Nevertheless, his general point on the fundamental and conservative nature of

pottery remains.

In the areas of higher art and technology, there are complete breaks from the native tradition. As mentioned above, there is a strong Minoan influence on many of the jewels and smaller objects found in the tombs as well as on decorational motifs, such as 'inverted pillars', 'horns of consecration' with birds, bulls' heads and double-axes, women with open bodices, the dolphin and the octopus."

Other decoration, however, is 'barbaric off-Egyptian' or, as it was described in the last chapter, 'Hyksos international'. Early Mycenaean ivories are full of leaping and tapacious hons, griffins and distinctive 'Mycenaean' splunxes of the Syrian type that appeared in Crete in MMIII. Early Vermeule has pointed out how similar many of the motifs—stags and other animals back to back, mythical beasts with curly manes, etc.—are to Scythian and other art of the Steppe from the 1st millennium BC. Ames Muhly does not claim any direct connection with Scythian art but he is convinced of and convincing about the 'common nomadic background' it shares with some of the Mycenaean motifs. His discussion, in this connection, of the arrival of the horse and chariot will be taken up below

The Syrian origin of the technique of niello was discussed in the last chapter and there are some magnificent examples of it from Mycenae. The motifs of the Mycenaeau niello are those familiar from Hyksos Syro-Palestine and Egypt, as well as MMHI Crete - lion hunts, animals in flying gallop and the 'Nilotic scene' of a cat catching birds referred to in the discussion of the Thera murals. Although there are some unique swords and daggers, the metallurgy and basic patterns of the many weapons found in the Shaft Graves belong to the Syro-Cretan school discussed above. The question of the arrival of the chariot on Mainland Greece at this time will be discussed below.

In summary, the grave goods from Mycenae and early Mycenaean art both indicate extraordmarily varied origins—from the Aegean, Eastern Anatolia, Syro-Palestine and Egypt—Such a complicated pattern requires equally complicated answers.

THE ARYANIST MODEL OF INVASION Greek mercenaries

Despite the continuities from the native Helladic tradition, and the emphasis laid upon them by isolationist scholars, there are simply too many discontinuities which cannot be explained without a massive outside stimulus. ²⁰¹ Given the extraordinarily military orientation of Mycenaean society, the most planishle explanation for this is a violent invasion from abroad. As Spyridon Marmatos put it:

All these radical innovations can be explained only by external causes: just before 1600 Bt. [I would put it a century earlier] a few well organised groups of professional warriors invaded Greece.

They possessed a new weapon, which had a tremendous effect upon the simple agricultural people of Greece, the chanot and the horse [I would add the sword].²⁰²

If one accepts the premise of an invasion, one has to postulate its place of origin. Given the proximity and striking similarities between Shaft Grave Mycenae and Cretan culture of MMIII and pre-cruption. Thera, the most likely base would seem to be Crete and the Cyclades Nevertheless, as mentioned above, no modern scholar has argined for a purely Minoan invasion, because there are simply too many other influences involved.²⁰⁵

Probably the most popular hypothesis was that held by Marinatos himself, that the new invaders were Greeks who had returned from Egypt after helping the 18th-Dynasty pharaoh Amosis expel the Hyksos. "Evidence for this is seen in the statements of the pharaoh that the Hi(w)-nbw were his followers and that his queen Ahhotpe was 'mistress of the Mediterranean islands'. "The plausible identification of Hi(w)-nbw with the Aegean will be discussed in the next chapter but here it would seem useful to note that Amosis' statement would seem more likely to be a claim of suzerainty than a reference to any mercenaries.

This 'mercenary' hypothesis would satisfactorily explain both the Helladic continuities and the 'barbaric off Egyptian' element of the Shaft Graves and ideologically it would provide the least painful kind of Near Eastern invasion. However, the re-dating of the Thera eruption to 1628 makes it utterly untenable. The Hyksos were expelled between 1575 and 1550 BC and the earliest Shaft Graves were dug in the MHIII ceramic period, which ended $\epsilon=1075$ BC, that is, nearly a century before the Greek mercenaries allegedly arrived. The same chronological considerations make the association between the arrival of Danaos and the expulsion of the Hyksos seen by proponents of the Ancient Model equally untenable (see below).

Indo-Europeans

Before discussing this second set of hypotheses, it is necessary to point out that, as with the mercenary hypothesis, they were formulated before the establishment of the high date for the Thera eruption. Thus, all of them are approximately a century too low in their reconstructions.

The possible links between the royal tombs at Alaca Huyuk and the

Shaft Graves have been discussed above, but, when proposed by Muhly and Drews, they have to be seen as part of an irregular variant of the Aryan Model. Instead of envisaging the Indo-Europeans as arriving in Greece c, 2200 BC at the end of FHII or in 1900 BC (conventionally seen as the start of the Middle Helladic), this variant sees them as descending on Greece in the 17th century. Such a 'heresy' unlike the one that sets the arrival of the Indo-Europeans with the Thorian Invasion' or 'Return of the Heraklids' in the 12th century could, according to some contemporary scholars, be accommodated in present theories of Greek and Indo-European historical linguistics.200 The scheme appears untenable to me, because I believe conventional wisdom is plausible when it maintains that by 1700 BC the language of the Steppe was not proto. Indo-European but distinctively framan." Furthermore, we know that the language associated with chariotry in the Hurrian kingdom of Mitamir was Indo-Laman or, more specifically, Indo-Arvan 308. Thus, if this region is seen as the origin of the Shaft Grave culture or the latter's arrival is to be linked to charjots, this cannot explain the origin of Greek as a language which is neither franian nor Indo-Arvan. 209

Despite this fundamental difficulty, the appeal of linking the arrival of the Indo-Europeans to the arrival in Greece of the chariot – that symbol of the 'master race' – has proved irresistible. As the Indo-Europeanist William Wyatt put it in his article on 'The Indo-Europeanisation of Greece'.

My conclusion is mextucably bound up with the chariot; if a chariot, or evidence for a chariot, is found in Greece dating from before 1600, then my argument will lead me to assume that the Greeks arrived at that earlier date. **

Wyatt is not the only scholar to be overwhelmed by this appeal. It was proposed by the classicist C. D. Buck in 1926 and was strongly supported by Martin Nilsson, the historian of religion, in 1933. More tecently, it has been revived by Wyatt, James Muhly, Leonard Palmer, the Dutch ancient historians R. A. van Royan and B. H. Isaac and most recently the classicist Robert Drews. Nilsson based his case on such arguments as the megaron or hall with a pitched roof of an allegedly northern type having first appeared at the beginning of the Late Helladic (this has now been disproved) and on the presence of Baltic amber beads in the Shaft Graves. However, these were also widespread in New Kingdom Egypt and no one would propose a northern conquest of that country on this basis.

Nilsson and the later scholars relied most heavily on the culture of

the rulers buried in the Shaft Graves. They argued that the venetation of the graves in later Mycenaean times showed that the early kings must have been 'Greeks'. This by no means follows. In the quotation from Herodotos with which I opened Chapter I of Volume 1, the historian maintained that the Spartan kings, for whom legitimacy was of extreme importance, were believed to have been of Fgyptian or Syrian ancestry. This is more than a significant analogy, since the Spartan kings saw themselves as Heraklids, that is, descendants of the pre-Pelopid dynasty at Mycenae.

However, the chief arguments of these scholars, which do retain some force, are that not only do the Shaft Graves resemble the Last Anatohan and Caucasian royal graves but also the barbaric style of Mycenae does bear striking if intangible resemblances to the nomadic styles of the Steppe. In addition there is the important point that the chariot, the Indo-European and Indo-Aryan involvement in which has been discussed in the last chapter, undoubtedly first appeared in Mainland Greece about the same time as the Shaft Graves. What is more, the stelae engraved with chariots that marked many of the royal graves clearly demonstrate that in Greece, as in Southwest Asia, chariots were associated with nobility if not royalty. " This association helps solve another great problem of the Arvan Model, the massive survival of Pre-Hellenic in the later Greek language and culture, since it is more easily explained in terms of a small-scale elite conquest than by the mass migrations proposed by the supporters of an earlier invasion.

In his article on the subject, James Muhly postulates a first invasion of Greece from the northeast around 1700 BC. Muhly understands the essential point that the Anatolian languages are not Indo-European in the narrow sense. So he argues against an invasion from Anatolia and for one coming from the Caucasus, the Steppe and the Fastern Balkans.² He also knows that by 1700 BC the Steppe was framan-speaking, but he believes that this difficulty can be overcome by what he sees as a special relationship between Greek and Indo-Iranian.²⁸

Here, Muhly based himself on the hypothesis of a number of Indo-Europeanists, that there is a special relationship between the Greek and Indo-Iranian branches of the Indo-European language family Despite considerable uncertainty on the significance of the different isoglosses, there is a general view that at one time speakers of the languages that became Greek, Armenian. Phrygian and Indo-Iranian lived in proximity to each other. On the other hand, it is also believed that Indo-Iranian divided into Indo-Aryan and Iranian in the

late 31d millenmum. If this is the case, the divisions between Indo-Iranian and proto-Greek must have been earlier still. 20 Thus, the argument that the speakers of proto-Greek arrived in Greece from the Steppe, where they had been in contact with Indo-Iranians, with the break in MHIII around 1700 BC is untenable on linguistic grounds.

On the archaeological side, although Muhly can point to Mycenaean contact with the Balkans, Northern Europe and with the Trialeti culture in the Southern Gaucasus further to the north, he can find no physical trace of his hypothetical migratory route." There is of course no legendary support for such a scheme.

Drews explains the lack of archaeological evidence by postulating that the chariot-riding Indo-Europeans moved from Armenia to Greece by boat. He is able to argue convincingly that, as there appears to have been no difficulty about shipping horses and chariots at the end of the Late Bronze Age, there is unlikely to have been any five hundred years earlier, given the same technology; it should be noted that light chariots could be relatively easily dismantled.42 Drews is able to back his argument with iconographic evidence from a LMII seal which shows a horse in a ship. He could further have strengthened his case by pointing out the fact, discussed above in Chapter II, that Poseidon was the god not only of the sea but of horses and chariots. Furthermore, just as his Egyptian counterpart Seth received passionate devotion from the Hyksos, Poseidon appears to have been the most frequently worshipped deity in Mycenaean Greece 223 In general, however, as with the Buck and Nilsson theories in the 1920s and 1930s, the theories of Muhly and Drews fail not only because they have no traditional backing but because Greek is not an Indo-Aryan or even an Indo-Iranian language and because there is no evidence of any kind showing the path of migration from the Caucasus to Greece. Nevertheless, they do contain the tantalizing truths that there are artistic parallels between the two regions and that the chargot, which appears to have been crucially important in war fare and social structure, developed somewhere to the south of the Caucasus and reached Greece in the period of the Shaft Graves.

It was to preserve these advantages and to try to overcome the difficulties that the Dutch ancient historian Jan Best hit upon the desperate expedient of claiming that the Hyksos were the original Greeks. In an erudite pamphlet he issued in 1973, Best argued that the population of Greece from 2100 to 1600 BC was Thracian, that is, speaking an Indo-European language, but that there was a real cultural break during MHIII, which he puts around 1600. This he attributes to a Hyksos invasion. Omitting the Hurrians, he uses Helck's very cautious

opinions to argue that the Hyksos were 'intermingled' Semites and Indo-Europeans and then quotes an unpublished paper of Matija Gimbutas claiming that they could have been Indo-Europeans. Best also cites Eduard Meyer on the possible Hyksos conquest of Crete and from there goes on to postulate a conquest of Mainland Greece.^{2,5}

It will be noted that there are many points in this scheme with which I agree, but there are even more on which I do not. Firstly, it suffers from the same flaw as those of Muhly and Drews, that, even if there were Indo-Aryan speakers among the Hyksos, Greek is not an Indo-Aryan language. Secondly, there is no doubt that any putative Indo-Aryan speakers among the Hyksos were certainly outnumbered by Hurrians. Thirdly, as I have argued at length in the last chapter, there is absolutely no doubt that the vast majority of the Hyksos in Lower Egypt were Semitic in both material culture and language. Any one of these objections would be enough to sink Best's scenario. The three together make it a complete non-starter.

BETWEEN ARYAN AND ANCIENT FRANK STUBBINGS

Stubbings's hypothesis set out in his article on 'The rise of Mycenaean civilization' in the Cambridge Ancient History has been treated in Volume 1,220 Unlike the scholars discussed above, Stubbings believes that Greece was Greek-speaking long before the 17th century is and therefore he is not obliged to go through their contortions to get the Greeks into Greece. Also, unlike many modern archaeologists, Stubbings takes the Ancient Model very seriously. He believes that it is necessary to look at both archaeology and the ancient traditions simultaneously:

Thus the legendary conquest of Danaus, and the arrival of the new dynasty at Mycenae, which seems necessary to explain the efflorescence of material culture we observe in the Mycenae Shaft Graves may be regarded as one and the same thing. That is to say that, in tune with the tradition, we may postulate the conquest of the Argolid by some of the displaced Hyksos leaders from Egypt in the early 16th century B.C. By so doing we can readily account for the Egyptian imports or influences in the graves, and for the introduction of war-chariots.²²⁷

In this way then Stubbings was working within the Ancient Model. In deed one of the chief flaws in his scheme is his fidelity to its canon that the Hyksos arrived in the Argolid as 'suppliants' after their expulsion

from Egypt by the 18th Dynasty. The 16th century BC is when the ancient chronology of the Parian Marble set the arrival of Danaos and when modern chronology puts the expulsion of the Hyksos. "This perfect conjunction is marred by the fact that even before the redating of the Thera eruption, it was generally acknowledged that the earliest Shalt Grayes came from the 17th century. Now, we know that they have to have been dug even earlier, nearer 1700 than 1600 BC. Thus, this part of his scheme and of the Ancient Model is untenable; this will be discussed further below. His mistaken chronology has another important consequence. As there is no significant break in Cretan culture in the 16th century, Stubbings cannot, as Eduard Meyer did, see the Hyksos as having conquered Crete. Thus, his scheme has no mention of the island and leaves the implausible picture of the Hyksos having bypassed it on their way to Mainland Greece.

While these failings come from too rigid adherence to the Ancient Model, Stubbings's other flaw comes from his fidelity to the Aryan

one. He continues the passage quoted above.

That then arrival is not accompanied by any more wholesale Egyptianizing is perfectly compatible with what we know of the Hyksos in Egypt. There they introduced little but new military techniques and organization; they do not represent a mass movement of population; rather they were a military caste, taking over the highly developed Egyptian civilization as a going concern. They introduced no new language, for their few official inscriptions the native Egyptian served.²²⁰

I think there are real problems with his analysis of the impact of the Hyksos in Egypt. Despite the new discoveries, we still know very hitle about the Hyksos period there. In the long term, however, there is no doubt that, despite the resurgence of Egyptian nationalism and culture in the 18th Dynasty, a major cultural transformation did take place during the Hyksos period. Furthermore, the excavations at Tell el Daba'a show that Stubbings's image of the Hyksos as purely a warrior caste has to be discarded. While Hurrian and Arvan elements were small, the Hyksos invasion also involved a mass movement of Syro-Palestinians into at least the Northeastern Delta." Nevertheless, numbers are likely to have been smaller when it came to overseas voyages to Crete and beyond.

Furthermore, as stated above, I do find the common analogy between the Hyksos and the Mongols a frintful one. Like the later peoples of the Steppe, the Hyksos seem to have had their own vital but 'barbaric' art forms. However, their chief long term cultural im-

pact seems to have been in transmitting other civilizations — Semitic into Egypt and 'Minoan', Levantine and Egyptian into Greece, etc. Thus, the Shaft Graves reflect both the barbaric style and the cultural mixture. While these elements tended to disappear in Egypt and Crete with their strong traditions of civilization, Helladic Greece was much more susceptible to change and therefore the Hyksos would be likely to have had an altogether greater influence in both material and non-material culture. Nevertheless, for Stubbings, as for any scholar reared in the Aryan Model, any profound Greek borrowings from Egyptian or Semitic culture or language were unthinkable.

Historiographically, Stubbings's position is a return to the arguments of Fhirlwall and Holm, that, though there may have been Egyptians and Semites in Greece, it did not matter because they had had no long-term effects. It was a break with the crude racism of the period 1885—1945. Nevertheless, Stubbings, like Thirlwall and Holm, firmly rejected the essential aspect of the Ancient Model, which saw Egyptian- and Semitic speakers as having played a central and essen-

tial role in the formation of Greece.

Conclusion: A Revision of the Anglent Model

At the outset of this section, I want to stress that at this point I depart from the Ancient Model, according to which there is no doubt that Danaos and his fellow voyagers settled in Greece in the 16th century is and that this settlement was associated with the Egyptian expulsion of the Hyksos. This is because the archaeological and contemporary evidence will not allow for any such invasion at this time. Although I have a great respect for the historical knowledge and judgement of the Greeks in Classical and Hellenistic times. I do not believe that they were infallible. Sometimes they were clearly too creditious and exaggerated the age and geographical extent of conquests and migrations to impress their readers. At others they seem to have minimized both, presumably for some of the same reasons that caused Marco Polo to tell only half of what he had seen and that make scholars cautious today—to avoid awkward gaps, to appear sober and reasonable and to be believed by their audience.

On the other hand, if one revises the Ancient Model in this respect and maintains that the Hyksos arrived in the Aegean about 1730 BC, at the beginning not the end of their rule in Egypt, a remarkably coherent picture emerges that is able to explain many, if not most, of the puzzling features of the events in Crete and the extraordinary mate-

rial culture of the Shaft Graves and other Greek tombs of the Farly Mycenaean period. However, while disagreeing with its chronology, I want to insist on the essential plausibility of the Ancient Model's scheme of colonization. Archaeological evidence does indeed tend to strengthen its case that there were landings on Greece in general and the Argolid in particular by fleets from Egypt of Egyptians, Syrians or Hyksos and that the outsiders established long-lasting heroic dynasties.

I now want to emphasize the positive features of the schemes of Best. Muhly and Drews and the other scholars. It is clear that the break represented by the Shaft Grave culture is too great to be explained without postulating a major stimulus from outside Greece and that, given the wallike nature of the society and the traces of destructions that have been discovered, it is most likely that the stimulus took the form of an armed invasion. It is also clear that the invaders were armed with two important new weapons—the chariot and the sword—and that these originated in the region south of the Gaucasus and Syria respectively. Associations with these regions would seem to be confirmed by the techniques and styles of many of the objects tound in the Shaft Graves and contemporary tholor from late 18th-and 17th-century Greece and possibly by the form of the Shaft Graves themselves.

As Muhly, Stubbings, Best, Drews and the others are agreed, the key question is how and by what means these were transmitted. The northern routes have a triple disadvantage. Insily, there is no archaeological evidence to back them; secondly, they cannot explain the considerable Syrian, Egyptian and 'off-Egyptian' elements in the Shalt Grave culture; and, thirdly, there is no ancient mention of them. Then only advantages would seem to be ideological in that they allow for the introduction of 'Eastern' culture without involving Egyptians or Semiles.

Best saw that all of the disadvantages could be overcome if one identified the transmission of sub-Caucasian culture to Greece with the Hyksos migrations, for which there was both historical and archaeological attestation. Furthermore, such an identification would explain the 'southern aspects' of the culture of the Shaft Graves. Unfortunately, these perceptions were vitiated by his linking the Hyksos movement to the arrival of the Greeks. Apart from its inherent absurdity, discussed above, this led to a huge exaggeration of the role of the Aryans within the Hyksos.

Although there are, of course, many differences, I think that perhaps the best analogy to the Hyksos conquest of Greece is the familiar

one of the Norman Conquest of England Danes and Norwegians had seized Normandy and formed an independent duchy, then own military ethos and élan together with French and Italian civilian skills then created a powerful combination of forces that was able to conquer many parts of Europe, notably England, where they established a relatively long-lasting dynasty. The important point to note is that the Normans did not introduce Norse culture and language, they introduced French and Latin and a modification of the French feudal system. It was from these long-term linguistic and cultural contacts that the modern English language and culture emerged, Similarly, 1 argue that the middle-range result of the Hyksos conquests in the Aegean was the introduction of the Near Eastern palatial system to Mainland Greece, probably in the form already present in Crete. In the long run. I believe, their chief function was to introduce Egyptian and West Semitic culture and language, which in the succeeding centuries mixed with the native Indo-European-speaking population to form what we now know as Greece and Greek.

What I propose is that at least some of the owners of the Shalt Graves, and the long-lasting dynasties that succeeded them, originated in what we should now call Kurdistan, covering Eastern Anatoha, Northern Syria and Mesopotamia and possibly the Southern Caucasus. In the first half of the 18th century BC, people there, speaking Indo-Aryan and Hurrian, formed the nucleus of the grouping that the Egyptians called the Hyksos. Although the archaeological exidence is ambiguous, it seems likely that by the middle of the century they had dominated large areas of Syro-Palestine and that the move ment very quickly became 'Semitized'. Thus, it would seem very likely that, though some of the leaders may have continued to speak Hurrian and possibly even Indo-Aryan, the *lingua franca* was West Semitic (with Egyptian as the language of high culture). This was the native language of the vast majority of those in the migrations. In the 1730s or 1730s the Hyksos moved into Lower Egypt, where a pharaomic dynasty was set up, to which most, if not all, the Hyksos princes owed some allegiance. Very soon after this, expeditions set out for and conquered Crete, the Cyclades and the fertile plains of Southern Greece

The speed of the movement was such that even in the short life spans of the time, one man or woman could have seen the whote process. Rapidity would also explain, for instance, why several gold diadems from the Shaft Graves have no Syrian, Egyptian or Cretan models but have as their closest parallels similar types found at Assuring the north of Mesopotamia from between 2000 and 1700 BC, it would also explain why another diadem resembles kassite work. It

will be remembered that the Kassites overwhelmed Babylonia at very

much the same time as the Hyksos entered Egypt 🖾

Such rapid movement, which was far faster than the Norman migration to Normandy and conquest of England, would provide a general explanation for the relative purity of the 'barbaric' style of Mycenae. We know that the Hyksos had been substantially Egyptianized by the end of their rule, so that Hyksos refugees fleeing to Greece at that time would have had a very different material culture. This provides yet another argument against the theories of a 16th-century invasion. On the other hand, the Hyksos rulers clearly had at their disposal considerable numbers of skilled craftsmen, especially metallurgists, using the most advanced Syrian techniques to make and decorate the things that meant most to them — weapons. They also had Egyptian, Syrian and Cretan goldsmiths to make vessels and jewels both in their native styles and motifs but also according to the new rulers' tastes and with the motifs of the sphins and the griffin that they had appropriated

There is no doubt that the camps and cities of such 'barbarian' conquerors would have been polyglot. Written evidence indicates that in every region the Hyksos ruled the native script remained in use. A Linear A sign was inscribed on a cauldron found in a Shaft Grave. This suggests that the Semitic of other language of the Minoan palaces was at least written at Mycenae around 1700 Bc. The only possible scriptural innovation is the introduction of the West Semitic alphabet to the Aegean, which, I argue on epigraphic grounds elsewhere, took place between 1800 and 1400 BC 2. There would seem little doubt, however, that the dominant scripts remained Linears A and B. As argued in the last chapter, Egyptian evidence suggests that most Hyksos leaders had Semitic names and we can assume that West Semitic and Egyptian were the two dominant languages. Just as Marco Polo heard virtually no Mongoi, and spoke a Turki lingua franca, it is unlikely that much Arvan or Hurrian was spoken in Egypt or the Aegean, although, as has been mentioned in Chapter II, there are Hurrian traces in Greek toponyms and mythological nomenclature 200

Whether or not the language of Linear A was Semitic, it would seem very likely that by 1700 BC the languages of the ruling classes in the towns of the Southern Aegean were West Semitic and Egyptian, or a mixture of the two with the language of the native Indo-European population, which later became Greek Interestingly, though such a situation is the last way in which they would conceive of the situation, such a pattern would fit well with the views of most historical linguists specializing in ancient Greek dialects, who see Greek as

having developed somewhere around the 17th century BC and in Greece itself rather than somewhere to the north 17

After a time, the 'barbaric' Hyksos warriors of the Shaft Graves were succeeded by more cultivated rulers and traders. For over a century between ε 1720 and ε , 1570 be there was a cosmopolitan mercantile 'Hyksos world'—represented by the Theran frescoes—which included Egypt, parts of the Levant, Crete, the Cyclades and the ticher areas of Mainland Greece. I hus, in many ways, what is known today as 'Mycenaean' material culture could usefully be seen as 'Hyksos' or at least the 'Hyksos of the non-Cretan Aegean'. Although there were clearly many later developments and influences from abroad, especially from 18th-Dynasty Egypt, it was from this society that not only the cultivation of the later Mycenaean palaces but also Greek language and culture—as they survive until today—first took shape.

EGYPTIAN, MESOPOTAMIAN AND LEVANTINE CONTACTS WITH THE AEGEAN The documentary evidence

NURF THE MIT RAHINA inscription, discussed in Chapter V. the documents discussed in this chapter deal with direct Egyptian and Levantine contacts with the Aegean during the Bronze Age. Only a few of them are from the 18th and 17th centuries, when, according to the Revised Ancient Model, the colonizations were supposed to have taken place. Most evidence on the contacts comes from the 15th to the 13th centuries BC. The obvious Teason for this discrepancy is that the period from 1750 to 1575 BC was one of considerable disturbance in the Middle East, from which there is relatively little documentary information of any sort. By contrast, the period from 1500 to 1250 BC was one of great prosperity in which most of the Levant was politically and culturally dominated by Egypt. In the last twenty years, an overwhelming quantity of documentary and archaeological evidence has convinced most scholars. that the Aegean was included in this 'world'. Most, however, have not thought through the cultural and huguistic implications of such in finate contacts. Furthermore, there remain a number of scholars, trained during the prime of the Extreme Arvan Model, who still insist on the essential autonomy of the Aegean at this, and almost all other times, and see the new discoveries as representing only superficial contacts on the material plane.

This chapter and the next are concerned with testing two propositions. The first, which is becoming less and less controversial, is that there were significant contacts between the Near Fast and the Aegean during the Bronze Age. The second, against which there is still con-

siderable resistance, is that we should believe the Classical and Hellenstic Greeks when they said that their country had several times been colonized from the south and east. It is certainly possible to hold the one without the other, that is, to accept most of the evidence put forward here on the depth and significance of Greek cultural borrowings from Egypt and Canaan as being the result of peaceful contacts in the Late Bronze Age. There is, in fact, an excellent parallel for this in the extraordinary extent to which Japan borrowed from Chinese culture over more than a thousand years without ever having been conquered by China.

However, I am convinced of the truth of both propositions and, while I accept that there must have been massive cultural borrowing during the years between 1500 and 1250 BC. I also believe that the legends of early colonizations contain factual kernels. My reasons for this are, firstly, my increasing confidence in ancient sources and distrust of 19th- and early 20th-century historiography on this subject and, secondly, my conviction that the Theran murals show that it was not merely Crete that had been 'Levantinized' in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. There is also the fact that texts in Linear B make it clear that Mycenaean society was Greek-speaking by the 13th century BC and that many Semitic and Egyptian words were already in place by then. Finally, a significant number of linguistic and mythological borrowings seem too archae in Egypt and the Levant to have been introduced to the Aegean after the 16th century.

Much of the evidence for the truth of these propositions will be concerned with the 15th, 14th and 13th centuries. This is partly because, despite the growth of a consensus on the Late Bronze Age contacts and borrowings, the case for them still has to be made. Study of this later period can also provide direct evidence on the earlier one as well as giving information on the credibility of Archaic, Classical and

Hellenistic sources.

EGYPTIAN PLACE NAMES REFERRING TO THE ALGEAN

Any use of Egyptian texts and paintings depends on the identification of place names. In Egyptian, as in many other cultures, the names of distant places tended to shift geographically and especially tended to alternate between having general and specific significance. What we are interested in here is not the original sense of the name or what it came to mean later, but the meaning of certain toponyms in the periods with which we are concerned—the 2nd Intermediate Period (1730–1570) and the New Kingdom (1570–1090) BC

Egyptian names of foreign places were written and can be read in two different ways. They frequently appear simply with their consonantal structure like other Egypuan words or proper nouns. However, from the Middle Kingdom on, certain hieroglyphs were used in the transcription of foreign names, to represent not merely the consonant but the vowel that followed it. There are difficulties with this because the Egyptian writers were not consistent in their use of the signs and because specialists disagree on their interpretation. The American Semitist William Albright pioneered this work in the 1930s. but today the most commonly used transcription is that of the German Egyptologist Wolfgang Helck. This latter transcription will be used here but only in brackets, as it is clearly unsatisfactory in many ways and the primary form will remain the normal reading of the hieroglyphs.1

Mnws and Minos

The first name to be considered is an one - Mnws. The earliest attested reference to this comes in the 12th-Dynasty Story of Simule mentioned in Chapter V. It is used as the name of a prince of the Fnhw (a Syrian people, probably the Phoenicians). Posener argues that this represents literary licence and that other personal names in the context are in fact the names of countries, so that Mnws too should be understood as a place name. Such an interpretation would certainly fit with the later use of the name with the determinative by iforeign

This seems very likely but there is more difficulty in locating the territory. Its position on lists of countries was usually between Kitiw. now accepted as Crete (see below), and Syria. Sometimes it appears between Syria and Mesopotamia, suggesting a region there. However, the name is unattested in contemporary Akkadian and Hittite sources. Pictures of tribute-bearers from Mnws seem to represent Syro-Palestinians, though there are signs of Aegean influence butthermore, as we shall see below, men from Khilw itself include Syro-Palestinians.

The name Mnws and its association with Crete strikingly parallel the Greek traditions of King Minos of Crete and the place name Minoa, which was common in Crete and the Southern Aegean in Classical times. In 1934 Albright tentatively proposed a link between them.

The origins of the names Minos and Minoa are immensely rich and complicated, quite apart from Arthur Evans's coming of the neologism 'Minoan' for the pre-Greek people of Crete. In Chapter IV, I discussed the relations between the 'Cretan' king Minos, the lawgiver.

and the Egyptian Mn(y), founder and lawgiver of the 1st Dynasty, called Menes by Manetho and Mm by Herodotos: I also looked at the relations between King Minos, the lecher, and the strikingly well-endowed Egyptian fertility god Min, with whom Mn(y) may well be associated 6 As for the place name Minoa, Victor Bérard plausibly associated it with the West Semitic Mănahat or Minuhâ (resting place) which seems to have been used as a toponym.²

The confusion is confounded by the possibility of a relationship be tween Minws and Minw, a legendary mountain to the west of Egypt, where the sun was supposed to set. References to Minw are late, so that the 3 may have been purely vocalic, which would make the identification possible. However, Minw may be older and originally have sounded *Mirnw. In the 5th century at Stephanos of Byzantium described the god Marna worshipped at Gaza in Philistia, which had strong Gretan connections, and saw him as Zeus Kretogenes 'born in Grete' While the older phonetic value of Minw weakens the association with Minws, it suggests that, although Minw is generally thought to have been focated in Libya, the name may have also applied to the other high mountains in the west, those in Grete'

In short, Mnws was probably to the north and west of Egypt and its princes may have accepted Sesöstris' suzerainty and certainly brought tribute to New Kingdom pharaohs. Thus, despite its appearance in lists at the same time as Kitiw, it is possible that the name Mnws was at different times used for part or all of the island. If this was so, the Egyptian inscriptional evidence on Mnws would tend to confirm the Revised Ancient Model Firstly, the pictures of the tribute-beaters from Mnws would show there was Egyptian suzerainty over parts of the Aegean during the 18th Dynasty and possibly in the 12th as well, secondly, the association between Mnws and Finhw in Smuhe would suggest relations between Crete and the Semitic-speaking Levant as early as the 20th or 19th centuries BC, when the story was written. Finally the 'Seimtic' and Asiatic appearance of some men of Mnws would support the picture of the Aegean as cosmopolitan in the Late Bronze Age. However, despite the tempting parallels between Mnws and Crete, there is not enough evidence to demonstrate Albright's hypothesis that the two names are equivalent

Kltlw, Kaftu and Crete

The identification of Kftlw (Kaftu) with Crete is more straightforward. The earliest reference to it would seem to come from the 1st Intermediate Period between 2450 and 2100 BC and, though it cannot be dated with any security, it is certainly very early. It reads as follows.

No one goes down to Byblos today. What shall we do for the coffins imported for our mummies in which the priests are buried and the oil with which [kings] are embalmed as far away as the country of Kaftu.¹⁰

This suggests regular trade between the Levant and Crete in the 3rd millennium, which would fit with the archaeological evidence discussed in Chapter I. Jean Vercoutter, who wrote the standard work on Egyptian relations with the 'Pre-Hellenes', maintains, largely on the basis of this text and the absence of others, that before the end of the Hyksos period there was no direct contact between Egypt and the Aegean, that is to say, all communication and trade between them went through the Levant. The art historian William Stevenson Smith, in his massive work *Interconnections in the Ancient New East*, was 'inclined to doubt' Vercoutter's use of the argument from silence, and archaeological evidence since 1965, when Stevenson Smith wrote, clearly justifies his scepticism."

The next text mentioning Kaftu comes from the Hyksos period or just after. It is entitled 'To make names of Kftlw', and consists of typical names from Kaftu that a young scribe was likely to encounter. Kaftu also appears frequently in texts of the 18th Dynasty, especially during the reign of Tuthmösis III ϵ 1504–1450, but it is not used after the reign of Amenophis IV/Akhenaton ϵ 1379–1362. If

Noting the resemblance to the Akkadian Kaptara, a name that may date to the 3rd millennium, and the Hebrew Kaptôr, which was traditionally believed to have been a name for Crete, Egyptologists have for a long time tended to see this as the location of Kaftu. The identification was made with much greater confidence after striking parallels were seen between remains and murals found at Knossos and Egyptian tomb paintings of tribute-bearers and tribute from Kaftu. In the 1960s the equivalence was finally confirmed by its use at the head of a list of Cretan and Greek place names on the statue base of Amenôphis III from Kom el-Hetan, which will be discussed below.

Even so, scholars working in the Aryan Model with its image of a somehow European 'Pre-Hellenic' Aegean population have encountered great difficulties in accepting that Kaftu was Crete. There are several pieces of evidence suggesting that Kaftu was Levantine. The list of names from Kfth contained some that can be plausibly seen as Semitic or Hurrian and others that were clearly Egyptian. Accepting the premise that the Aegean was 'racially' European, the contemporary scholars Strange and Merrillees have used the list's heterogeneity to deny the identification of Kaftu with Crete. This is, in fact, one of the chief planks in Strange's argument that the Egyptian name re-

ferred to Cyprus, not the island to the south of the Aegean. He does not, however, mention the Linear A and Linear B personal names or onomastica from the 15th, 14th and 13th centuries (discussed below) which give the impression of a thoroughly cosmopolitan population at Knossos. Nor does Strange consider the frescoes at Thera which also indicate the presence of different ethnic groups in the Southern Aegean in the 17th century, the time at which the list was probably drawn up.¹⁵

Evidence from Egyptian tomb paintings of the 15th century BC has been equally unsettling. While the famous murals from the tomb of Rh ml Rr (Rekhmire) clearly indicated Aegean figures as men from Kaftu, those with the same label in other tombs often seem Syrian, though sometimes with an Aegean admixting. These can be explained away as the inaccuracies of ignorant painters and the supposed phenomenon of 'hybridism' which will be discussed below However, this is more difficult in the case of the tomb of Mn hpr Re snb (Menkhepre seneb). In this, the bearer and the goods are Cretan but the figure, clearly labelled Wr n Kfrlw (king or chief of Kaftu), is typically 'Syro-Palestinian'. The early 20th-century archaeologist burumark, who believed that Kaltu was in Cilicia, argued that the details of such precise painting could not be ignored. But for those who maintained that Kaftu was Crete, any accuracy in this label was impossible within the Aryan Model and the paradigm of European supremacy. As Vercoutter put it:

Unless one admits that a Syro-Palestinian could have been king over Aegean populations, it is absolutely necessary that one or other of the texts accompanying the Aegean tribute in the tomb of Rh mil Rr or the tomb of Mn hpr Rr sub must be wrong. This is an alternative that one cannot avoid.¹⁷

This difficulty, like the one of the Egyptian list of names, vanishes if one accepts that the population of the Southern Aegean was thoroughly mixed and the common view in Antiquity that the Cretan population was Semitic-speaking. "Specifically, this tends to support the hypothesis of a Hyksos conquest."

Some light may be shed on this problem by discussing another anomaly in the equation of Grete with Kaftu. In Ptolemaic times, Kaftu did not mean Grete but Phoenicia. Furthermore, the Classical Greeks referred to what we should now call 'Minoans' as Phoinikes Thus, the confusion was not confined to Hellenistic Egyptians. As has been mentioned above, Kaftu was not mentioned in New Kingdom documents later than 1350 BC. The issue of when Greek speakers

came to dominate Crete will be discussed below. Here it is sufficient to say that it was sometime around 1450 BC. Thus, the Egyptian dropping of the name Kaftu would have been either a delayed or a rapid recognition of the change. In any event, it would seem reasonable to associate the name Kaftu with the island's pre-Greek inhabitants

Thus, Cyrus Gordon's interpretation of Linear A and Eteo-Cretan (the non-Greek language spoken in Eastern Crete in Classical times) as West Semitic would seem to be supported not merely by Semitic words in Linear A and onomastica from Crete recorded in documents in Egyptian and Linear A, but also by the shift of Kaltu from Crete to Phoenicia after the island became predominantly Greek-speaking. Before that, it is clear that the island was culturally and linguistically heterogeneous. Nevertheless, it is still plausible to suppose with Gordon and the archaeologist Saul Weinberg that the early Minoan culture, as it emerged in the late 4th millennium BC, was predominantly Semitic-speaking.²³

Wid wr and Hiw nbw: the Aegean Sea and the Mycenaeans

Other Egyptian toponyms commonly associated with the Aegean are less securely identified, for example 'Isles in the Midst of the W3d w1' (great green). The contemporary writer Alessandra Nibbi argues that even during the Invasion of the Sea Peoples at the turn of the 12th century 8C, W3d writeferred to the marshes of the Nile Delta. This proposal and its corollary that the invasion came from the Delta are clearly absurd, as they require the dismissal of a huge quantity of plausible information concerning the much more distant origins of the invasions. The Egyptian inscriptions describing the invasions are extremely valuable, but even without them it would still be possible to detect many of the tribal movements and conquests of the period which affected the whole of the East Mediterranean from archaeological evidence, Canaamte texts and the biblical and Greek traditions.

Nevertheless, Nibbi's argument rests on the plausible case that Widwr did signify the swamps of the Delta in Predynastic times Wid, which will be discussed below, appears to have meant 'green' not 'blue' and it was written with \Re , 'papyrus plant' with a d or a 'snake', a pun which will be discussed in Volume 4. What is more, the original sense may have persisted into early dynastic times."

As Vercoutter has demonstrated, however, from the period of the Old Kingdom Wid wi meant 'sea'. During the Middle Kingdom it was used for the Red Sea but by the New Kingdom it meant Mediterra-

nean and often - though not always—the Aegean.' Vercoutter has also shown that, at this time, Wid wr was used in conjunction with Kitiw in a way that would suggest a nearby and similar country and that Wid wi continued to be employed in the later. New Kingdom after Kaftu had tallen into disuse. Furthermore, it was from these islands that the Sea Peoples were supposed to have planned then invasions. All in ail, it would seem plausible to associate the Isles in the Midst of the Wid wr with non-Cretan Aegean peoples and probably with Mycenaeans.

Another possible name for these is Haw nbw, the people who came from the Haw nbwt – from ha (behind) the nbut (islands). Haw nbw has been considered to mean 'Greek' ever since it was read as a translation of 'Hellene' on the Rosetta Stone, the famous tablet inscribed during the Ptolemaic period in Hieroglyphic, Demotic and Greek, which provided the basis for the decipherment of Hieroglyphics and Demotic.

Sethe, followed by Gardmer, maintained that the formula dbn pho hanbut (the circle which turns around the islands), which appears three times in the Pyramid Texts, indicated the Aegean. It was referred to by Gardiner as 'a sufficiently accurate description of the Aegean sea'." The term is also attested on a bas-relief of cattle from the funerary temple of Cheops, on another 4th-Dynasty block and a text from the funerary temple of the 5th-Dynasty pharaoh Sahurer with the formula 'I bring to you the liwinty the Mityw, all the foreign countries and the Hanbut'—a formula that was repeated many times later. It will be remembered that objects with the titulary of Sahurer are supposed to have been found in the Dorak Treasure'

The identification of Hi nbw with the Aegean was attacked by the Egyptologist Vercoutter on the grounds that it was used in the 7th century BC to describe mercenaries, who included Carians as well as Greeks, and that therefore before that date it merely meant people from far away. Vercoutter was particularly eager to discredit any idea that there was any Egyptian knowledge of the Aegean in the Old Kingdom. He pointed out that the construction of a place name with ht (behind) was unique and that the idea of a people 'behind the islands' was very sophisticated indeed. If one accepted this, it would, as

he put it,

be necessary to admit that since the *fourth* millennium the inhabitants of the Nile already had a precise idea not only of the islands of the East Mediterranean but also of the continental coasts that surrounded them.³⁵

I do not consider such a possibility out of the question. On the other hand, even though the *Pyramid Texts* were clearly ancient when they

were inscribed, they do, in fact, date only from the the 3rd millenmum. There seems no reason to push the use of the term H3 inbut as a specific designation of the continents behind the Aegean into the 4th millennium. Its use in this sense at the height of the Old Kingdom would seem much more likely. As Stevenson Smith wrote about this, after discussing Old Kingdom objects found around the Aegean,

Vercoutter has shown that it is unlikely that the Aegean or its inhabitants were meant by the term 'Haunebut' (Hi nbwt) in the Pyramid Texts or in inscriptions of the time of Cheops and Sahure. He also questions contacts with Crete that have been made for the Old Kingdom. On the other hand, the expansion of royal trade by land and sea which we begin to see more clearly in the 5th Dynasty would suggest that the period from Sneferu [1st pharaoh of the 4th Dynasty] to Phiops H [Pepi II, the last effective pharaoh of the 6th] would have been a more propitious time for Egypt to have become aware of the Aegean world than the impoverished days of political discontent in the First Intermediate Period which Vercoutter suggests.³⁴

Despite these plausible doubts, there is no question that Vercoutter's ideas on the Hi nbwt prevail today. His arguments were made with such force that Gardiner changed the view he expressed as late as 1947 that the His nbwt of the *Pyramid Texts* were near the Aegean, to stating in the second edition of his *Lgyptian Grammar* in 1950 that it merely meant 'distant and indeterminate regions' and their inhabitants, though in Graeco-Roman times interpreted to mean the Greeks ³⁵. This, in fact, is going further than Vercoutter himself who claimed that it was a 'vague term for the populations of the distant Asiatic shore'. ³⁶ However, if the term 'behind the islands' has any substantial content, it would seem more appropriate for the coasts of Mainland Greece and Western Anatolia than the coast behind the one island of Cyprus.

There is no doubt that Vercoutter destroyed the French Egyptologist Montet's far-fetched notion that Hiw nbwt was the name for Hellenes – Greeks, who, Montet maintained, had inhabited the Nile Valley in Predynastic times. However, there would seem reasonably strong grounds for supposing that Hiw nbwt was used to refer to the Aegean long before the Ptolemaic period, possibly as early as the Old Kingdom and almost certainly by the 18th Dynasty.

As with her treatment of Wid wr, Alessandra Nibbi's attack on the identification of Hiw nbwt with the Aegean lacks historical sense. On the other hand, her suggestion largely drawn from Vercoutter that nb (basket) became associated with the concept of 'island' because of

floating matted papyrus seems a plausible answer to a problem that puzzled Sethe and Gardiner. * This Predynastic etymology, however, does not mean that the *nbut* of the Old Kingdom, still less of the New Kingdom almost two thousand years later, had the same significance.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF DANAAN

The widespread cluster of ethnic names - Tinsy, Tanaya, Di-In, Denc, Denyen, Danuma, Danaan, Danaos and Dan occurring in Egyptian, Akkadian, Canaanite and Greek during the Late Bronze Age is extremely difficult to disentangle, but, before attempting to do this, it is essential to establish their unity. This can be achieved through the fact that the same statue base that confirmed the equation between Kftlw and Crete also firmly established the equation between the Egyptian name Thuyw and Danaor Homer's most frequent name for the Greeks. The identification of the foreign country Di-ln (Dene) is only slightly less secure. Gardiner accepted that the Dene, a People of the Sea who had plotted their attacks on the civilized world in the isles of the Wid wr, were the Greek Danaor. He also linked Dene to the land the Egyptians called Tanaya through the determinative B, which is attested with it and is that of tril < tril, 'old, decrepit' (for the association of thi < thi with the 'decrepitude' of Danaos, the Greek eponym of the Danaans, see below) " However, Gardiner rejected any association with the Danuna mentioned by Abimilki, king of Tyre, in his letter to the pharaoh at his capital at Amarna in the 14th century, because the u in Danuna did not tally with the group writing of Dene and because it was specified as being part of Ki-na-ali-na, Canaan.' After Gardiner published this in 1947, a new candidate for Danuna was found on a bilingual inscription at Karatepe in Cilicia, which referred to a people called Adanawa in the Anatolian language Luvian and Drinym in Phoenician. The Drinym were also mentioned in a gth-century inscription from the nearby kingdom of Sam'al in North Syria 1. There were also Assyrian references to Cyprus as Yadna or Ya-ad-na-na, which has been plausibly translated as Island of the Danana." However, apart from the possible reference from Tyre, there is no mention of a country of Danuna in Calicia before the invasion of the Sea Peoples. This is somewhat surprising in view of the numerous geographical references given by the Hittites, who frequently campaigned in this region, and the substantial Late Bronze Age archives found at Alalakh and Ugarit, both of which were within one hundred miles of Eastern Cilicia. Furthermore, during this period this region appears to have been occupied by a kingdom called

Kizzuwatna by Hittites and Qode by Egyptians. On the other hand, the name of a city, attested in the 17th century, at its centre was Adana.45

Accepting the likelihood of a link between the Luvian Adanawa and the Phoenician Dunym, the Anatolian specialist Laroche has claimed that the Denyen/Danun were Anatolians and this has been accepted by a younger scholar, Yoel Arbeitman 4 Albright and Astoni, however, reject the parallel. They point out that Diniyin could easily have been written with an initial aleph as the toponym 'dn is used for Adana in the Karatepe Inscription 15 If the link between the city of Adana and the Adanawa is not accepted, the only possible evidence for a kingdom of Danuna in Cilicia before 1200 BC comes from the Amarna letter. This is sufficient for Astour and Helck, "Albright, on the other hand, believed that the name Daniina referred to in the Amarna letter was the same as the Dene Denven Sea People and the Danaoi. He argued against Gardiner on the problem of the middle u_i claiming that Danuna simply represented the Akkadian rendering of a Canaanite form *Danôna which was the result of an original Danana being transformed by the Canaamite phonetic shift $\hat{a} \geq \hat{a}$, this shift having taken place in the previous century. Albright did not, however, deal with the problem raised by Gardiner that Abmulki began his letter to the pharaoh:

The king, my ford has written to me 'What thou hearest from Kinaḥna write to me. The king of Danuna is dead and his brother has become king in his stead and his land is quiet. And fire has consumed Ugarit . . . 48

Gardiner, as we have seen, claimed that this strongly implied that Danuna was in Kinahna-Canaan and, as he put it,

. . . there is nothing in the context to suggest that Abimilki was able to provide information from outside Palestine and Syria and it is highly unlikely that at so early a date Danaans were anywhere in the neighbourhood of those countries "

The seriousness of these objections to Albright's hypothesis is mitigated by the wide range of evidence, which is particularly strong for the New Kingdom, suggesting that much of Egypt's contact with the Aegean was through the Levant and Levantines. I do not believe that all Egyptian trade and other contact with the Aegean was 'counterclockwise', that is to say, went from Egypt to the Levant and then along the southern coast of Anatolia to the Aegean. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this was the predominant direction (the archae-

ological aspects of this will be discussed in the next chapter). The frequent juxtaposition of, not to say confusion between, Levantine and Aegean country names, evident in the discussions of Mnws and Kfilw above, shows that the two regions were frequently associated in Egyptian geographical thinking. It is also interesting to note that during the reign of Luthmösis III, just over a century before the Amarina letter, the Egyptian vicerox in Syria was also responsible for the Isles in the Midst of the Wid wit. Thus, Aegean affairs could well have been reported to the pharaoh from Tyre and Mycenaean Greece might have been at least loosely included in Kinahiia.

Given the relative weakness of Gardiner's objections and the problems in the identification of Adanawa with Driny in. Albright's hypothesis that the Driny in in 9th-century Cilicia were descendants of Greeks who had settled there during the migrations of the Sea Peoples remains extremely attractive.' It would explain the absence of references to Dana/una in the area before 1200. It would also fit the association made on the Karatepe Inscription between the Driny in and the house of Mps. This seems remarkably close to the Greek hero Mopsos who, at about the time of the Trojan War (that is, c. 1210 BC), was supposed to have established colonies in Pamphylia and Cilicia. A Lydian Mopsos, who may or not have been the same, is alleged to have gone to Ashkelon in Palestine.' If the two legends do refer to the same historical figure, they would provide not only a link between the Aegean and the Cilician and North Syrian Driny in but also one with the biblical tribe of Dan.

The Semitists and ancient historians Cyrus Gordon, Yigael Yadin and Allen Jones have all identified Dan with Danuna, Dinnym and the Danaoi. The linguist and biblical scholar Gary Rendsburg has given an excellent summary of the biblical grounds for their claim. The Danites were described as living on ships, they were admitted late into the Israelite amphicityony or tribal league, they were the last tribe to establish their own territory and they were originally settled on the coast between two known Sea Peoples, the Philistines and the Tjeker." There is also the lack of any detailed genealogy for Dan which reinforces the hypothesis that the tribe was not an original member of the Israelite amphicityony. Finally, there are the strong associations between the Danite hero Samson and the Philistines.

This evidence seems to me to be quite sufficient but one can go further by looking at the parallels between the Samson cycle of stories and the Greek myths around Herakles. The most striking parallel is that between Samson's death and Herodotos' story that Herakles was taken quietly to be sacrificed in an Egyptian temple but then exerted

his strength and killed all the Egyptians." As I argued in Chapter II, and shall be discussing further in Volume 3, there is a very fundamental Egyptian component in the 'Greek' myths of Herakles." Nevertheless, the Samson stories would seem to come from Greek branches of the tradition. Both heroes are strong, like the sun with which they are associated — Samson's name comes from the Semitic Sins (sun)—both have strange rages and temporary losses of power, both kill lions and wear their skins. The closeness of the parallels suggests that the stories were taken from the Aegean to Palestine by Sea Peoples. The ethnic reversal involved in the biblical form has a neat parallel in the way in which native Christian writers appropriated and reversed a Muslim story with the hero, who retained the clearly Islamic name Aucassin, becoming Christian while his love Nicolette was turned into a Muslim.

With the exception of the similarity of the city name Adanawa to the basic stem, all the evidence suggests that Ianava and the other names were first associated with the Aegean rather than the Levant. According to Gordon the name Danane appears in Linear A texts. He explains the final ne as a suffix common to Cretan and Ugaritic names and perhaps related to the adjectival and sometimes specifically gentilic (concerned with peoples) suffix -n, common among Indo-European languages. As Rendsburg points out, this suffix and its

absence explain the two forms Dn and Dnn "

This leaves open the question of how the name came to be used in the West. Astour, who believes in a Semitic Cilician origin, argues that the ethnic name Dana(na) came to Greece with the Hyksos invaders. He also draws parallels between the Danaans' eponym Danaos and the West Semitic hero Danel or Daniel, the epitome of wisdom in the Bible,31 The name comes from the Semitic root 1, dyn (judge, govern, allocate). However, as mentioned in Volume 1, there is a related Fgyptian root dni (share out, allocate, and more specifically dam and irrigate). Dni has a very close relationship to the Greek Danaos, and together with the verb lni (grow old, decrepit), dni or a derived form *dniw (he who colonizes, irrigates) can explain all the 'Greek' hero's aspects as a feeble old man who colonized – allocating land—and irrigated.50

Although, as discussed in Volume 1, some of the legends surrounding the arrival suggest that the hero had non-Egyptian, possibly Hyksos and Semitic, origins, there is no doubt that, according to the tradition, Danaos came from Egyptian that the cults attributed to him and his daughters were Egyptian. Thus, it would seem more plausible that Danaos' name should be Egyptian rather than Semitic.

There are two linked Indo-European candidates for the origin of Danaan. The first of these is the name of the Irish legendary people the Danann, who arrived in Ireland from the south. It is very unlikely but just possible that this is a memory of Mycenaeans in Northwest Europe. However, it is impossible to see how this could be the origin of the Aegean term. 62

The second Indo-European hypothesis is that Danaan comes from the common Indo-European river name 'Dan-', found in Danube, Dnieper, and Don both in the Ukraine and Yorkshire. This is linked to the traditions of Danaos and his daughters as irrigators." However, the Egyptian links are not merely with water but with irrigation, and there are no traditions linking Danaos to the north whereas there are many connecting him to Egypt and the southeast. Thus, the primary origin of the name Danaos is less likely to be Indo-European than Afroasiatic.

Despite the heavy influence of punning or paranomasia from Egyptian, on the character of Danaos there is no reason why the Egyptian source should be the only one. The relationship between Danaos and Danaans is not straightforward. It would seem unlikely that the Danaans simply meant people of Danaos (the colonizer). There is, in fact, a piece of evidence suggesting that the geographical and gentilic name Dane may be primary and pre-date any possible Hyksos settlement in the Aegean. This comes from a geographical list found at the Mesopotamian site of Abu Salabikh dating to the middle of the 31d millermam. In this, in a position that could well be in the far west. there is the name DA-nek which in the parallel list from Ebla is called am-ni», * Pettmato, who published the latter list, has tentatively identihed am-mk with Amnissos, the port of Knossos in Crete, which is clearly an old name because it appears in both Linear A and hieroglyphic texts from the middle of the 2nd millennium.6. Thus DA-neb could well be an ancient name for the 'Far West' and specifically Crete and the Aegean.

To sum up this section, there is a dense tangle of paranomasia around the name Danaan, which it is impossible to tease out. At this point, the best working hypothesis would seem to be that Dane was an ethnic or place name in Crete from the 3rd millennium. After the Hyksos settlement in the Western Peloponnese in the 2nd millennium, puinting with the Egyptian words dni and tni, and possibly the Semitic dyn, led to the naming of an eponym Danaos. By the 15th century BC Danaioi had become a common name for the people we should call Mycenaeans and, as Dnnym and Dan, this spread to Cilicia and Palestine during the invasions of the Sea Peoples. However, de-

spite the uncertainty of this hypothesis, there is vritually no doubt that when Egyptians used the ethnic names This, Tanaya, Di-lin, Dene and Denyen, they were referring to Greeks

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH THE AFGEAN IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

If we accept these identifications, what picture do the Egyptian documents give of Egyptian relations with the Aegean? There is a possibility that documentary references to H3 nbw can be linked to Egyptian objects and structures in the Aegean to indicate contacts in the 3rd millennium. There are much more substantial indications that there was trade between Egypt and Crete during the Middle Kingdom, Relations seem to have been particularly close at the end of the Hyksos

period and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty

We know, from the list of 'names from Kttlw' and the name Pi Kttlwy (the Cretan) found in Egypt from the start of the 18th Dynasty, that there were Egyptians in Crete and Cretans in Egypt " Amosis, the Dynasty's first pharaoh, claimed that the Hiw nbw were his followers and his mother Queen Ahhotpe was described as 'Mistress of the regions of the Hiw nbwt'." It would seem more likely that these are claims of suzerainty rather than any reference to Greek mercenaries as some scholars have suggested. "In general, as Helck writes, 'Certainly the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty should be seen as the period when the Aegean influence was strongest,' "

ACCURACY AND HYBRIDISM IN EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND TOMB PAINTINGS

Before looking at the content of the 18th-Dynasty tomb paintings, we have to consider their reliability as representations of reality at the time they were painted. There is no doubt that many of the pictures of plants and animals are meticulously accurate in terms of modern botany and zoology. Archaeological finds—most startlingly the recent discoveries from the Kaş shipwreck—have also provided clear evidence of the accuracy of the representation of many objects.

Nevertheless, many experts have cast doubts on the veracity of the pictures. In the first place, they suspect the timing of the paintings, arguing that artists may not have drawn from life but copied earlier tomb paintings or even that they based their work on 'pattern books'

Although many tombs were sealed and no pattern book or reference to one has been found, their existence would seem very likely, given what we know about artistic canons and the regulation of artistic production in Egypt as well as the frequent repetitions of themes and im-

ages in the surviving corpus of paintings n

On the other hand, suspicions about the originality and contemporaneity of the paintings of exotic nature and human artifacts are largely based on the modern stereotype of Lgypt as an essentially isolated, conservative and inward-looking civilization with the corollaries that Egyptians travelled rarely and that there were very few exotic objects and plants, animals and people available in Egypt. These seem to me very debatable propositions. The presence of Egyptians in foreign cities during the Middle Kingdom was mentioned in Chapter V, and there is every reason to suppose that there were even more Egyptians abroad at the height of the New Kingdom. It is even clearer that there were large numbers of foreigners living in Egypt in the same period." Furthermore, the Egyptian tradition of copying earlier work or patterns does not necessarily exclude the artists' desire or ability to copy from life or to alter standard patterns in order to conform to reality. A striking example of this can be seen in the famous correction of a fresco in the tomb of the court official Rh mil Re (Rekhmire), painted between 1470 and 1450, in which the 'Minoan' kilts of Aegean envoys appear to have been over-painted with 'Mycenaean' foincloths." Here - for the moment accepting that Mycenaeans conquered Crete in this period - we would seem to see the stereotype corrected to conform to the exact representation of reality. At least in later times, this principle seems to have been fundamental to Egyptian at 1.71

This leads on to the second and major difficulty modern historians have with the Egyptian tomb paintings, which they call 'hybridism'. The Israeli archaeologist Shelley Wachsmann opens his discussion of this in the following way:

Hybridism is the name given here to the phenomenon in Egyptian art by which subjects be they human figures, objects or even entire scenes, were composed by uniting elements originally belonging to two or more separate entities. . . . Erroneous conclusions were derived by Wainwright and others concerning figures of foreigners due to their mability to take hybridism into consideration.²⁶

There is no doubt that hybridism is a feature of Egyptian art. Representations of gods with animal heads and human bodies, or vice versa, sphinxes and griffins, are commonplace. Even more striking was

the artistic convention of a typical 'hybrid' Egyptian, which played down the huge physiological variety which we know from human remains always to have existed among the Egyptian population. The reason for this 'hybridism' would seem to be the overriding need to maintain the unity of 1 pper and I ower Egypt despite their different predominant physical types. Such a desire would fit very well with the image of Egyptian art as a whole, about which the architectural histotian Fail Baldwin Smith wrote. Egyptian art was persistently ideographic, dealing always with the fundamental, communal ideas rather than with the transient and personal experience. This also possible that, as Wachsmann and his predecessors claim, hybrid objects and plants, though not animals, were concocted. Nevertheless, one should also be alert to the strong possibility that Wachsmann and carlier historsans of ancient art have used the notion of hybridism to dismiss Egyptian representations of things they cannot understand or do not like In particular, any mixture of foreign cultures or human types portraved in the paintings is not accepted as a representation of reality. Interestingly, because Lgyptian artists knew that the oatside world way varied, and was supposed to be so, it is likely that they represented varied humanity more realistically when portraying foreign populations than when portraying Egyptian people themselves. Thus, pictures of people who combine Syrian with Aegean physical characteristics and dress or uncomfortably dark Cretains are often dismissed as figurents of the artists' imagination. Modern scholars also emphatically deny the portrayal of Egyptian mouts and artistic elements in foreign artifacts.

The demal seems to me to be based on two fallacies. The first is that we know enough about the ethinic nature and cultural habits of the mhabitants of the East Mediterranean in the 13th and 14th centuries Be to be able to rule out a significant number of portraits as impossible. The second is the belief that there were distinct cultures of imform physical type in fixed regions of the Mediterranean basin. This seems to me to be a projection of early 20th-century ethnicity and racism into a time and place where it is singularly mappropriate. In fact, the more we learn about the region, during the New Kingdom, the more we discover its diversity and cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, ar-Chaeological evidence discussed earlier shows the penetration of aspects of Egyptian culture well beyond the Levant into Anatolia and the Aegean and vice versa. Thus, while there may be instances of artificially 'hybrid' foreigners, it would seem to me more reasonable to accept the mixed and complex cultural pattern portrayed in the tomb paintings than to reject it.

WHY DID CRETAN PRINCES BRING TRIBUTE TO EGYPT?

I now want to look at the political context in which the tomb paintings were made. The reign of the powerful woman pharaoh Hashepsowe (1503–1483 BC) is well known for its uniqueness and for the famous expedition to Pwnt in East Africa, undertaken apparently at her behest. It is also clear that, despite later vihication, her reign was prosperous and formed the basis for many of the later triumphs of her stepson, co-ruler and rival Tuthmösis HI. Tuthmösis ruled for a further twenty-two years after her death. Tuthmosis III was one of the greatest pharaohs of Egyptian history, overshadowed, in my opinion, only by Sesostus five hundred years earlier. Tuthmösis appears to have been benevolent—apart from his hatred of Hashepsowe—and enormously talented. There is no doubt that during his reign Egypt became more prosperous and better administered. However, he was best remembered for his expeditions and conquests, in all directions but particularly to the north.

In his twenty-second year, probably 1482 BC, he personally led an expedition through Syria, which was followed by frequent campaigns over the next sixteen years. These culminated in his thirty-second year (c. 1472) with an expedition into the Hurrian or Mitannian kingdom of Naharm in the Upper Euphrates. He withdrew from here with some prisoners but the campaign impressed neighbouring monarchs from Babylonia, Assyria and Hatti, the territory of the Hittites. This is the context in which the tomb paintings described above were painted. The Egyptian military triumphs and the pharaoh's control of both the Egyptian Levantine ports would be quite sufficient to explain why, as the description of the foreign tribute put it.

When they [the princes of Kaftu] hear of his victories over all the countries, they bring their gifts on their backs in order to obtain the breath of life in order to submit to his majesty [Tuthmösis III] in order that his power could protect them.⁸¹

Receiving the tin only (breath of life) is a term used in connection with Kaftu and other foreign countries in contexts where it can only mean suzerainty. However, it is possible that there was also more direct pressure on the princes of Kaftu. In an inscription from Napata or Jebel Barkal in the Sudanese Upper Nile, Tuthmösis claimed to have 'trussed the Nine Bows, the Isles in the Midst of the Wid wr, the Hiw nbwt and the rebel foreign countries'. 82 and with a confusing use of personal pronouns:

I came and I made you strike those who are in the Isles and those that live in the Midst of the Wid wi, hearing your war civ, I made them see your majesty like the millstone pressing on the back of its victims.⁸⁵

Vercoutter pointed out that these texts appear to be highly symbolic, stressing the universality of Tuthmósis' conquests and rule, and he argued strongly that they should not be taken in a literal sense. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the highest frequency of the name Kftiw on Egyptian documents came in Tuthmósis' reign. A considerable number of Aegean pots from this period LHIIIA1 have also been excavated in Egypt. These and the Egyptian objects from the first half of the 15th century found in the Aegean will be discussed in the next chapter.

Furthermore, the fact that such expeditions are unknown to modern Egyptology should not make us dismiss the possibility that they took place. We know from the Mit Rahma inscription not merely that 12th-Dynasty pharaohs, over four hundred years earlier, had launched naval expeditions into the Mediterranean, but also that Egyptologists were completely unaware of them. We also know, from the reliefs at Den el Bahri, that Hashepsowe had sent out a major fleet far down the Red Sea.

Even more to the point, we know that, in the reigns of Tuthmosis III and his successors, campaigns were supplied and supported by a substantial nave. This organization, which was considered important enough to have its chief dockward at Memphis administered by the pharaoh's eldest son, consisted of specially designed warships and merchantmen used for supplying and freight. Among other ships were the so called *khinct* or *kpnut* (Byblites) and *kfilie* (Cretans), which, as William Haves wrote in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

are now generally conceded to have been ships designed and binli by Egyptians for journeys to Byblos and Crete or journeys of similar type and duration. Furthermore, it is evident that in ship design and construction and in seafaring knowledge in general the Egyptians of the New Kingdom owed hitle or nothing to their Minoan and Phoenician neighbours, but were, in fact, the originators of at least one type of ship adopted and used by the latter (italics in original).80

All in all, we can no longer be as sure as Vercoutter, who, it should be stressed, was working at the height of the Aryan Model, that no Egyptian expeditions went to the Aegean during Tuthmösis' reign in the

first half of the 15th century. Indeed, given our knowledge of Tuth-mosis' habits and inclinations and of the capacity of his navy, together with the certainty that Cretain princes came to Egypt to offer tribute, I see no reason to doubt the strong implication that Egyptian naval forces were in the Aegean in the 1470s.

In any event, there is no doubt that 'princes of Kftlw and the Isles in the Midst of the Wad wi' visited the pharaoh's court in what the Egyptians, at least, interpreted as an act of submission. It is possible that the rulets of Kaltu left threatened by the 'Mycenaeans' to the north; on the other hand, it would seem equally possible that the latter's conquest relatively soon after could have been facilitated by the Egyptian disruption of Cretan power.

Suzeranty is a vague concept and we have no clear idea of the political meaning of 'receiving the breath of life'. Its economic significance will be considered in the next chapter. The possibility that Amosis, the founder of the 18th Dynasty, claimed suzerainty over the Aegean has been mentioned above." All that can be said is that the ceremony of bringing tich gifts, which was interpreted by the Egyptians as an act of submission, was repeated for almost a century after Tuthinosis' conquests. In the 12th year of Akhenaton, c. 1369 BC. men from the 'Midst of Wid wr' offered tribute before the pharaoh's throne. Vercoutter pointed out that the phraseology used indicated that the islanders had a less subordinate position than the envoys from Syria and Nubia. Even so, the northerners too offered tribute to 'receive the breath of life'.88 As has been mentioned above, the name Kaltu was mentioned much less often after the beginning of the 1 fth century. The change in nomenclature from Kaftu to the Midst of the Wid wi' and Tanaya seems to reflect the new Mycenaean dominance of Crete

DATING THE MYCENALAN DOMINATION OF CRETE

At this point it is necessary to make a digression on the date at which the Mycenaeans came to dominate Crete. Some reference was made to this in Chapter VII, when describing the theory that this occurred as the result of the alleged devastation of Crete by the Thera eruption." However, here we must consider an even more widespread, but doubly mistaken, belief that 'Greeks' conquered Crete at the beginning of the ceramic period LMII around 1450 BC.

The enormous influence of Arthur Evans on Minoan studies, particularly in matters concerning relative and absolute chronology, has been referred to frequently above. According to him a big change

came over Crete at the end of his ceramic period LMIB. At this point, all but one of the Cretan palaces were desiroved. Only that of Knossos itself survived for a few more decades until it too succumbed at the end of LMII, which Evans saw as about a joo be. After that a new age of degeneracy began and the palace was inhabited by poor, illiterate squatters. According to Evans, Cretan palatial civilization, and for that matter that of the Greek mainland, was and remained 'Minoan'." That is, it was non- or Pre-Hellenic to the end of the Bronze Age. By the end of his long life—in the 1930s at the height of the Extreme Aryan Model—Evans was being challenged by Mycenologists, notably A. J. B. Wace. These, while admitting the heavy Minoan influence, argued for the racial imaqueness of Mycenaean civilization and in 1930 even claimed that they say Mycenaean influences on Evans's last palace at Knossos, that of LMII.⁹¹

Their speculation seemed dramatically confirmed thirteen years later, when Michael Ventris read as Greek the Linear B tablets which Evans claimed to have found in the LMH palace. Thus, it was now generally believed that sometime around 1450 is Mycenaean invaders had conquered Crete, destroying all the palaces except for that at Knossos from which they had ruled the whole island for the next seventy years, until the destruction of their palace by unknown invaders at the end of LMH. This scheme would be perfectly with the change of kilt in the painting of the tomb of Rh inri Rf (Reklimire) which was completed between 1470 and 1450 is It would also tally, with some allowance for time lag, with the disappearance of the term Kaftu.

However, the situation is not so simple. During the 1950s large numbers of I mear B tablets began to be excavated on the Greek mainland, notably at the palace at Pylos in Messenia. These did not come from LMH or its approximate equivalent LBHB, but from LHHB, which was then supposed to have begun r. 1275, approximately a century after 1380 BC, when Evans saw the final destruction of the the palace at Knossos. Although there were some differences between the Pylian and the Knossan scripts, the similarities were so striking that several of the linguists reading them became convinced that they must be contemporary with each other and that, as the dating of the Mainland tablets was irrefutable, the Gretan texts must themselves be from LMHB.

This was first seen in 1955 by the English linguist Leonard Palmer, who then began a campaign to show that the palace at Knossos had lasted as long as those on the Mainland, and like them had been destroyed by the Dorians during the early 12th century? He had ancent authority for this, in that Homer described Crete on the eye of

the Irojan Wat, c. 1220 BC, as rich and powerful, contributing eighty ships, the third greatest number, to the expedition to Troy, and as ruled by a single king, Idomeneus." Seeing this fundamental flaw, Palmer plunged in to attack Evans's conclusions, using as his chief weapons the archaeological 'Day Books' of Evans's assistant D. Mackenzie, which showed how uncertain the basis of Evans's magistral schemes were.

Palmer received some support from Blegen, the excavator of Pylos "Nevertheless, his ideas were considered distinctly cranky by the majority of Aegean archaeologists. One reason for this was professional: there was distaste at a linguist 'poaching' in archaeology. There was also a certain trepidation in the face of Palmer's challenge to Evans's ceramic schemes. It was not so much affection for the founder of Minoan archaeology as a fear of the Chronological chaos that would follow any fundamental upheaval. Another difficulty was that Palmer's re-dating of the Linear B tablets was commonly associated with his belief in a Luvian invasion, which had very little to recommend it. 90

Meanwhile, however, evidence was accumulating to back Palmer's contention that the Linear B tablets from Knossos were written during LHIIIB. For one thing, a number of strictip jars from this period inscribed in Linear B, which were found on Mainland Greece, have been shown by clay analyses to have been made in Crete, 6 Even more impressive has been work showing the prosperity of Crete throughout the LHIHA and B periods, which made it impossible for the island to have been devastated at the end of LMIT. Later work on the palace itself indicates that the distribution of LHIIIB pottery there does not fit the pattern of 'squatting' envisioned by I vans and that, although some parts of the earlier buildings may not have been used m LHIIIB, the archaeological evidence indicates that it was still a functioning administrative centre. Another piece of evidence pointing in this direction comes from the obvious importance of Caetan trade. 8 Most if not all of the extant Linear B tablets from Knossos come from the destruction at the end of the period, c. 1200. Such a scheme would also fit the Homeric evidence mentioned above

This, however, does not answer the problem of when Linear B, and presumably Greek, were first introduced to the island. LMH is a style of limited distribution and apparently short direction. It shows connections to both LMIB that preceded it and LMIHA which followed. However, it does not have the clearly 'Mycenaean' characteristics claimed for it by Blegen.⁹⁹

It has been shown in the last chapter that the militarization of so-

ciety and the introduction of Shaft Graves to Grete that had previously been attributed to this period should now be pushed back into MMIII. It is now also clear from inscriptional evidence that Linear A continued to be used at Knossos in this LMIL. While not conclusive, these facts make it unlikely that the destruction of the 'provincial' palaces, which did take place at the beginning of LMII, can be linked to the arrival of the Mycenaeans. It would seem best to envisage the centralization of power as an internal process, though possibly in the face of external pressures from the north and the south

There is no evidence for a destruction of the palace at the beginning of LMHIA. This too would seem to be an unlikely point for a military invasion of, though not a peaceful migration to. Grete. On the other hand, there was a substantial though not total destruction some decades later, at the beginning of what is cumbersomely called the LMHIA2 ceramic period. This would seem the most probable point for the Mycenaeanization of Knossos and Crete, though it is possible that the process began with LMHIA1 and that the destruction should be associated with an Achaean intrusion. 197

In all this, however, Palmer and his supporters have been ignoring the evidence from Egypt - the disappearance of the name Kaftu for the island and the systematic over-painting of Cretan kilts with Mycenaean londooths in the murals on the tomb of Rh mri Rt, which took place between 1470 and 1450. The reluctance to consider this evidence is overdetermined. In the first place, for reasons that have been discussed in Volume 1, scholars who postulate Luvian invasions are unlikely to turn to the Levant and I gypt for anything. 5 Secondly, these scholars, whose general preference has been to down-date, have tended to accept the standard absolute chronology for the Minoan ceranne periods, rather than revise it upwards. Thus, for them, LMH began in 1450. This date makes the evidence from the tomb of Rh mri Re ht the conventional belief in the Mycenaean conquest at that date. However, it is difficult to reconcile with a conquest during LHIIIA. dated between 1380 and 1275, if one accepts the chronology of the Cambridge Ancient History.

The discrepancy is removed, however, if one uses the new higher chronologies necessitated by the re-dating of the Thera eruption to 1628 BC. Kemp and Merrifices put the beginning of LMII between 1500 and 1475, although they do not commit themselves on the date of the start of LMIIIA. Thus, then scheme would not allow for the Mycenaean takeover at the beginning of LMII. Betancourt goes still higher, starting LMII in 1550 and LMIIIA in 1400 BC. Even though he puts the break between LMIIIA1 and LMIIIA2 as 1430–1440, it

would be quite possible to compress the earlier period so as to allow for the destruction of Knossos at the end of LMIILA1 to have taken place during the span of Rh mri Rebetween 1470 and 1450. In fact, such a high chronology for the beginning of LMIIIA is not necessary and it could be allowed for even if one puts this at ϵ 1470 as 1 do. Thus, it would seem likely that the Mycenaean takeover at least began with the start of LMIII, although it is just possible that the destruction at the end of LMIIIA1 was the result of conquests or raids from Asia which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CRETAN AND MYCENAFAN MISSIONS TO EGYPT

The dating of the Mycenaean takeover to the decades between 1470 and 1450 is also strengthened by evidence from Egyptian court annals. In the forty-second year of Tuthmosis III, c. 1462, these record 'furbute of the chief | of 11 nsv, Ia-na-vu; a worked silver 'Shuabi' from the country of Kftiw'.100 The tomb of Mn hpr Re snb, in which the king or chief of Kaftu is depicted as a Syro-Palestinian, appears to have been painted near the end of Tuthmosis' reign, the pharaohdied 6, 1450. The German Egyptologist Wegner argued on stylistic grounds that this tomb antedated that of Rh mil Re, but Vercoutier, who wrote the standard work on the subject, maintained that, if anything, the tomb of Mir hpr Re sub-was earlier. 1 hus, as the Danish archaeologist Ingrid Strøm has suggested, the picture of the arrival of a 'Syro-Palestiman' king of Kaftii, begging for 'the breath of life' near what appears to have been the end of the old Cretan regime, might well be interpreted not merely as a need to come to terms with the Egyptian conqueror of the Levant and actual or potential raider of the Aegean, but also as an appeal for diplomatic or military protection from northern enemies." Similarly, the presentation by a chief of Tanaya of a precious object of Kaftuv workmanship could well represent the presence of the new rulers of Crete, possibly trying to secure then legitimacs through relations with Egypt. These interpretations are, of course, unproven but there is no reason to doubt that Cretan and Greek missions, which the Egyptians at least interpreted as expressing submission, were sent to Egypt in the middle of the 15th century 8c.

THE STATUE BASE OF AMENOPHIS III

There is further evidence of Egyptian contacts with the Aegean some eighty years later, from the reign of Amenophis III c. 1419 - 1381 - "

This comes from one of five bases of what appear to have been statues of the pharaoli from his functions temple at Kom el-Hefan near Thebes. Each of the bases is inscribed with toponyms in cartouches surmounted with the figure of a bound prisoner. Four of the bases refer to places in Syria and Mesopotamia but the lifth refers to ones in the Aegean under the headings Kitiw and Timyw.

Some of these names are lost but twelve remain. They are Imps: Camusa), Buston (Bivas), ks tw no (Kutunava), Mwk inw (Muk'ann), Dyskits (Digaés), Mydinb (Misané), Kithyi (Kutna), Nupyrvy (Nupnavy), Kinywši (Kunuša), Rykiti (Rikata) and Wijwry (Wlliva) Nine scholars have published on these names and they have agreed on the following identifications, limits as Aminissos, ki twiny as Kydoma, Mwk inw as Mycenae, Supyryy as Saupha, Kitiyi as Kythera, Kinywsi as Knossos, Mydinfras Messema and Rykitlas Lyktos. There is some argument over Biss(c)s, which some scholars see as Phaistos and others as Pisara, and Faure believes that Dyskilis is a supposed Tegeai in West Crete, Sergent has it as Tegea in Arcadia but Astour maintains that it is Mount Dikte in Crete. This could also be the name of the palace and city known archaeologically as Kato Zakro in Fastern Crete. Wilwry was mentioned in Chapter V, in the discussion of the name lwil, a city destroyed by Senwosre Land Amenembe IL^{3 1} Four scholars had their own individual candidates, while three plumped for (W)thos or Troy, despite the fact that it is far to the north of the other cities. 112

This list provides us with a mass of extremely important information. It provides evidence of many place names four or five hundred years before their earliest other attestation. This strengthens the case for a strong cultural continuity from the Bronze to the Iron Ages in Greece. It also shows that Egyptians had specific knowledge of the Southern Aegean, at least in the early 14th century. As the city names are inscribed in cartouches sufmounted by the image of a bound prisoner, the base could be interpreted as a claim to Egyptian dominance over the area. "On the other hand, as many scholars have pointed out, binding is merely a New Kingdom convention for indicating a foreigner, and other states, such as Hitti. Assur and Mitanni, which were clearly independent at the time were represented in the same way."

The idea that the names of the statue base do not merely represent symbolic power has been strengthened by the work of the archaeologists Vronwy Hankey and Fire Cline, who have correlated the inscription with archaeological discoveries of Egyptian objects from the reign of Amenophis III in the Aegean region and with Aegean objects found in Egypt. These and their implications will be discussed further in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to state that Hankey

and Cline have made a plausible case for the list's representing an itin erary of one or more official voyages to the Aegean. On the other hand, the Australian archaeologist Merrillees makes a strong case when he argues that, by the 14th century BC, the name Kftiw was an anachronism and that the figures above the cartouches are 'of Semine type', indicating that they could not be portraying Mycenaeaus, who were in control of the Aegean by the time of Amenophis III. As he is when he considers the period of Tuthmosis III, Merrillees is extremely unwilling to entertain the notion that Cretains or Greeks could have been politically subordinate to Egypt. "

It seems to me that the hypotheses of Hankey and Merrillees are not mutually incompatible. The phonetics of the transcriptions of the Aegean place names show that they cannot antedate the New Kingdom. There is no reason, however, why they should not come from the reigns of Hapshesowe and Tuthmosis III in the early 15th century, when Kitiw was still the appropriate name for Crete. On the other hand, Hankey and Cline have made a powerful circumstantial case for supposing that there was Egyptian political activity in the Aegean during the reign of Amenophis III. Given the economic, military and cultural inequality between the two regions, there would seem to be good grounds for accepting the Egyptian claims for some sort of hegemony over the Aegean at this time.

CONTACTS BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE AEGEAN IN THE LATE 18TH AND 19TH DYNASTIES

As mentioned above, tribute from the Tsles in the midst of the Wid wr' is recorded from the reign of Amenophis III's successor Amenophis IV/Akhenaton. There are also reports of imports of precious stones from Khilw These would confirm what we know about the exchange of luxury goods between the two regions in the first half of the 14th century from the Kayshipwreck. However, both the wreck with the considerable Levantine cargo and the Amaria letter, in which the pharaoh was informed of the situation in Dantina by the king of Tyre, seem to suggest that in the middle of the 14th century, Egypt was not communicating with the Aegean directly but through Levantine and possibly Cypriot middlemen. Documents from the rate 18th and 19th Dynastics refer to goods and possibly slaves from Kitiw and the name pr Kitiwy (The Cretan) is found from this period too.118 A fragment from the late 19th of early 20th Dynasty, 6 1200 BC, states: 'I [came back] and I brought back a Kitiwy.' Thus, there appears to have been direct as well as indirect communication

between Egypt and Crete. The revival of Egyptian power in Syro-Palestine at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty in the first quarter of the 19th century seems to have had some effect in Greece. Ramesses II, who reigned for sixty-six years from 1304-1237 BC, claimed that the islands in the midst of the Wid wr had returned to Egypt, or, more specifically, 'Ramesses II, your prestige has crossed the Wid wi and the islands in its midst are in fear and the envoys of her chiefs come to him for fear governs their hearts'.12 How close the relationship was at this time is more difficult to say and we shall see in the next chapter that there is much less archaeological evidence of contacts between Egypt and the Aegean for the 13th century than there is for the 14th. By the end of the 13th century the boot was on the other foot and there are the reports, mentioned above, of the plots and invasions of the Peoples of the Sea, many of whom, including the Pist, the Tki, the Trš and the Dnn. came from the Aegean. " Thus, it is likely that by the 12th century cultural influences flowed in both directions.

A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE FROM EGYPTIAN DOCUMENTS AND PAINTINGS

The picture we gain from this evidence is that Egyptians had been aware of Crete since the 31d millennium. There is no sign from the documents of any Middle Kingdom contact with the Aegean, but the recent discovery of the Mit Rahina inscription warns us against putting too much trust in the argument from silence on this. There are indications of knowledge of Crete during the Hyksos period. There are also hints that there was some kind of alliance between the rising 18th Dynasty and the people of His nbw. After c. 1570 there seems to have been a gap in relations until the reign of Tuthmosis III (1504-1450), when there are Egyptian claims of expeditions to the Aegean and reports of tributary missions to Egypt from both Kftlw (Crete) and This (Mycenaean Greece). The statue base from the funerary temple of Amenophis H1 (1419-1381) shows that Egyptians of this time had quite a detailed knowledge of at least the Southern Aegean. There is a report of another tributary mission in the reign of his suctessor Amenophis IV Akhenaton (1381-1364) and a report on the situation in Danuna (Greece) to the pharaoh from the king of Tyre. There are occasional later references to Greece but contacts between the two regions appear to have lessened by the middle of the 13th century. Soon after this, however, there are several Egyptian references to Aegean Peoples of the Sea, who raided Egypt and the Levant in the late 13th and 12th centuries BC.

These references tell us nothing about the Aryan Model. However,

the relatively intense and protracted nature of Egyptian contacts with the Aegean they reveal both weakens and strengthens the Ancient Model. In the narrow sense it is weakened because these contacts would seem sufficient to explain the deep cultural borrowings from Egyptian to Greek culture proposed in these volumes without needing the settlements postulated in the Ancient Model. However, as mentioned in the last chapter, there are reasons for postulating earlier borrowings. The contacts strengthen the Ancient Model historically by showing the relative ease of contact between Egypt and the Aegean during the Bronze Age. The spottiness of the record indicates how easy it would be for other contacts to have taken place without leaving any trace. Finally, the lack of emphasis these admitted contacts have received in the historiography of Ancient Greece throws a very interesting light on the ideology of 19th- and 20th-century historians.

MESOPOTAMIAN AND UGARITIC DOCUMENTS

Most of the Egyptian documents referred to above were known by 1930, when the Extreme Aivan Model became enshrined as the objective interpretation. Since then, a number of new sources of documentary evidence from the Semitic-speaking Near Fast have become available, which have substantially altered the picture. The first of the new sources are the tablets from Ugarit on the Syrian coast near the northern end of the Levant. Some of these are in Akkadian and Hurrian but most are written in the local West Semiric language now called Ugaritic Before looking at the Ugaritic texts, however, we should examine other sources from Syria and Mesopotamia, many of which are newly discovered.

The reference to DA-neb in the geographical list found at the Mesopotamian site of Abu Salabikh dating to the middle of the 3rd millennium has been mentioned above. The parallel list from Ebla, dating to approximately the same period, appears to call the same place am-nib. This toponym may well be related to Amnissos, the port of Knossos, which appeared on the statue base of Amenophis III as limits ('amnisa) and thus clearly existed in the Bronze Age. If Amnissos really does date back to the 3rd millennium, the name can hardly refer, like many Egyptian toponyms, to the god Amon, as his cult emerged only in the 12th Dynasty in the 20th century BC. On the other hand, it would be quite plausible to derive it from the Egyptian limit (west), even though in place names this always appears with a final -t. 123

A Mesopotamian text ostensibly dating back to the reign of Sargon the Great in the 24th century, but probably from much later, refers to 'Kaptara beyond the Upper Sea'; the Upper Sea was the conventional name for the Mediterranean. Lists from the city-state Mari, on the Upper Fuphrates, in the early 18th century be mention Kaptara as a trading partner and centre of craftsmanship. There is also a specific mention of a consignee of goods in Ugarit known as a Kaphtorite. From these documents, it is clear both that there was frequent trade between Mesopotamia and Syria on the one hand and Crete on the other and that, during the 2nd millermium, Cretan goods were much admired in the Near East, as they were in Egypt. This, and the distance and isolation desirable for a divine residence, would explain why the Ugaritic god of metal-work and craftsmanship Kir w his was supposed to dwell in Crete.

Like other Levantine ports, such as Alalakh, Ugarit was an extraor-

dinarily commercial society.19 As Michael Astoni put it.

In Ugarit, the big merchants were the upper class—they owned the largest land estate, they surrounded the throne as advisers and administrators, and they served in the elite corps of the army as mananum—charioteers. —if we look for a parallel to the Ugarit mananum, it would be the patriciate not of early Rome but of Medieval Venice, except that the social relations in Ugarit were far from the rigidity and exclusiveness of the Venetian mercantile oligarchy.

Given the extraordinary activity and geographical range of Ugaritic trade, it is surprising how little contact there appears to have been with the Aegean. It is clear that the Ugaritic authorities were extremely concerned about the ethnic identities of the merchants with whom they traded, yet, as the archaeologist and social historian Anita Yannai put it,

the fact remains that although Canaanites, Assyrians, Hurrians, Egyptians, Alasiotes (Cypriots) and inhabitants of virtually every city up and down the Syro-Palestinian coast are mentioned in the abundant archives, these have not yielded any ethnic, geographic or personal names that are indisputably Greek, nor any Linear B texts.¹²⁸

Yannai was, of course, referring to the texts in the second rather than the first half of the 2nd millennium, when we know that there was a Kaphtorite in the city. Even in the later period, however, there is the exception of the geographical name Kaphtor itself. Another apparent exception is the name. Bin Dnn found in the records. Astoni argues

that the man of that name had relatives with West Semitic names, indicating that it had indigenous roots there of This is indeed a puzzle but it is clear that the Hittite and Indo-European gentilic or was used in Ugaritic, for example in the name 'aiwdn, the Aiwadite. Thus it is possible that, despite the Semitic connections, Dnn meant 'Greek

The clearest link between Ugarit and Grete comes in a tax document from the 13th century concerning a tambarum (officially licensed merchant) called Smarenu, who was regularly trading with the island. By this time, however, Ugarit was in the Hittite sphere of influence. It may well be that after about 1366 BC there was a politicoeconomic blockade between this zone and Mainland Greece. This will be discussed further in Chapter XI of A blockade would help explain the absence of Greeks from Ugaritic texts, most of which come from after 1366 BC, and the apparently limited direct contact of Ugaritic merchants with the Aegean. Furthermore, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is very likely that Cyprus on or beyond the fringes of the Hittite empire served as an entrepot between the two zones. Although there are no mercantile documents from there, archaeological evidence indicates that there was considerable trade between the Aegean and the Southern or Egyptian sector of the Levant.

More germane to the Ancient Model and the extent of Levantine influences on Greece are the poetical and mythological texts found at Ugarit. These reveal a 2nd-millennium West Semitic mythology that in many ways provides a bridge between that of Greece and what we can glean of Israelite and Canaanite mythology from the rationalizations of the Bible. This largely on these texts that Cyrus Gordon and Michael Astom based their claims for the derivation of much Greek mythology from the West Semitic.

The classicist and Semitist Ruth Edwards has shown that, in some instances, Astour's claims are founded on very flinsy evidence. However, while she is right to challenge their certainty, she is very far from damaging their probability and, as Largued in Volume 1, competitive plausibility not certainty is all that one can or should require in these areas. Thus, for instance, when Edwards points out the unreliability of the reading of the Ugaritic texts on which Astour bases his claim that there was an Ugaritic divinity of the morning star or dawn called Qdm and one of the evening star or dusk called 1b, she does not destroy the cumulative circumstantial case he has made for this; still less does she weaken the overwhelming plausibility of a link between the Greek legendary figures Kadmos and Europa, who travel from Phoemicia in the east to Greece in the west, with the Semitic words qdm (east) and 'rb (west and sunset).¹³⁵

Furthermore, the striking number of parallels between West Semitic and Greek mythology brought out by Astom and Gordon should be taken as a whole and in the light of the fundamental question 'why not'? What is so unlikely about the idea of Greek culture having bortowed heavily from one of its most sophisticated neighboris? However, I am running ahead of invself. All that can be claimed at this point is that a number of scholars have seen striking parallels between some West Semitic myths and legends preserved on Ugaritic tablets and Greek myths that appear in later sources.

Thus, both the economic and cultural texts from Ugant suggest sustained contact between the Levant and the Aegean during the Bronze Age. The cultural borrowings could well be the result of intense and frequent trade and they do not prove the case for Levantine conquests of, or settlements in, the Aegean Nevertheless, they would

certainly by very well with the Ancient Model

AFGEAN DOCUMENTS

Although the Aegean syllabaries, I means A and B, were discovered by Arthur Evans at the furn of the century, they were not deciphered until the 1950s. Thus, like that of the Ugaritic tablets, the content of the Aegean ones became available to scholars only after the Extreme Arvan Model was firmly in place. However, like the Ugaritic texts, the Aegean ones have, in the long run, proved subversive to the model.

Tablets written in the Linear A syllabary have been found in Crete, the Cylades and Mycenae in strata dated from the beginning to the middle of the 2nd millennium. It is now generally acknowledged that it can be read by using known sound values from the related syllabary. Linear B. As the doven of Mycenaean studies John Chadwick outs it. 'Granted some uncertainties about the identification of individual styris, it seems clear that in the main the Linear B syllabic values hold. good also for Linear A 11. When Cyrns Gordon read it in this way in the 1950s, disbelief in this was used as a weapon to attack his ideas of close cultural contacts in the Bronze Age Fast Mediterranean, Now, however, this part of his hypothesis is uncontroversial. On the other hand, the interpretation of the language for which I mear A was used is still hotly debated. Nevertheless, whether or not the language was basically Semine, there is no doubt that it contained Semine words. Gordon cites kunisu, written with the ideogram for wheat, which he relates to a Semitic form found in the Akkadian kutuwu teninier wheat); he also relates gapa and supu, types of pots, to the Hebrew kp and the Hebrew and Ugaritic sp (vessel), and same (wine) to the Hebrew yayîn. 57 Helck adds to these kumma (cumin), the Akkadian kammunu, Sumerian gamun, Hebrew kammön, sasame (sesame), the Akkadian šamašama, the Ugaritic ssmn, samuku (raisin), the Hebrew simmuq, sarimu (saffron), the Akkadian šumu (saffron), which Helck associates with the Greek selmon (celery/rac); karopa (a 'type of vase'), the Akkadian karpatu and Ugaritic krpnm; and akunu, Akkadian ag gânu (a peel). 58 Thus, either the 'Minoans' were originally Semitic speakers or their culture received considerable cultural influence from the Levant or both.

Here, however, we shall deal only with the uncontroversial and restrict ourselves to the many personal and some place names which can be identified with near certainty. The personal onomastica tend to parallel the roughly contemporary Egyptian 'list of names from Kftiw' and indicate a population with Egyptian, Semitic, Hurrian and Anatolian names, as well as the name Danane discussed above. I hus, the Egyptian texts and pictures, as well as the 'Minoan' documents in Linear A, indicate that, at least c. 1700—1470 BG, the population of Crete was thoroughly mixed and contained considerable numbers of people with Egyptian and Semitic names.

Linear B

Tablets written in this syllabary have been found at Knossos and in Mainland Greece from the 13th and possibly the 14th century BC Despite the fact that many texts still cannot be translated satisfactorily, there is now no doubt that Ventris and Chadwick correctly interpreted Linear B as Greek.¹⁵⁹

Proof that at least late Mycenaean society was Greek-speaking has confirmed the work of those scholars, like the historian of Greek religion Martin Nilsson, who had argued that there was a strong continuity between the Late Bronze and Early from Ages. Specific evidence of this has been found in the many names of people, places and divinities in Linear B texts for which there are Archaic and Classical Greek parallels. On the other hand, some scholars were disconcerted to find several words of admitted Semitic origin – notably kurnso, chrysos from $h \leq h h r h s$ (gold); kito, chiton or kitôn from the Semitic ktn, the Hebrew kətoner (tunic) and rita, hita in later Greek (garment linen) from the Semitic h (covering), the Assyrian htu and the Hebrew lot.

The introduction of these words had previously been attributed to Phoenician traders in the 8th or 7th centuries BC. ** Even today, there is a tendency to play down then significance by linking them to the names of the spices, most of which are already attested in Linear A (see above) kummo, the Greek kymmon, sasama, the Greek sesamon, and kuparo, kypairos, the Ugaritic kpr and the Hebrew koper. These were then classified merely as 'contact borrowings', which could have been picked up through casual trade."

In fact, however, they cannot be dismissed so easily. Clothes are not unnecessary luxuries in the European climate and archaeological evidence shows that gold, the precious metal, was of cultural significance in Greece even in the Neolithic. Thus, the absence in Greek of a word for 'gold' belonging to the widespread Indo-European family—for which the root *ghel has been postulated—and its replacement by a Semitic world would seem to indicate very substantial contacts.⁵⁷⁷

The Linear B tablets also show that the Aegean palatial economy followed oriental models. (18 As Ventius and Chadwick argued, when they compared the Aegean and Levantine versions,

These contemporary records (from Mesopotamia and Syria) present the most useful and significant analogies with the Mycenaean tablets, and will often be found quoted in our commentary. In spite of some differences of climate and culture, the similarities in the size and organization of the royal palaces and in the purposes for which the tablets were written ensure close parallels, not only in the listed commodities and their amounts, but even on occasion in phraseology and layout. Some direct knowledge of each other's scribal methods through the medium of Mycenaean traders cannot be ruled out.¹⁴⁴

The ideological implications of the last sentence are fascinating. The idea that Mycenaeaus could have had a significant impact on the structures of long-established Near Eastern palace administrations shows the extraordinary force of 'Aryanism'. What is more, although it is possible that there were Greeks at Ugarit, and it is very likely that there were some further south, there is far stronger evidence (see below) that there were Levantines in the Aegean. Thus, it is clear that the authors' insistence on the medium of Mycenaeau traders comes from their Graeco-centrism. Nevertheless, the striking parallels they note are clearly there. There are, for instance, specific parallels in the systems of measurement, even though Chadwick and Ventris try to play these down:

It will be noted that the ratios and the volumes of the biblical system for liquids show some analogy with the Mycenaean' there are reasons for regarding the former as survivals of a general Canaanite system, traces of which can be seen in use at Ugarit, but a direct influ-

ence on Mycenae is perhaps doubtful. The primary dry unit also corresponds perhaps accidentally with the Babyloman interu or 'donkey load', which is similarly subdivided into ten. (my emphasis) 45

On the other hand, the Semiust and mathematician Robert Stieglitz points out that Linear A texts show that they were primarily influenced by Egyptian decimal practices, while those of Linear B bear a closer resemblance to Mesopotamian sexagesimal practices. ¹⁵ This could be explained by the hypothesis that the methods used in the Old Palaces, which were heavily influenced by Egypt, survived in the New Palaces in Crete, but that further north, Canaamte 'Hyksos' practices were established. However, such hypotheses are purely speculative.

Overall, however, the best explanation for the striking parallels between the Mycenaean Aegean and Syro Mesopotamia is to suppose that, along with the palaces and the script, the Mycenaean rulers took over the bureaucratic traditions of their predecessors in Crete, which in turn belonged to the general institutional patterns of the Near East. This does not, however, rule out the likelihood of later borrowing.

There is one way in which the society portrayed in the Linear B tab lets is very unlike that revealed by the texts from Ugarit, which was probably very similar to that of other Levantine cities. It is that there is no indication of merchants in the Mycenaean palaces. This is particularly puzzling because most archaeologists have assumed that most if not all of the very widespread Mycenaean pottery was transported. by Mycenaeans 6. Thus Emily Vermeule writes of the Mycenaean merchants: 'They are an anonymous, adventinous, essential element in empire society, whose lives will not be completely illuminated until some Mycenaean harbor installation is discovered and excavated.108. Although this statement is true in an absolute sense, it is misleading when comparison is made with the Levantine cities. The Mycenaean merchants do not lack complete illumination archaeologically, however, the I mear B tablets throw no light whatsoever on them. There seems to be an essential difference in the fact that, where the palace at Ugain has provided information about the city's merchants, the Ms cenaean palaces have not.

From the written evidence, we know that overseas trade was extremely important at Ugarit and there is no reason to suppose that it was any different from the other cities on the Levant in this respect. The Aegean records tell us nothing about Mycenacan trade. Thus, we know, from the tomb paintings discussed above, that Cretans and Mycenacans arrived in Egypt bearing valuable goods. We also know from

a Hittite document that ships of Ahhiyawa were quite usual on the Levant in the mid-13th century and we shall see in the next chapter that there is archaeological evidence to suggest this " Furthermore, we shall see from the archaeological evidence that it is possible that some important merchant ships were sailed by Greeks. Nevertheless, it is clear that trade was less central to Mycenaean society than it was to that of the crites of the Levant. It may be that the Aegean was less dependent on Egyptian grain. But it is likely that both regions required at least aid to overcome crop failures in order to maintain their high populations and economic specialization.

While the Danams and Achaians described in Homer were thoroughly maritime in their long ships, in his view most trade and most luxury manufacture seems to have been carried out by Phoenicians. The impossible to solve the question of whether the poet was here testering to his own time in the 10th of 9th centuries of to that of the Trojan War in the 13th of to an amalgani of both. There is, in fact, little doubt that Phoenicians did fulfil this function in Homer's lifetime but I see no reason why this should not have been the case in the

Late Bronze Age itself.138

Thus, it would seem clear from documentary evidence that both Levantine and Mycenaean ships were travelling between the Near East and the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age and it is likely that Egyptian ones were too. The archaeological evidence for major and continuous contacts will be discussed in the next chapter. However, indications of intense contact with the Near East also appear from the documents too, from the Semitic vocabulary and lists of ivory and other exotic materials which have been recorded. Thus, there is little doubt that the earlier cosmopolitanism in the Aegean, indicated by the Egyptian paintings and the list of names from Kitiw, persisted into Mycenaean times.

Onomastica in Linear B contain dozens of names with plausible Semitic, Hurrian or Egyptian etymologies, for example, Vikupilijo, Algyptos. This came originally from Ht kt Pth (Temple of the Spirit of Ptah), an Egyptian name for Memphis. Thus, the personal name theans 'Memphite' or 'Egyptian' (This etymology and the attestation of the name Algypios of his twin and enemy Danaos are mentioned above.) '' There are also such names as Misarajo from the Semitic Mşiy (Egyptian), Aradajo, probably a gentilic from the Phoenician city Arwad, written Arados in Greek, and Turijajo and Turijo, Tyrtan, '' There is also the name Kupirajo, which would seem to be a gentilic from Cyprus, 190

Onomustica also suggest the presence of African Blacks in the Ae-

gean. A tijoqo, which Chadwick plausibly links to the Homeric Authropes, appears several times, and Chadwick and Chantraine plausibly associate the Mycenaean names Sima and Simo to the later ones Simos, Simon, Simmos and Simmias and to the word simos (snubnosed). Xenophanes, a poet of the 6th century BC, referred to the Aithiopes as simon 100 Chadwick and Chantraine also accept the hypothesis that these are linked to a lost form that was borrowed into Latin as simia (monkey).1 All of these and quite possibly the Hebrew name of Smr'on would seem to derive from the Egyptian 3mr(w), 'Upper Egyptian' or 'musician'. The acceptance of this etymology has interesting and not altogether pleasant consequences. Firstly, it would suggest that Upper Egyptians were seen in ancient as well as medieval times as Blacks. Secondly, it would also imply the antiquity of the common white or brown European association of African Blacks with negroid features with monkeys. There is no doubt that, while Greeks and Romans were by no means as obsessed with racism as Northern Europeans have been since the institution of racial slavery in the 17th century AD, they were far from free of racial prejudice

In general, the evidence from the Linear B tablets indicates that society in the 14th and 13th century Aegean was less mercantile than that of the cities of the Levant, Nevertheless, the structure of palatial society was strikingly similar to that in the Near Fast, and it is clear that there were many Egyptians, Blacks and Levantines, and/or their

descendants, in Crete and the Peloponnese at the time

Conclusion

The evidence from the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Levantine and Aegean documents all points in the same direction. Firstly, there are suggestions that these regions were in some sort of contact in the 3rd millennium. Secondly, it is clear from the tablets in Tinears A and B that Cretan palatial culture was thoroughly permeated with the bureaucratic practices of the Near Fast and it would seem likely that this was so from their first establishment in the 21st century BC. Evidence from Crete and Thera shows that there continued to be close contact between at least the Southern Aegean and Egypt and the Levant in the succeeding centuries; we have no documentary information about the situation further north. It would seem that with the beginning of the 18th Dynasty in the early 16th century there was some kind of alliance between it and some forces in the Aegean. Furthermore, there appear to have been Fgyptians and Semitic-speakers in Crete and Cretans in Egypt.

With the expansion of Egyptian power in the 15th century there was increasing contact between the two regions. There is no doubt that the Egyptians believed they were receiving tribute from the region and it seems that the Egyptians sent expeditions, possibly punitive ones, to the Aegean. It is quite clear that, at least by 1400 BC, Egyptian officials had a reasonable notion of the region's geography and that both Cretans and northerners continued to send tribute to Egypt until the end of the 14th century. In this period, however, there is some doubt as to the extent to which contact between Egypt and the Aegean was direct and how much was transmitted through the Levant and Levantines. There is an interesting hiatus during the 13th century, that is to say, the documents suggest that contact lessened not merely during the period of the Sea Peoples in the 12th but also during the apparently flourishing reign of Ramesses II in the 13th century.

The intensity and long duration of these contacts, which is far greater than scholars working within the Aryan Model were, until recently, prepared to accept, makes the extent and depth of Egyptian and Semitic influence on Greek culture proposed in these volumes very plausible. This very fact, however, makes the colonizations proposed by the Ancient Model redundant and here again I should insist that I am not arguing that all or even nearly all Egyptian and Semitic elements of Greek culture are the results of these hypothetical settlements. Nevertheless, the documentary evidence of close contact a particularly between the upper classes—if anything increases the

likelihood of earlier colonization.

Egyptian and Levantine contacts with the Aegean, 1550–1250 BC The archaeological evidence

E NOW COME ON to much firmer terrain. In the last chapter we have seen that there is considerable documentary evidence of contacts between the Near East and the Aegean during these centuries. After 1500 the Near East and East Mediterranean were dominated by a system of 'Great Powers' — Egypt, Babylonia, the Mitanni, Assyria and the Hittites. From the 14th and 13th centuries, a significant amount of diplomatic correspondence among these powers has survived. This provides a remarkably good framework in which to place and understand the considerable quantity of archaeological material available.

Until recently, however, the match between the two types of evidence had been obscured by the dating of the Greek ceramic periods. Thus, for instance, it was difficult to tally the Gretan LMH, in which there appeared to have been relatively little contact between the island and Egypt, with the reign of Amenophis III, whom Egyptian records showed to have been an extremely powerful pharaoh with an active and wide ranging foreign policy which included the Aegean Furthermore, many objects with his cartouche have been found at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece. I hope to show in this chapter that, with the updating of ceramic periods called for by Kemp and Merrillees, on the basis of Egyptian synchronisms, and by Betancourt, in order to keep in line with carbon dates and the re-dating of Thera, the whole pattern makes much better sense.

There is a tradition that the hero Pelops settled in Greece from Anatolia, and that his descendants overthrew the Heraklid 'Hyksos'

dynasties and established kingdoms in the peninsula, which was called the Peloponnese after him. The dates at which such a colonization could have taken place and the great difficulties in tracing it archaeologically will be discussed below. Here it should simply be noted that he was universally reported to have arrived considerably later than Danaos and that, unlike the legends around the latter and Kadmos, there are no traditions of Pelops having introduced any new technique or institution other than chariot racing.

Accepting the shifts in chronology proposed in previous chapters, there are no reports of any colonizations or invasions from Egypt or the Levant during these centuries. It is possible, however, that, as some of the documents discussed in the last chapter suggest, there were Egyptian or Egypto-Canaanite punitive expeditions to the Acgean in the 15th century and that rulers in the region offered what the Egyptians took to be tribute and a recognition of the pharaoh's suzerainty at other points in the following 150 years ' Nevertheless, there would seem little doubt that most of the contact between the regions in this period took the form of state or private trading, certainly in luxures and very probably in staples. This took place within a civilized world stretching out in all directions, well beyond the Fertile Crescent and the East Mediterranean, but particularly within the region that appears to have been directly or indirectly under Egyptian power. All this came to an end with migrations and tribal movements, possibly precipitated by chmatic deterioration in the late 13th century and exacerbated by the eruption of Hekla III in the 12th century BC.1

The central areas, Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant, recovered from the crisis relatively quickly. By contrast, while the name 'Dark Age' should not be taken to mean a complete extinction of culture, it took peripheral regions like Iran. Anatolia and the Aegean longer to revive and, when they did so, it was in very different forms. The Hittite Empire was replaced by the Phrygian and other kingdoms and in the Aegean the palaces of the Bronze Age were replaced by the polers or city-states following the new patterns developed in Phoenicia at the end of the Bronze and beginning of the Iron Age. This chapter, however, is not concerned with the collapse and the period of the so-called invasions of the Sea Peoples but with relations among the three regions during the high civilization of the Late Bronze Age.

LATE MYCENALAN GREECE

While not so dramatic as the expansion of documentary evidence, the archaeological evidence for the period after 1470 BC is substantially greater than that for the early Mycenaean period. Similarly, though

they were not so spectacular as the grave goods of the Shaft Graves, turnuli and early tholor, the grave goods from later tombs provide considerable information about upper-class material culture. There is also evidence of several palaces and many remains of settlements and fortifications from all over Mainland Greece and the islands. In addition to this, there is archaeological as well as documentary evidence from the palace at Knossos for the fact that, somewhere around 1450, Greek-speaking mainlanders took over Crete.

As mentioned in Chapter IX, while the Mycenaean palaces may have had certain 'northern' features like the megarin or hall with fire place, they were generally cut-down versions of the greater and more luxurious palaces of the Middle East and Minoan Crete. Like those of the Middle East, and unlike the Cretan palaces, many of those of Mainland Greece were fortified. In the 14th century, presumably after the Pelopid invasion, the architectural style of these fortifications followed the Anatolian 'Cyclopean' style of gigantic irregular stone works.' At the same time, the long-standing Cretan and Mainland tradition of tholos tombs was developed to create the massive and splendidly decorated 'beehive' tombs of which the best known is the so-called 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae.'

From the tablets, it is known that there was a massive amount of metal-work in the palaces of which very little indeed survives; the same is true of the wood and ivory work and jewellery. What has survived indicates a persistence of early Mycenaean 'Hyksos' motifs – lion hunts, sphinxes and griffins—and if anything an increase of the Minoan influences, as well as traces of earlier and contemporary. Near Eastern art, 'These motifs also occur on the seals which follow the Minoan and early Mycenaean traditions closely.' There are also some fragmentary murals which resemble Cretan and even more clearly. Theran prototypes, 11

However, a much larger and more original corpus of Mycenaean painting comes from pots. The Mycenaean palaces and even more the tombs have produced a mass of pottery, which has also been found in huge quantities in Cyprus and to a lesser extent in Egypt and the Levant. Many of these pots were painted in a much more distinctively Mycenaean way. While clearly derived from earlier Cretan and to a lesser extent Middle Eastern styles, they are definitely 'Mycenaean' in their attractive naiveté and heaviness. Though many of the scenes on them are of animals and birds, a considerable number are of chariots and their riders and of armed warriors. The same is true of scenes found on pottery from the palace at Pylos in the Southwestern Peloponnese.

There is very little to be surprised at in Mycenaean art and architecture. Everything lits with the picture painted by tradition and revealed by the Linear B tablets of petry kingdoms following Cretan palatial bureaucratic customs and 'Hyksos' and native habits of frequent if not constant warfare with each other. The neatest parallel I can find to Mycenaean Greece is that of Fujiwara and Kamakura Japan between the 9th and 14th centuries AD. In these periods the bureaucratic civilian court system of ultimately Chinese origin coexisted uneasily with an increasingly turbulent military caste which was pushing towards gangsterism or, to give it its more elegant title, feudalism

THE RELATIVE ISOLATION OF THE AEGEAN 1550-1470 BC

In the last chapter I mentioned that Queen Ahliotpe, the wife of Sekenemi'e Tato II of the 17th Dynasty and mother of Amosis, founder of the 18th, was called 'Mistress of the regions of the Haw nbwt'. It is especially interesting to note, therefore, that some of the jewels found birried with her have been plausibly linked to contemporary Minoan work. ¹⁸

Given the wide provenance of the jewels' materials and the other artistic styles involved, it would seem useful to consider these as belonging to the Hyksos cultural zone discussed in Chapters VIII and 1X. The same would seem to be true of the dagger found in her tomb with the name of her son Amosis. Its metal-work and decoration both belong to this non-Egyptian East Mediterranean tradition. An axe of Amosis himself with the inscription 'beloved of Mntw', which, as we know from Chapters IV and V, was altogether appropriate for the expeller of the Asiatic Hyksos, was paradoxically engraved with a griffin and a sphinx." Here, as with his mother's jewellers, it would seem that there was a lag between the political and the artistic revival of native Egyptian as opposed to Hyksos power. Very quickly, however, the traditional forms and motifs of the Middle Kingdom were re-established in their traditional dominance, although, as we shall see, the Hyksos motifs never disappeared altogether during the 18th Dynasty and admiration for Minoan art continued. The prevalence of the Hyksos artistic komë seems to have lasted for only a few years after the establishment of the native dynasty. It is largely for this reason, as well as because of the inscriptional evidence, that Helck described the beginning of the 18th Dynasty as 'the period when the Aegean influence was strongest'.16

According to the chronology used in this book, the 16th century

corresponds to the Cretan LMIB and the Greek LHIIA. Interestingly, fewer Egyptian and Levantine objects have been found in these strata than before or later. On the other hand, a number of Cretan vessels of LMIB have been found in Egypt, some of them in contemporary Egyptian late Hyksos and early 18th-Dynasty contexts. There is also some Mycenaean IIA (1600—1520) pottery in Cyprus and some of the major cities in Syro-Palestine, which Helck plausibly argues in dicates some import of ointments and oil from the Aegean. The possibility that metals were being exported from Greece at this time will be discussed below. In any event, there appears to have been less trade in the later part of the century. This would seem to indicate that after the break-up of the Hyksos common culture, which included the opponents of the Hyksos, around 1570, there was a period of some decades of relative isolation for the Aegean.

EGYPTIAN EXPANSION FROM C. 1520 TO 1420

In his short reign c. 1528-1518, the pharaoh Tuthmösis I campaigned widely in territories both to the south and the north of Egypt It is possible that, in the immediate aftermath of these successes, there were diplomatic and trading contacts between Egypt and the Levant, with Crete and the rest of the Aegean. Some Mycenaean IIB and Minoan II (1520 - 1470 BC) pottery, though not so much as in later centuries, has been found in Cyprus and the Levant but none has been found in Egypt.18 There are also a number of finds of Egyptian objects in the Aegean, which could have arrived at that time. An Egyptian object that may date from this time is an alabaster amphora found at the royal tholos at Vaphio in Lakonia in a LHII context. This tombalso contained the famous gold 'Vaphio Cups' with men and wild and tame oxen.19 At tholos tombs at the Prosymna, three miles from Mycenae, a considerable number of Egyptian objects have been found from LHI to LHIII (1675-1220 BC). Of these, many Egyptian beads, some fragments of a faience bowl and two fitting pieces of an alabaster vase are also associated with LHII pottery, and therefore arrived between 1600 and 1520.20

The alabaster vase bears a resemblance to ten such vases found with small objects in the Cretan Royal Fomb at Isopata, two miles north of the palace at Knossos. Pendlebury put this between LMI and LMII, that is, around 1520 BC. However, it may be that the tomb belongs, as the archaeologist and specialist in Egyptian relations with the Aegean Euc Cline claims, to between LMII and LMIII, that is, c. 1470 "

It is at this latter point that traces of contacts in both directions pick up dramatically. There are a large number of high-quality Egyptian stone vessels from cemeteries around Knossos from this later period. The best known of these is a superbalabaster amphora with an engraved cartouche of Luthinosis III. The absolute dating here of 1470—1430 for the LMIIIA1 context in which this was found would mean that it was buried soon after its manufacture and import rather than a century later, as would be required by the chronology of the Cambridge Ancient History, this is a pattern of alleged delay that we shall see with a number of other Near Fastern finds in the Aegean. Thus, the evidence from the named and the other stone vases would fit with the period of great contact in the full or effective reign of Tuthmösis III from 1470 to 1450 BC.

The history of Egypt during his reign and that of his stepmother Hashepsowe was outlined in the last chapter, and it will be remembered that there appears to have been a considerable difference between Hashepsowe's reign, in which there seems to have been little Egyptian activity to the north, and that of Tuthmösis III, in which the pharaoh launched repeated attacks on the rulers of Syro-Palestine

and his fleets may well have sailed in the Aegean

As we saw in the last chapter, the century 1475–1375 BC seems to have been one of Egyptian suzeramty over the Aegean. Egyptian finds at or near Knossos, from the ceramic period LM LHIIIA which covers the same century, confirm the accuracy of tomb paintings, with their detailed pictures of Cretair metal-work being offered to the Egyptian throne. Confirmation can also be provided from other linds, although most of this evidence is difficult to assess. For instance, a considerable number of scarabs with the cartouches of Tuthmosis III have been found on Mainland Greece. However, most if not all of these are reproductions made during the Saite Dynasty from 604–525 BC. There are also many Egyptian objects found in LHIIIA contexts from Mycenae and elsewhere. Similarly, Mycenaeair pottery from this period is found widely in the Levani.

This increase in the number of finds must be seen in a larger context. In the first place, LHIIIA pottery has been found over a wide geographical range, stretching from Italy and Malta to Cyprus, Syria and Egypt. *Unfortunately, however, this ceramic period covers not only the later reign of Tuthmösis III but also those of his successors Amenophis II (1450 - 1427). Tuthmösis IV (1427 - 1419), and, more importantly, those of Amenophis III (1419 - 1381) and the first half of that of Amenophis IV better known as Akhenaton (1381 - 1364). As it is likely that most of this pottery came from the last two reigns

and belonged to the subdivision LMIIIA2, this will be discussed below after some consideration of the international situation after ϵ 1420 BC.

PELOPS AND THE ACHAIANS: EVIDENCE FROM ANATOLIA

After the death of Tuthmösis III, there was some recession in Fgyptian power. This was not accompanied by a resurgence of Egypt's old enemy in the north, the Mitanni, but by a revival of the Hittite empire under its king Tudhalivas II, who may have had Hurrian ancestry and certainly introduced considerable amounts of Hurrian civilization into Hittite culture. During the 1440s and 1430s Tudhalivas II asserted Hittite power against both Egyptians and Mitanni and became predominant not only in Cilicia but over much of North Syria. Even more interesting from our point of view was the Hittite expansion to the west.²⁹

The discussion in the last chapter omitted a set of Bronze Age documents which was not directly relevant to relations between Egypt, the Levant and the Aegean—that of the Hittites Hittite records report that sometime in the second half of the 15th century be King Tudhahyas II defeated a coalition of states in Arzawa, the old enemy of the Hittites in the west of Anatoha However, this specific league was subsumed under the title Assuwa." The origin of this name and the derivation of 'Asia' from it have been discussed above in Chapter V, where the immense complexities of the Egyptian names lisy and lsy were also considered." Envoys from lsy were among those offering tribute to Luthmösis III. Wolfgang Helck is adamant that this cannot be Assuwa, but the Hittitologist Gurney is not so sure, and there would seem to be some plausibility in the notion of a confederation under threat from the Hittites offering tribute to the pharaoh.

Given the name Assuwa and its connection to Asia, it is interesting to note the Greek traditions that Pelops came from Asia. Pindar connected Pelops' father Tantalos to Lydia, others maintained lie came from Phrygia and Pelops himself was supposed to come from Paphlagonia. The precise location of Pelops' origins is difficult to pindown but the general region is clearly Northwest Anatolia.

Iradition maintained that Pelops was the father of Atteus, who was in turn the father of Agamemnon and Menelaos. These heroic kings were supposed to have reigned at the time of the Trojan War in the second half of the 13th century. Thus a precise acceptance of the tradition, which — estimating thirty years for a generation—would have Pelops born around 1330, cannot be reconciled with an emergence of

the Pelopids before 1400 BC. Furthermore, the spread of Pelops and his descendants from his base in Elis to rule Mycenae, Sparta and other cities in the Peloponnese, would seem to have been a process over more than sixty years. Thus, some degree of compression would seem to be involved in the traditional story. Stubbings goes as far as to argue that Pelops should be seen as belonging to the Shaft Grave period, which he put in the 16th century is:—in this book it is seen as in the early 17th.' Either way, this is excessive, if only because of the clear traditions that the Danaan Dynasty, associated with the hero Perseus, ruled. Mycenae a long time before being replaced by the Pelopids.

It would seem to me plausible to place if not Pelops, then the beginning of the invasion or invasions he represented at the end of the 15th century with the Ahhiyawa or the Achaioi (Achaians). In the early 20th century Ap, the Achaians were seen as the 'tall, fair-haired, greyeved' 'master race' of Greece " In Homer, they are rather less dramatically distinct. Nevertheless, the Homeric Achaians were clearly associated with the Pelopid kings Agamemnon and Menelaos and the expedition they led to Troy.' Pindar made explicit what was implicit in Homer, that Pelops was their ancestor. ** Even so, it is difficult to make an altogether clear distinction between them and the Danaans in the Iliad. In later times, the name Achaia came to be associated with particular localities, notably Achaia Phthiotis in Thessaly, the home of Achilles, and Achaia in the Northern Peloponnese. There were other smaller settlements, usually described as refuges from the later Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese.' There was also a strong and early tradition that there had been Achaians in Grete 15

The association with the Pelopids and the tradition that Pelops had come from Asia, as well as Hesiod's belief that, as sons of Xouthos, they were closely connected to the Ionians, who in Classical times inhabited the central section of the west coast of Anatolia, led Tothcentury scholars to see the Achaians as having come with Pelops from Anatolia. This hypothesis was strikingly strengthened in 1924 with the discovery by the German linguist Finil Forrer of the reference in Hittite texts to a people living to the west of Anatolia called Aḥḥiyawa, whom he immediately identified with the Achaior. This inherent plausibility has been increased by the discovery of striking parallels between legends about Pelops and Hittite texts, which will be discussed below.

Nevertheless, 'sound' and sceptical scholars demanded 'proof' for Forrers claim. It is possible that they were partially motivated by a distaste for the establishment of a link between the 'European' Homeric

heroes and the cuneiform-using Near Fast, even though the affront was mitigated by the fact that the Hittites were speaking a language close to Indo-European. The topic became one of violent controversy and even today there are occasional sputters of opposition. However, the decipherment of Linear B, the indubitable establishment of the Mycenaeans as Greek-speaking and the confirmation from a Linear B tablet that the term Achaian dates back to the Bronze Age have tilted the battle decisively in favour of the identification of the Aḥḥiyawa with the Achaioi.¹⁹

With this connection established, it is possible to begin to reconstruct the history of Pelops and the Achaians. The name Ahlinyawa of Ahhiya first appears in Hitute texts referring to the reign of Tudhaliyas II, who, as mentioned above, had defeated the confederacy of Assuwa in the same region. It would seem likely, though by no means certain, that there is some connection between the two, and that the Ahhiyawa were survivors or incorporated survivors of the earlier opponents of the Hitutes. The text refers to the activities of two freebooters in Western Anatolia, one Madduwatas, who flourished nominally within the Hittite Empire and the other Attarassiyas, an Ahhiyawa, or to be precise an Ahhiya.

According to one episode in this text, Attarassiyas drove Madduwatas out of his country, but Tudhaliyas prevented further pursuit and granted Madduwatas the land of Mt. Zippasla, a name not known elsewhere in the Hittite records 15 It is fascinating to compare this with the Greek legend of Pelops who, as ruler of Paphlagonia, was expelled by Ilos of Phrygia and retired to the Lydian Mt. Sipylos." This is a wonderful example of how legends can both preserve and garble. Greek tradition appears to have preserved no memory of the huge and long-lasting Hittite Empire, which never recovered from its defeat by the Sea Peoples in the 12th century. Nevertheless, the specific idea of refuge around Mt. Zippasla/Sipylos associated with a man of Ahhiya(wa)/Achaia must be a genume survival, even if, as so often happens in such cases, the roles are reversed and the refuge, which according to the early sources was given to the opponent of the Althiya(wa), was given in the legend to Pelops the ancestor of the Achaians

There is another even more striking Greek mythological parallel with a Hittite text – a letter written by a Hittite king – from around 1300 BC. This is concerned with the brother of the king of Aḥḥiya(wa) called Tawagalawas, who lived in the city of Millawanda, generally considered to be Miletos in Western Anatolia. Tawagalawas appears to have considered becoming a vassal of the Hittite king but in the end did not do so. The letter contains a curious passage in which the Hit-

tite king writes to the king of Ahhiva(wa). 'This charioteer used to step on the chariot with me and with your brother Tawagalawas'.'

This idea of sharing an enemy's chariot also occurs in a legend about Pelops, in which there is a complex story about his alliance, and quarrel with and murder of his charioteer Myrtilos. As Wolfgang Helck points out, the similarities to charioteers' changes of alliances are made stronger still by the parallel between Myrtilos and the Hittite royal name Mursilis " Hans Guterbock, the Hittitologist who has written most extensively on the Ahhiyawa texts, believes that the letter containing references to Tawagalawas was probably written by King Hattusilis III, who reigned (1286 1265 BC. The evidence for this preference is by no means clear-cut and the readiness with which the later dating has been accepted must be seen in the context of the general enthusiasm for low dating. Thus it remains quite possible that the king in whose reign it was written was Mursilis II (ε 1346 - 1320 вс), the father and indirect predecessor of Hattusilis III, who conquered Western Anatoha and whose influence may have brought about the end of Troy VI.* Whether or not this is the case, there would seem little doubt that the Greek legends were preserving a garbled version of what we now know to have been historical reality or at least the contemporary propaganda version of it

It would seem, then, that we have two sources of written evidence about the Ahhiyawa Achaians between 1450 and 1200 BC. The Hittite documents and the Greek legends which we can put in conjunction with the evidence from archaeology. It was noted above that sometime around 1430 BC the Hittite king Tudhaliyas II deleated an alhance of states in Northwest Anatolia under the general name of Assuwa, Given the first appearance of the name Ahhiyawa shortly after this and the association of Pelops with Asia, it would seem plansible to suggest that elements of the Assuwa alliance formed or were incorporated into the Ahhiyawa 5 As a working hypothesis it would seem best to view the Abbiyawa mitially as a category of inhabitants of Western Anatolia and the Aegean beyond Hittite royal control. Fauly soon, however, it seems to have denoted people in that category who spoke Greek. Greek tradition is quite clear that the power of the Pelopids spread gradually in Greece and never encompassed the whole territory. Thus, although Ahlinyawa meant 'Greek to the Hittites, in Greece itself 'Achaian' meant only the Hellenized West Anatolians from the Huttle marches who came to dominate Southern Greece This confusion means that when the Hittite texts mention the king of Ahhiyawa, they are almost certamly referring to the king of Argos in Mycenae, but we cannot be sure whether he was a Danaan Perseid or an Achaian Pelopid.

PELOPS 'THE CROWN PRINCE'?

The Greek legends parallel to the Hittite texts show that the name Pelops was used to refer to a number of historical figures from a considerable period. Given the long-term Egyptian influence in both the Aegean and Northwestern Anatolia, I would tentatively propose an etymology for the name from Pripp(t) (the hereditary noble or hen). In 13th century Egypt it meant 'Caown Prince'. Such a title would certainly fit the 'royal' descent from Tantalos. It would also tally nicely with the legend concerning. Tantalos, who sacrificed his son Pelops to entertain the gods; Zeus later reassembled and revived him.⁵³

This theme of a kingly father offering his most precious belonging by sacrificing his eldest son and here has been touched on in Voltime 1.51 As such, I think deriving Pelops from Pripe(t) would be parallel to deriving the name of another sacrificed or nearly sacrificed heir, Isaac, Yishaq or Yishaq, from the Akkadian istaku Sumerian ensi - 'prince', rather than from the folk etymology of 'he laughs', yishåq. Although there is a phonetic difficulty in the distinction between q and k, the semantic basis for the identification is strengthened by the fact that Isaac's mother was called Sarah which means 'queen' This increases the likelihood of the son's being called 'prince'. Martin Nilsson provides further support for this in his discussion of the names Hera and Herakles. The folk tale (unlike the myth) gives commonly no individual name to its heroes but only one which denotes his class or social standing e.g. "the king", "the princess" etc." In Volume 4. I shall try to make the case that this distinction is often not one between noble myths and peasant folktales but one between traditions which have preserved titles of class or social standing in their own languages and those that continued to use titles in old languages, which the tellers of the tales or mythographers do not know. Both Pelops and Isaac appear to fit the latter case

THE ACHAIANS AND THE DANAANS

Whether or not these etymologies are correct, we should not take the Greek genealogies too literally and it is quite possible that there were Achaians not merely in Western Anatolia but in the Aegean area as a whole from the end of the 15th century rather than merely in the 13th century as suggested by Greek tradition. The Homeric picture of a powerful Achaian king based on Mycenae and with family control is given historical substance from the existence of a mid-13th-century treaty between King Tudhaliyas IV (c. 1265–1240) and the king of

Amurru m Syria. In this, the Hittite monarch listed as his equals the rulers of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, and named and then crossed out the title of the king of Ahhiyawa. This negation was clearly not the result of moral obloquy, because Assyria, the constant enemy of the Hitute Empire, was included. Some scholars have argued that the deletion was because destructions in Greece had lessened or annihilated the power of the Achaian king, "This could possibly refer to the first war between Thebes and Argos, which seems to have taken place about this time. It would seem unlikely to relate to the final destruction of Thebes, which, as will be argued below, must have taken place after 1235. Still less could it refer to the Trojan War which was even later. We shall see in the next chapter that there may well have been interesting connections between Thebes and Assyria. Another possible reason for the deletion of Ahmyawa is that, though it was important, it was not sufficiently powerful or was simply too disunited to rate as a 'world power'. In this case the Achaian kingdom at that time would have been at the bottom of the first league and the top of the second.

There are no Hittite reports of Danauns although, as mentioned in the last chapter. Egyptians referred to Tanaya at least until the 12th century, when they are included among the Peoples of the Sea. The Ikwš, who are generally equated with the Aḥḥiyawa and the Achaiuis, appear among those who invaded Egypt in the 5th year of Merneptah 6, 123 t. BC. There are difficulties with the chronology of the following story from Homer, because this raid by the Ikwš would seem to be two decades too early. It is remarkable that Homer described a violent and bloody raid on Egypt by Achaians soon after the Trojan War, which according to this book ended 6, 12 to BC. Furthermore, just as Merneptan claimed to have crushed the invaders, Odysseus reported that, defeated by the Egyptians, his comrades 'were led up to their city alive to work perforce'. This fits the abundantly attested Egyptian practice of using foreign prisoners in construction work. Odysseus himself was treated very differently:

[I] went towards the chariot horses of the king. I clasped and kissed his knee and he delivered me and took pity on me, and setting me in his chariot took me weeping to his home. Verify full many rushed upon me with their ashen spears, eager to slay me for they were exceeding angry. But he warded them off.... There then I stayed for seven years, and much wealth did I gather among the Egyptians. 60

H. L. Lorimer, in her encyclopaedic Homer and the Monuments, pointed out that Odysseus experience had been paralleled many decades ear-

lier by a certain Ynn Tis of the Tursa Tyrsanoi - probably Etruscan barbarians who repeatedly attacked Egypt, but went on to become a high official under the pharaoh Sethos I (1309-1291) " The fact that Odysseus was lying when he told this story makes it even more interesting, as it means that Homer at least believed that it was a plausible common experience.

Despite the use of Ikws (Achaians) by Merneptah, we saw in the last chapter that the Dnn (Danaans) reappear in the invasion of the 8th year of Ramesses III c. 1171 " Thus, just as Homer appears to have used Danaans and Achaians with at least some degree of interchange. ability, by the end of the 13th century BC the Egyptians seem to have been very uncertain as to the precise meanings of these names, although the fact that Tanaya was usually seen as an organized kingdom and the Ikws only as invaders would appear significant. Nevertheless, it would seem that, by the 13th century, Achaians ruled the Argolid and had gained a pre-emment place in Greece as a whole.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRACES OF THE ACRAIANS

From the middle of the 15th century (LHIIIA), the Cretan settlements in Southwest Anatolia, notably at Miletos and Rhodes but also at Kos and a nearby peninsula as well as other islands, begin to be replaced sometimes with and sometimes without destructions by Mycenaean ones.64 These new settlements remained in touch with Crete but there was also considerable trade with Mainland Greece throughout this period. Given the explicit reference to Milawanda (that is, Miletos) in the Hittite text concerning Tawagalawas, there is little doubt that the people of this region comprised part or all of the

Ahhiyawa during the period 1470-1370.

It is hard to find archaeological traces of the Asiatic Achaians in Greece or Crete. It is possible that the partial destruction of the palace at Knossos was the result of an Achaian conquest at the end of LMIHA1, around 1425 BC According to both Hesiod and Homet. Crete was supposed to have Achaians as part of its population, although there is no explicit mention of Danaans on the island. However, it may well be that they were indicated by the name Pelasgian, the Pelasgians being 'Hellenic' according to Hesiod and 'goodly' according to Homer 61 Thus, a number of possibilities remain open. Firstly, the Danaans may have dominated the island at the beginning of the LMHIA and have ruled it for only a few decades before the arrival of the Achaians. This would certainly fit with the evidence from the Egyptian tomb paintings.

Alternatively. Danaans may have conquered Knossos with the destruction of LMHIA1 and the Achaians then slipped in imperceptibly at a later stage. Given the likelihood that the expansion of the Achaians took place in the 15th century, this would require raising the destruction to before 1450, which would be difficult. Yet another possibility is that the Lgyptians were unable to distinguish between the two and that they called Achaians Tanava. This would mean that there was no Danaan conquest of Crete and that there had been only one Greek invasion, that of the Achaians All that is certain is that Greek speakers came to rule Knossos during the LMHIA period between 1475 and 1375 BC and, given then later prominence, it is probable that Achaians dominated the island for most of that period until the invasion of the Domais in the 12th century.

Tradition is clear that the Pelopids' first area of control on Mainland Greece was Elis—in the Northeast of the Peloponnese—and that their rule of Mycenae and the Western Peloponnese came later. The use of Cyclopean masonry, which has plausibly been derived from Anatolia, would seem to have begun in Greece during LHIIIA. However, the technique was clearly spread far beyond the regions controlled by the Pelopids and cannot be used as an indicator of their

presence."

Frank Stubbings argues that the destruction of the palace or palaces at Thebes at the end of LHIIIB) was the work of the new masters of Mycenae * According to the chronology used here LHIIIB) ended about 1300 BC, but Stubbings believed that this was about 1250 BC and, in making this assessment, he was basing himself at least partly on tradition. According to the legends mentioned in Homer and widespread in Athenian tragedy, the war of the 'Seven against Thebes', which took place a generation before the city's final destruction, involved Adrastos the king of Argos, who had many Anatolian connections and might therefore have been the first Pelopid to rule Argos. However, Adrastos and the Seven against Thebes have so many mythic characteristics it is hard to believe in their historicity or base substantial historical constructions upon them." Nevertheless, I see no reason to doubt that there were two sieges of Thebes in the 19th century and that some of the heroes involved were historical figures and that the second siege ended in the city's destruction.

To return to the general topic of this section, there seems to be no archaeological evidence to indicate the arrival of the Pelopids and the establishment of their new dynasties. It would seem that there was no difference of material culture between Danaans and Achaians. Similarly, linguists have not detected an Achaian dialect. However, it will be tentatively argued in Volume 3 that this was what was later known

as Ionian. It is interesting to note that in Antiquity it was believed that there was a close though complicated relationship between the Achaians and the Ionians.68

MYCENAEANS AND HITTITES

One indication that the Achaians were influential in Greece from the middle of the 15th century BC is the surprising lack of evidence of any trade between the Aegean and the areas of Hittite control during the ceramic periods LMIIIA and LMIIIB (c. 1470-1230 Bc). As we shall be discussing below, Mycenaean pottery of these periods has been found over a huge geographical range from Sardinia to Syria and Nubia. In particular, as mentioned above, it has been found in considerable quantities along the western coast of Anatolia, in states that were generally hostile to the Hittite Empire. However, the only site where it has been found in the Anatolian Highlands is Masat in the northeast and Fric Cline argues that this too was beyond Hittite control at the time." It would be plausible, in fact, to link it to the Mycenaean connections with the Trialeti culture in the present-day Georgia.76 In any event, the general point is irrefutable inot a single shard of Mycenaeau pottery has been found at the Hittite capital at Bogazkoy. Equally, only one Anatohan object from this period has been found at Mycenae. It is a steatite hemispheroid semi-bulla or seal, engraved with hieroglyphic Euvian. There is no doubt that the piece is Anatohan and most of the territories using Luvian script were usually under Hittite control. Even so, Cline is quite right to point out that it does not come from the Hittite heartland.31

Mycenaean pots travelled far and documentary sources make it clear that Hittites were active traders. 2 Thus, the lack of archaeological evidence for exchange of material goods would seem to be significant, even though we know that at least one king of Alihiyawa sent a present to King Hatusilis III c 1280 BC. A number of explanations have been suggested for this absence. Some scholars have proposed that it was because Mycenaeans and Hutites were unknown to each other. This, however, is preposterous. Even if one does not accept that the Alhivawa texts, indicating intimate and frequent confrontations, refer to Greeks, there is no doubt that there was contact between the two in Western Anatoha in general and at Miletos in particular. There, for instance, a Hittite cap was found drawn on a locally made Mycenaean shard. 1It is also inconceivable that people It om the two societies did not come into contact in Cyprus, which was often under Hittite suzerainty during their period but contains masses of Mycenaean potters made in the Peloponnese

A more plausible explanation is that there was trade between the two but that it was in perishable commodities, such as textiles and metals that were not carried in pots.² Even more probable is the likelihood that neither side felt the need to trade extensively with the other. Although the Mediterranean agricultural products of the Aegean, like the olive and the grape, could not be grown in Highland Anatolia. Hitutes could obtain them more easily from Cyprus and Syria which were closer and more susceptible to their political control Similarly, neither region had significant amounts of gold or tin but both had their own supplies of copper, silver and lead, and, while the Hittites were using from the Mycenaeans were still in the Bronze Age, though they made amulets and jewels of from."

It would seem likely, however, that this economic independence was reinforced by political will. The bitter rivalry between the Hittites on the one hand and Arzawa and the Ahhiyawa on the other has been mentioned above. Thus, there would seem every reason for there to have been political blockades or boycotts. We know from letters from the Hittite king to officials in Ugarit that the activities of merchants were of great concern to the political powers and that the latter tried

to regulate their activities very closely."

Even more interesting is a treaty between Tudhahyas IV (ϵ 1265– 1240) and the king of Amurrii in Northern Syria. The treaty is directed against Assyria but one line reads: 'Let no ship of Abhiyawa go to him.' * There is little doubt that this was chiefly directed against Tukulu-Ninurta I of Assyria (1244 1208), the conqueror of Babylon, who had seized Commagene, north of Mesopotamia, which had been a protectorate of the Ilittites Nevertheless, it is also a directive to blockade Althiyawan ships and block the overland transport of their goods. 79 There is no doubt that the blockade was not merely symbolic. for example, the lead in a huge block of some thirty kilos found at the Assyrian capital of Ashur, inscribed with the name Tukulti-Ninurta, came from Laurion in Attika.80 Thus, significant amounts of metal must have been transported, before the blockade or in spite of it. The possibility of diplomatic relations, including the sending of precious gifts, between the Assyrian king and Thebes in Greece will be discussed below.

Both Machteld Mellink and Frank Stubbings have tried to link the Hittite blockade of Aḥḥiyawa to the relative lack of Mycenaean LHIIIA and LHIIIB pottery in Cilicia in Southeastern Anatolia, which was usually under Hittite control.* More recently Sherratt and Crouwel have made the argument still tighter by showing that, while very little Mycenaean pottery has been found at Kazanh and Farsus from the 14th and 13th centuries when the Hittites dominated the re-

gion, there were considerable quantities of Mycenaean pottery in the post-Hittite levels. This, however, might indicate not trade but the actual presence of Greek raiders and settlers in Cahcia in the migrations of the Peoples of the Sea St However, their conclusion that 'in Anatolia there appears to be a strong inverse relation between the amount of Late Helladic IIIA-B pottery and [the] degree of Hittite control' is very convincing. 61

Exic Cline goes on from this to make another critically important point which had already been raised by Stubbings in 1951

Furthermore, in Northern Syria, in an area midway between the coastal and extreme inland regions, one finds I HHIA Mycenaeau pottery but little or no LHIIIB pottery. At least six sites are involved: Khan Sheikhoun, Hama, Qatna, Ebla, Carcemish, and Qadesh. All have LHIIIA pottery but only two, Qadesh and Carcemish, report any LHIIIB pottery, and each of these has only one or two identifiable LHIIIB sherds. This is the only area in the entire Syro-Palestinian region where such a discrepancy is immediately apparent. It is also the only major region in Syro-Palestine which came under direct Hittite control. This event happened about 1370 B.C. 85

Cline appears to see the break between LHIIIA and LHIIIB as at around 1300 BC. Using an adjusted chronology, however, I see the break at ϵ . 1365, which then serves as a double demarcation, reflecting both the change of pottery styles and the change of political control of this region.

UGARIT AND CYPRUS

While inland North Syria came under direct Hittite control, Ugarit came under Hittite suzeranty. From the time of the conquests of Tuthinosis HI around 1470 to the weakening of Egyptian power after Akhenaten around 1300 BC, the city was in the Egyptian sphere of influence. At the end of this period, the palace was destroyed and a magnificent new one was built for wealthy and powerful kings, who, nevertheless, acknowledged the suzeranty of the Hitties.

While it is true that Egyptian cultural influence seems to have survived the city's change of political sphere for some time and that it revived after the peace treaty between the Hittites and Egypt in 1284, there is no doubt that there was hostility between the two powers for most of this period.80

The absence of Greek names from the extensive corpus of Ugaritic texts was noted in the last chapter. However, a considerable quantity

of LHHI pottery has been found in the city, so much in fact that the earlier excavators of the site used it to postulate Greek colonies there. This is now generally discredited, as the tombs in which they were found belong to a Levantine tradition going back to the 31d millennium.⁶⁷

Anta Yannai has suggested that one reason for the absence of Greek names may have been the Hittite blockade." This may well be true for the LHIIIB period after 1305, and the treaty between Tudbaliyas IV and Amurri discussed above makes it likely that a boycoit of Alibiyawa shipping continued as an anti-Assyrian move after hostibites had ended between the Hittites and Egypt in 1284. It would not, however, explain the situation when Ugarit was under Egyptian influence from 1470 to 1370. One possibility, mentioned in the last chapter, is that Greeks were present in the city at that time, but there are no direct records from this period."

Regardless of the local situations in Syria, a general economic pattern appears to have been established throughout the Fast Meditertanean from the beginning of LHHIIA that lasted until the end of LHHIIB (=1220 BC). For example, the amount of Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus is quite staggering, especially after the beginning of LHIII V2 (c=1420). As the archaeologist of Cyprus H. W. Cathing wrote:

If we take the island as a whole, the quantity of Mycenaean pottery of the HFA2 and HFB phases is enormous. Rich as the sites in Egypt and along the Syro-Palestinian littoral may be in the same material, I doubt whether the sum of all their finds would approach that of Cyprus.⁹⁰

Astrom has even given the precise figure of 3.445 for the number of Greek pots found there. The quantities have been so huge that scholars have quite rightly suggested that many of them could have been made in Gyprus itself. However, both spectrographic and neutron activation analysis have consistently shown that the overwhelming majority were made in the Peloponnese. (The same is also true for a sample taken in Israel.). Thus, there is every reason to suppose that the Mycenaean pots found in Egypt and elsewhere in the Levant were made in Greece.

MYCENAFAN EXPANSION AND THE CONQUESTS OF TUTHMOSIS III

Although Mycenaean pots found in the Near Fast were plentiful, as the archaeologist and specialist in ancient Mediterranean relations

Vronwy Hankey and Amta Yannai have noted, they were always accompanied by larger numbers of Cypriot ware, and Cypriot pots were sometimes found on their own. Thus, there was a huge increase of trade from both Cyprus and Greece to the Levant and Egypt from around 1470 BC, " Hankey, assuming that LHIII began c 1400, argued that the Cypriot ware appeared first in the reign of Tuthmosis III.41 However, now that it would seem that the Mycenaean ceramic period began 6, 1470, the arrival of the two would seem contemporary.

Although some large, coarse Minoan stirrup jars found in Cyprus and at Ugarit could have been used only as containers, most of the Mycenaean pots were small and fine and were probably valued in their own right. How are we to explain their presence and likely functions? The conventional view is that this could all be explained in terms of Mycenaean enterprise. As H. W. Catling put it in the Cambridge Ancient History.

Whatever the historical facts may be that are represented by the sack of Knossos c. 1300 BC, that catastrophe seems to have cleared the way for a great Mycenaean trading expansion into the east Mediterranean, of which Cyprus became the focus. What had been a trickle in the late lifteenth century became a flood in the fourteenth. . . . Mycenacan Greece maintained a great demand for Egyptian and Levantine merchandise and a regular trading association was built up between the two areas. In the process, Aegean merchants learnt the value of the ports in South and Fast Cyprus both as markets and as bases of operations for their trafficking further afield. The dealings of these merchants can be traced from the 'Annuq plain in north Syria to the Second Cataract in Egypt "

While Catling is undoubtedly right to see the pottery as indicative of a market area which had Cyprus as an important centre, his other constructions are very flimsy. In the first place, pots do not have to be transported by their makers and this is especially true when, as in this case, the ware is not coarse and varied for domestic use but is fine and restricted to a limited number of types. Thus, in itself the spread of Mycenaean pottery around the Fast - and Central - Mediterranean is no more a sure indicator of Mycenaean presence or colonization than the world-wide spread of Chinese pottery in the 17th and 18th centuries an indicated an expansion of Chinese military or political power. It does, however, indicate a trading system in which Chinese products played an important role.

The second major problem in Cathing's scheme, which is shared by all other writers on this, comes on the question of dating. It is based on the convention that LHIIIA began 7-1 joo and that the 'last' palace of Knossos fell 7-1380. It has been argued above that LIIIIIA began 6-1470 and that the palace at Knossos survived to the last half of the 13th century. Thus, while Mycenaeans took over Crete during the period 1470–1370, this is unlikely to have been the cause of the extraordinary expansion of trade networks that took place around the middle of the 15th century. A much more plausible reason for this would be the conquests of Tuthmösis III and the establishment of an Egyptian empire in the Levant with a penumbra of states accepting Egyptian suzerainty, including Tanaya, Asy (Cyprus) and Ugarit. A text from the Amarna period in the 14th century refers to a similar relation with Arzawa in Western Anatolia.

Thus, while the presence of Mycenaean pottery clearly went beyond the Egyptian sphere of influence in the Central Mediterranean, it stayed within it in the East LMHLA pottery is found in the Levani and Nubia but not in the Hittite Highlands of Anatolia. The French scholar Jean-Claude Courtois has suggested that this took place in a Pax Mycenaica." Given the complete lack of evidence to back such a notion, the proposal can only be a testimony to the power of the Aryanist imagination. Nevertheless, in order for such a substantial trade network to flourish a zone of relative tranquillity would be necessary. The obvious candidate for this, for which we have considerable documentary evidence, is a Pax Argsphiaca established by Tuthmosis III and maintained by his successors for over a century

THE MERCHANTS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE? Bass's challenge

I now want to consider the question of who transported the pottery and other goods. As I have made clear above, conventional wisdom has been that, since Mycenaean pots were transported, it must have been Mycenaeans who transported them. However, an equally strong case can be made for Levantine traders at this time and for Egyptians. In the last chapter we saw that Egypt had powerful fleets in the mid-15th century." There is certainly no doubt that Egyptian tomb paintings of this time portray Syro-Palestinians bringing what appear to be Aegean as well as Levantine goods to Egypt. "

The idea that West Semites dominated trade at this time in the Fast Mediterranean was argued on the basis of the distribution of Canaanite jars by Virginia Grace, in an article in 1950, and more forcefully by Jack Sasson ten years later in 1966. Sasson pointed out that these im decorated objects were clearly used as containers for other goods and that their increasing appearance throughout the Aegean provided sufficient archaeological backing for the knowledge of Levantine trade found in the Ugaritic texts and their omission of any reference to a Greek presence. The argument was clearly very plausible. Nevertheless, as a Jewish Semitist and pupil of Cytus Gordon, Sasson was seen as partisan and not to be taken seriously.

The following year, however, new evidence for this thesis came from an unimpeachably gentile source. George Bass, from Texas A & M University, is now the leading American marine archaeologist; then he was, as he describes himself, a naive graduate student 'with no axe to grind'. "In 1967 Bass published his considered opinion that the Late Bronze Age boat he and his colleagues had been excavating off Cape Gelidonya in South Turkey was crewed by Levantines. He based his conclusion on the Levantine origins of most of the pottery, weights, cylinder seals and other personal objects found on the wreck. "The Gelidonya boat was quite small, 8 to 10 metres, and seems to have belonged to a maritime bronze-smith functioning at the very end of the period we are considering 1, 1220. Nevertheless, Bass added the evidence from it to what he saw as the mounting evidence in favour of a major role for the Phoemicians in the Late Bronze Age:

The distribution of Syrian cylinder seals, therefore, may be stronger evidence for Near Lastern trading ventures than the distribution of Mycenaean pottery for a monopoly of Mycenaean shipping.

Phoenician merchant ships, including that at Gelidonya, would not have returned with empty holds to Cyprus and the Near Fast, and it is reasonable to assume that their cargoes consisted largely of Mycenaean pottery which often contained perishable goods. But what had the ships originally carried westward on their outbound voyages? No longer must we 'resort to guessing the nature of the Syrian merchandise received in exchange' for Mycenaean goods. On longer can we say that 'few actual oriental objects have actually been found in Mycenaean Greece. It was metal above all, that arrived in Greece on ships such as that which sank at Gelidonya while carrying its cargo to the Aegean.

I have shown that copper oxhide ingots were dealt with by Semites, and not by Aegean merchants as commonly supposed. Buchholz has suggested that bun ingots also were associated with Syrians, but that primitive form of bronze seems too widespread to be assigned to any one people.

Hoards of bronzes on the Greek Mainland, often containing fragments of oxlide ingots, may now be accepted as Phoenician

merchandise. The ingots and broken tools were, to be sure, usually picked up in Cyprus, but the bronzes were most often non-Aegean types which originated in the Near East, and we have further shown good cause to believe that the oxhide ingots were made to Phoenician specifications.¹⁰⁶

Ivolv and gold and cloth and spices also came from the East, as indicated by Semitic words for these items found on linear B tablets, and at least the latter may have formed part of the contents of the Canaanite jats which arrived in Greece during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰⁷

The absence of greater amounts of Near Eastern pottery in Greece is explained by the nature of this merchandise, for metals and cloth and ivory do not require pottery containers. Indeed we should expect to find few traces of any of these goods in the Aegean, for the cloth and spices have long since disappeared, and the metals and ivory would be found in altered form if preserved at all. This is borne out by excavation, Near Eastern ingots and implements appear mostly in founders' hoards which had, for one reason or another, been lost before being hammered or recast into typically Aegean forms. We may conclude that the extent of Mycenaean shipping has been highly overrated simply because her chief export commodities, pottery and goods shipped in pottery, left such durable remains. Although the goods received by the Mycenaeans are no longer so immediately apparent, they were certainly of equal value to the people who traded them.

I do not suggest that the Phoenicians held a monopoly on maritime trade during the Late Bronze Age, but that they played a major part in it.¹⁰⁸

While later research would question some specifics in this statement, there is very little question today about the correctness of his overall conclusions. However, at the time, Bass's work was considered very startling and generally unwelcome. In I his was especially the case as it seemed to provide empirical archaeological evidence to back two more abstract and schematic works: Astour's Hellenosemitical and a more cautious but distinctly 'orientalist' work Agáis und Orient by the Austrian archaeologist and ancient historian Fritz Schachermeyr, which came out at approximately the same time.

Bass's final statement was:

Further study is necessary, but our findings support the recent statement by Stubbings that 'there is no anachronism in Homer's Phoenicians; his picture of the heroic age would indeed be less true without them'.^{1,10}

Muhly's response

It was against this and the general trend of orientalism represented by Astom that James Muhly, the one Mediterranean archaeologist with a background in Akkadian studies, wrote his passionate and learned article 'Homer and the Phoenicians: the relations between Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages'. This article has already been touched upon in Volume 1.11 In it, rather than confront Bass's detailed arguments, Muhly took it as assomatic that Mycenaean pots were shipped by Mycenaeans. Thus, according to Muhly, the pottery indicated that Greeks had ample knowledge of the Levant and this would explain any cultural borrowings. Furthermore, the finds of Levantine and Egyptian objects in the Levant were merely oriental bric-à-brac. In attempting to deal with the Ugaritic emphasis on trade and implicitly with the lack of reference to any Greeks there, he launched a violem attack on Jack Sasson:

Reference has already been made to some of the questionable conclusions of his study, which is also married by numerous factual errors. . . The author, Jack Sasson, certainly does show that the Ugaritic and Akkadian texts from Ras Shamra [Ugarit] deal with matters of trade and commerce. This does not establish the importance of Canaamte shipping in the eastern Mediterranean, Sasson feels that the Ugaritic and Alalakh texts do not mention any Acgean proper, ethnic or geographical names. He also remarks that Linear A and B documents record names that greatly resemble those that were current in Northern Syria at the same epoch'. His conclusion is: 'that Mycenaean trade, at least with Syria, was either maintained by Canaanites or, more likely, conducted in places such as Rhodes and Cyprus.' Yet, assuming that the above observations are valid, does it not logically follow that the trade was controlled by the Mycenaeans? The Near Eastern texts betray no knowledge of the Aegean world. The Mycenaean texts demonstrate a knowledge of Near Eastern languages and perhaps even of Near Eastern place names. This makes Greece the active participant, the Near East the passive partner in the trade relations of the Late Bronze Age, "

I am alraid to say that Muhly's logic escapes me. Although it is just possible that they were all slaves, the presence of Semitic and Egyptian gentilic names in Crete and Greece would suggest to me – as it does to Astom and Sasson—that there were Near Easterners in the Aegean rather than vice versa. As mentioned above, I think that in the late 14th and 13th centuries, Ugarit may have had fewer Greeks than

other parts of the Levant. Nevertheless, Astour and Sasson are quite right to point out that the textual evidence as it stands gives no indication of Greek presence in the region.

Muh y is also wrong when he claims that the 'Near Fastern texts betray no knowledge of the Aegean world'. In the last chapter 1 mentioned the Ugariuc tamkurum Smarenu, who had licence to trade with Crete [Kptr] and in fact Kptr, the biblical Kaphtor, appears quite frequently in Ugaritic theological texts as the dwelling place of the craftsman god Ktr w Uss 100 Muhly does not mention the Egyptian texts which betrayed a considerable knowledge of Aegean geography at this tin e. Given the close relations between the Levantine coast and Egypt in these centuries and the fact that much if not most of Egyptian contact with the Aegean went via the Levant, it is inconceivable that the Canaanites knew less.

Muh.y's linguistic arguments are equally improbable. The Semitic names for luxury goods found in the Aegean indicate influence from the Near East to Greece not the other was around. While this does not tell us who transmitted this influence, the etymologies cannot be used to make 'Greece the active participant'.

The relative academic power of Muhly, as opposed to that of Astour, Bass and Sasson, meant that for many years his arguments (despite their inherent implausibility) were not seriously scrutinized or challenged. After such rough treatment, all three men moved on to safer scholarly pastures. However, as we shall see, Bass much later returned to his work on the Bronze Age.

Yannai's negative synthesis

In the lite 1970s, there was a recovery of the Broad Aryan Model and the beginnings of an acceptance of a significant 'Semitic' tole in the ancient Mediterranean, and Muhly's conclusions began to be questioned. In Volume 1, I referred to the thesis by Muhly's student Randolph Peyton Helm (passed in 1980) in which he tentatively suggested that in the Early Iron Age 'the Oriental trade was largely, if not exclusively, in the hands of [Phoenician] merchants from Cyprus (and probably the Levantine coasts as well).' 'This hypothesis was also suggested in a thesis completed in Oxford in 1983 by an Israeli scholar, Annta Yannai. Yannai is, as we shall see below, an archaeological positivist, believing that if a thing has not been found it cannot have existed in significant quantities. On these grounds she demolished the earlier idea that there had been Mycenaean colonies at Ugarit or elsewhere on the Levant. The presence of Aegean pottery in Levantine tombs of

local style, in the absence of Ugaritic textual evidence to suggest the presence of Greeks, made her doubt that there had ever been any My cenagans there. She also pointed out the lack of Linear B material. on mercantile activities which was discussed in the last chapter.15 Ap. proving the detailed arguments put forward by the British archae ologist H. W. Cailing against the existence of Mycenaean colonies in Cyprus, she argued that ones on the Levant were still less probable by

Anita Yannai was equally scornful of the idea of Near Eastern colonies in the Aegean. In general she saw the number of Levantine and Egyptian objects in the Aegean from this period as insignificant. As for the latter. It is difficult to see in them more than occasional bric a brac' objects that could be picked up in the course of any overseas contact, not necessarily with Egypt.' is Yannai used the fact that the Egyptian tomb paintings of Aegean gifts - she too did not like the term tribute. from the mid-15th century corresponded to LMIB. LHIIA in her chronology to dismiss any connection between these formal presentations and Aegean pottery. Although Merrillees had suggested this connection earlier. Yannai pointed out that there was very little pottery of this period to be found anywhere in the Near East, 124 As noted above, this discrepancy is removed once one accepts. Betancourt's high chronology, according to which the tomb paintings correspond with the beginning of LHIIIA. Pots from this period are abundantly represented in Egypt and the Levant. Anita Yannai, however, used the mismatch to play down the significance of both the paintings and the pottery and to deny that there had been any significant trade between Egypt and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age

She went on to investigate the various types of Levantine and Mesopotamian objects found in the Late Bronze Age Aegean - cylinder seals, ivories, Canaanite jars, siniting god statuettes. In each case (they will all be discussed below) she emphasized the paucity of the finds and argued that they could just as well have come from Cyprus as from points further east or south. She was similarly dismissive of any argument based on Semnic words found in Linear B, insisting that there was only an extremely small number of such loan words, per haps just four. She argued that two of these - 'cumm' and 'sesame' were too widespread for any significance to be placed on them, and the remaining kurusu (gold) and kuu (clothes) could equally well have been transmitted indirectly as directly 40

Yannai then turned to the Mycenaean pottery found in the Levant, which she admitted was substantial. As has been mentioned above, however, she insisted that it was even more substantial on Cyprus and re-emphasized that the Mycenaean pottery in the Levant was always accompanied by Cypriot ware. 121

Thus, Anita Yannai was convinced that there was no significant Mycenaean trade of any sort, let alone any colonization. She also believed that there was little evidence of direct influence on the Aegean from the Semitic Levant. However, she still needed to explain the significant quantities of Mycenaean pottery excavated in the Levant, which must have found their way there through trade. Thus, she took the fine that everything hinged on Cyprus, arguing that Aegean goods had been shipped to the island and then reshipped to be transported to the Levant and beyond.

In this she followed her predecessors. The British archaeologist and interestingly original thinker on ancient Mediterranean connections Violiwy Hankey had proposed that Mycenaean ships had sailed to Cyprus, where they had exchanged most of the goods held in their pots for the island's copper and some other goods contained in Cypruot containers. They had then sailed on to dispose of their remaining goods and the Cypriot ones in exchange for oriental goods, possibly the bric-à-brac discussed above. Cumbersome though it was, this scheme explained the material evidence in terms of what Vronwy Hankey, like every one else at the time, assumed to be the Mycenaean dominance over trade. Yet, as Anita Yannai has pointed out, it pro-

vides no reason for the Greeks to have sailed beyond Cyprus.

The Israeli archaeologist provided a different scheme. She saw Cyprus as the 'terminus' of the Aegean trade. The Aegean needed Cypriot copper and the Levant had developed a taste for Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery. The exchange took place in Cyprus through 'middlemen' Yannar, as we have seen, adamantly demes that there was any Levannne of Semitic influence on the Aegean: 'The two cultural spheres ultimately concerned in the exchange of goods had in effect minimal contacts with each other '13 At the same time, however, she was inclined to see these Cypriot 'middlemen' as Levantines. She pointed out that there is archaeological evidence of a Syro-Palestinian 'colony' or quarter of the town at Enkomi near the present Famagusta, which she plausibly saw as having a mercantile function 121 While she rejected the Helleno-centrism of the Aegean archaeologists and was willing to accept the presence of Semitic-speaking seamen in the East Mediterranean, her goal has been essentially the same as theirs - how to reconcile the undoubted trading contacts demonstrated by archaeology with what at the time was the equal certainty that there had been no substantial oriental cultural influence on the Aegean, Yannai, however, was unable to square the circle and was forced to admit that Semitic-speaking Levantines would have had to have been central to both sections of her categorically divided trading network.

THE KAS SHIPWRECK: THE SAILORS

Anita Yannai has been exceptionally unlicky. Many of her hypotheses, like most of those of her predecessors, have been quickly proved wrong by the sensational discovery and excavation of a Late Bronze Age ship off Ulu Burun near Kaş in Southwestern Turkey in 1984. Some of the many critically important aspects of this find will be discussed in later sections. Here it is sufficient to say that the huge scale and magnificence of the cargo show that all previous attempts to assess the extent and significance of trade in the Late Bronze Age Last Mediterranean have been hopelessly underestimated.

The ship should be dated to the very end of the LIHHA2 period, or the reign of Akhenaton, 1381-1364. Most of the objects can be dated only roughly, to between the 15th and the 19th centuries BC. How ever, the Turkish underwater archaeologist Cenial Pulak has shown that the latest tolerable date for the pottery is the end of LHIHA2. which he puts at a 1350, although, following Bet incourt, I would put it a decade or two earlier. The discovery of a gold scarab with the m scription 'the exquisite beauty of Aten, Nefertiti' would also seem to indicate this date. The American Egyptologist James Weinstein plansibly suggests that the discovery of the scarab strengthens the case that Akhenaton's lamous wife Nefertifi became pharaoh at his death and that she should be identified with the ruler otherwise known. as Smenkhkare. Weinstein prefers the lower datings for Akhenaton's reign, which, for reasons given above, I do not; I put his dates at 1381 to 1364 BC.13 Thus the scatab was probably made between 1364 and 130) BC. The fact that another gold object in frequent use was well worn and was found near the ship's scrap gold, suggesting that the scarab might have been lost decades after it was made, weighs less heavily with me than the pottery dating of LHHIA2, which would lit perfectly with the scarab's having been in current use. A This earlier date for the Kas wreck in turn would strengthen the argument that the scarab was not scrap metal but was an indication of some kind of official status to the voyage, which is what one would expect given the size of the vessel and the value of the cargo -

Given this date and the association with royalty, George Bass's tentative connection of the wreck with the Amarina letter, in which the king of Alasia (he denies the common identification with Cyprus though it would seem to fit very nicely here) promised the pharaoh. I will bring to thee as a present two hundred talents of copper as a present', seems quite plausible. Bass argued that this amount, which probably surpasses any other recorded in Bronze Age documents, would fit well with the estimated two hundred ingots on the Kas

wreck. He also pointed out that further letters refer to the offering of other luxury goods, of the type found at Kaş, from Alasia to Egypt 128

At this point we should consider the question of the origin of the ship and its crew. Cenial Pulak tentatively suggests that they were Mycenaean Greeks on the basis of Mycenaean pots found in the ship

[they] must have been personal drinking cups, for the forms are hardly suitable for use as containers. Along with a lew other coarseware bowly not yet studied, it is almost certain that these Mycenaean ceramics constituted shipboard items, were they being reused by a Near Eastern crew or did they belong to a Mycenaean crew aboard the slup. The purpose of this pottery is uncertain, but the Mycenacan inerchant's seal suggested to Bass the presence of a Mycensearr on board. The recently discovered globe pin (KW 570), so far unparalleled in the Near East, is of a type worn by Mycenaeans. as part of their clothing. Cast of bronze and of negligible scrapvalue, the pin probably belonged to a Mycenaean, perhaps even the person who owned the seal. Was this person an official on a toyal mission, a wealthy merchant returning from a successful trade yearture, or was he only a passenger merchant of moderate means, perhaps with a small share of the cargo? Whether or not the presence of a Mycenaean on the Ulu Burun ship suggests a like origin for the vessel itself remains unknown, but, for the time being, available evidence may slightly favor a Mycenaean home port for the Ulu Burun ship. 199

While admitting the force of this argument, Bass believes that the discovery at Ulu Burun of twenty three stone anchors of a Levantine or Gypriot type and of the 'oriental wooden *pinax* of diptych (see below) makes a stronger case for a Near Fastern origin. This ambiguity is also reflected in the finding of two adjacent swords, one Canaamte and the other Mycenaean. Thus, it would seem likely that there was a mixed crew.

The Greek component of the crew provides archaeological extense of Mycenaean maritime activity to back the documentary extence for it which, if lacking from the Aegean itself, is available from the Near Fast. There are tomb paintings showing men of Kitiw and Mycenaeaus bringing tribute that must have come from overseas. The Hittite king Tudhaliyas IV in the 13th century saw it as normal to find ships of Ahliyawa coming to the Syrian coast. In addition, the Egyptian records of Ikwš invasions by sea are echoed by Homer's description of Odysseus' sea-borne raid. [5]

On the other hand, the Levantine element in the crew of the Kaş

ship should be combined with the archaeological evidence from the Gelidonya wreck and the Syrian trading colony in Eukomi. There are Canaamte jars and other pots found in Greece. Recent excavations have also revealed Cypriot and Levantine pottery of the period 1470-1200 BC at Marsa Matruh in Libya and Sardinia and some has been found on the sea-bed uear the Aeolian islands just north of Sicily. These no more prove the presence of Levantines in the Central Mediterranean than the Mycenaean pottery indicates the presence of Greeks in the Near East. However, a 14th-century bronze statuette of a Canaamte deity found off Cape Schnunte in Southwest Sicily is more suggestive. [33]

There is also the documentary evidence from the tomb painting of Syro-Palestinian merchants imboading their slips and the active and extensive maritime trade reported in the Ugaritic texts, as well as the specific mention of a timikarum trading with Crete. Furthermore, there are the mercantile traditions of Byblos, Sidon and Tyre and the picture given by Homer that all trade between the Aegean and the

Levant was in the hands of Phoenicians, 5

The picture that emerges is that both peoples were engaged in considerable trading activities; and the special situation of Ugarit after 1370 could explain the complete absence of Greeks from the records there. Nevertheless, the greater stress on commercial affairs at Ugarit and other Syro-Palestinian cities as compared to in the Aegean, in combination with the Homeric picture, strongly suggests that most trade in the Fast Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age was cars

ried out by Levantines.

The Kaş ship merely provides archaeological proof for what was already evident from documentary sources, that at least in the right century BC there was massive trade in both luxures and metals around the Fast Mediterranean. The region was dominated at the time by Egypt, and the only other power there, that of the Hitties, was clearly outside the trading system. Within it, there was a thoroughly cosmopolitan society with upper-class tastes for foreign goods and presumably some knowledge of other regions. Before looking at some particular indicators of this trade, as demonstrated in the Ulu Burun wreck, I think it would be useful to consider what we know of the relationship between the two capitals, the Egyptian Thebes and Mycenae.

THE EGYPTIAN THEBES AND MYCENAE, 1420-1370 BC

The conventional view of the origin of the Greek name. Thebes for the Egyptian southern capital known in Egyptian as Nlwt Imii (City of Amon) is that it came from a confusion between the Greek. Thebat with a local name *t3 lp3t, hypothesized from a name for Luxor near. Thebes—lp3t rst (Southern Harem)—which was later abbreviated to lpt; no example has been found with the definite article t3. This explanation is flimsy and it does not explain the name of the Boiotian. Thebes or, for that matter, the one in Mysia in Northwestern Anatoha. In the introduction to Volume 1, Loutlined a counter-argument which Lintend to make in more detail in Volume 3.

before the advent of the Extreme Arvan Model it was generally accepted that the Greek city name. Thebá came from the Canaanite *těbáh* (ark, chest). This itself came from the Egyptian *tbl.*, or *dbt* (box). These two were often confused with another and possibly related word *dbt* (wicker float, ark of bulhrushes) and *dbt t* (coffin, shrine) and hence (palace). *Qbt*, written *Tho* or *Thbo* in Coptic was an Egyptian city name. Interestingly, however, there is no record of its having been used for the southern capital of Egypt which the Greeks called. Thébá. Nevertheless, it may well have been used for the Hyksos capital at Avaris. If this were the case, Dbb. Theba could have become a Greek term or name for 'Egyptian capital' which was attached to the Egyptian. Thebes when the 18th Dynasty established their capital there. In any event, there is no reason to doubt that the Greek city name came from the West Seinitic *tebáh* and the Egyptian cluster mentioned above. 1966

In Homer's time in the 10th and 0th centuries BC, Thebes had ceased to be the capital of Egypt for almost two hundred years. However, memories of the city at its height in the time when a black pharaoh received tribute from the known world can be seen in Achilless rejection of Agamemnon's placatory gifts.

. not though it were all the wealth that goeth into Orchomenos, or to Thebes of Egypt, where treasures in greatest store are laid up in men's houses. Thebes which is a city of an hundred gates wherefrom sally forth through each two hundred warriors with horses and cars. 157

Thus, Greek tradition raises the possibility of an Egyptian influence, if not begenony, over Mycenae, the greatest city in Greece, during the height of the 18th Dynasty, 1470–1370, or at least during the reigns of Ameriophis III and Akhenaton, 1410–1364

Now I should like to turn to the archaeological evidence. As stressed above, Mycenaean trade with the Near Fast increased greatly at the beginning of LHIIIA, which I see as having begun at the same time as Tuthmosis HI's consolidation of power in the Levant and his estab-

lishment of hegemony over the Aegean around 1470 BC ¹⁸⁸ However, the high point for the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the Levant and Egypt comes in EHIHA2, which I believe roughly corresponds with the reigns of the pharaohs Amenophis III and Akhenaton. From the documentary evidence of the statue base of Amenophis' funerary temple near. Thebes, discussed in the last chapter, it is certain that Egyptian officialdom of the time knew a considerable number of Greek towns and principalities, and it is likely that Egypt exercised some kind of hegemony over the region ¹ "Tribute' had been offered in the reign of Tuthmosis III and we know that, at the end of the period, in the 12th year of Aklienaton (1369 BC). Aegean representatives came to offer precious gifts in exchange for the 'breath of life'."

In 1981, Vronwy Hankey published an article in which she tried to telate the Aegean place names found in the statue base to the fatence plaques with the cartouche of Amenophis III found at Mycenae. She postulated that the list represented the route of the itinerary of an official Egyptian embassy and tentatively suggested that the fatence plaques could have been presented by this embassy. It Iwo years earlier in 1979, Wolfgang Helck had proposed the same without linking

the objects to the list. 112

In 1980 J Strange proposed that the list was an itinerary of a Mycenaean embassy to Egypt. However, as Eric Cline points out, this is less likely because the ordering of the names from east to west to east again indicates a journey from Egypt to the Aegean and back ¹⁰. As I argued in the last chapter, I do not accept that the Egyptians were aware of these places only through one embassy and believe that many if not most of the toponyms may well have been known in Egypt from the time of Tuthmosis III or even earlier. ¹¹ Cline put forward his argument against Strange in an article which enlarged on Hankey's scheme. While he is anxious to dissociate himself from the idea of Egyptian hegemony, Cline clearly believes that the relationship was unequal and that this imbalance was formalized by the giving of gifts.

There is no doubt that more objects have been found around the Aegean with cartouches of Amenophis III and his wife, Queen Tiyi, than with those of any other pharaoh. Cline estimates there to be eleven of these two as opposed to ten for all the rest of the pharaohs combined. It one takes the reading of the toponym Bjs to be the Cretan Phaistos, as the majority of scholars do, and equates one Phaistos with Agia Triada two kilometres away, four of the six findspots of these inscribed objects also appear on the statue base. It his is extremely suggestive. Whether or not one can tie the list to the itineraty of a particular embassy, the correlation does show that there is both

documentary and archaeological evidence of contact between these particular cities—Kydonia, Knossos, Phaistos and Mycenae—and the Egyptian court at around 1400 BC.

Cline points out that, while two of the eleven inscribed objects were buried in an LM HIIIA1 context and two in LM/HIIIA1 2, one was buried in LM/HIIIA1 B and five in LHIIIB. This, he argues, would suggest that they arrived in LHIIIA1. The As I see this ceramic period as ending in a 1415 and the reign of Amenophis III beginning in 1419 BC. I find the chronological squeeze tight but not unbearable. In any event, I see no reason why they should all have arrived at the same time. However, Cline is convincing when he claims that not enough of the objects were buried during or soon after the reign of Amenophis III for them to have arrived casually through intermediaries or as touristic bric-à-brac.

Cline does, however, admit a difficulty over the fact that relatively little pottery has been found in Egypt from LHHIA1, which he sees as corresponding to the reign of Amenophis III. He explains it simply on the grounds that the known distribution is based only on the hazards of finds. If, however, one sees LHHIA2 as corresponding to the reigns of Amenophis III and Akhenaton, large quantities of this ware have been found at the latter's capital at El Amarna, and at the artisans' village near Deir el Medina near Thebes, as well as at Sesebi, in Nubia far to the south of Aswan. [18]

THE FOUNDATION DEPOSIT PLAQUES Egyptian temple cults at Mycenae?

Cline would seem right to distinguish between objects exchanged through trade and some of the inscribed pieces he was concerned with, which he saw as symbols of diplomatic exchanges. Both he and Vronwy Hankey were particularly interested in the fragments of six to nine rectangular faience plaques inscribed with the nomen and prenomen of Amenophis III, discovered over the last century at Mycenae. They seem similar or identical to the plaques found in so-called foundation deposits in Egypt, buried under the corners of temples and secular buildings which were constructed 'at the royal command or at least with the king's approval'. On the basis of a comment by the Egyptologist G. I. Martin that similar finds in Egypt would lead scholars to look for a temple or shrine, Vronwy Hankey proposed that they could have had that function at Mycenae as well. Cline mentioned another 'intriguing possibility' that they could have been intended for a statue of the pharaoh. (1)

This would seem less likely than their use for the foundation of a temple. Plaques of this type have been found elsewhere outside Egypt, in Nubia and at Beth Shan and Aphek in Palestine. The latter have fed Israeli archaeologists to postulate the building of Egyptian temples there. Thus, it would seem likely that Egyptian temples were established in areas of Egyptian influence and control beyond the country itself. Can Greece around 1400 BC be considered in the same category?

None of the fragments have been excavated in a context that can be seen as a foundation deposit; they were generally found in LMIIIB strata, which could be well over a century after their arrival in Greece. It seems likely, however, that they, like the other royally inscribed objects, were treated with a reverence divorced from their original purpose. This would suggest that, if they were at the foundations of buildings, such constructions could not have lasted long. It is also possible that the buildings to match the deposits were never erected.

An Egyptian temple was not merely a building, it was a substantial institution, with many priests in complex hierarchies. Is there any reason to suppose that such a body could have existed in Mycenaean Greece? A possible answer to this comes from the cult of Demeter and Koré at Eleusis in Attika. This cult will be discussed in detail in Volume 4, in which I hope to show, not merely that it has clear roots in the Bronze Age and that its cult and mysteries strikingly parallel those of Isis. Nephthys and Osn is in Egypt, but also that its two families of priests—the Eumolpids and the Kerykes—resemble the two ranks of Egyptian priests.

This identification was universally accepted in Antiquity. It is also interesting to note that the Egyptian informants of Diodoros Sike liotes told him that the mysteries had been introduced to Eleusis by Frekhtheus of Athens, a king of Egyptian descent, during his reign, c. 1408 9 BC. The Parian Marble also gives this date. Apollodoros, however, put the arrival of Demeter and Dionysos in Greece somewhat earlier, during the reign of King Pandion, c. 1462–1423 BC. As I mentioned in Chapter II, it is likely that cults of Dionysos existed

in Keos just off the coast of Attika in the 21st century BC 15c

Thus, what we are considering here is not simply the worship of the god but would seem to be the introduction of a religious institution. The temporal coincidence with the reign of Amenophis III (1419-1381) is remarkable. It is also true that, while Mycenae suffered from the change from the Perseid Danaan dynasty to the Pelopid Achaian one and later the Return of the Heraklids or the 'Dorian Invasion', Attika had no such radical upheavals and the Athenians frequently

boasted of the continuity and antiquity of their institutions and religion. Thus, the survival of an Egyptian cult at Eleusis and its collapse at Mycenae would fit very well with what we know of the general historical pattern.

In any event, the possible foundation of one or more Egyptian temple cults at Mycenae has a possible parallel. If the plaques were not intended as foundation deposits, it is difficult to see what purpose they could have had; they cannot be worn as decorations and have little intrinsic value, and they are unlikely to have been on the souvenir market during the New Kingdom. The simplest solution is to interpret their function in the way that similar objects have been in Egypt, Palestine and Nubia—as temple deposits that were at least intended to be placed under temples of the Egyptian type.

The plaques and other royally inscribed objects and Egyptian material evidence of this period, in conjunction with the documentary evidence, make it very likely indeed that there were close diplomatic relations between Thebes and Mycenae and that the relationship was unequal.

The trading circuit

In 1970, the glaze on one of the fragments from Mycenae, known as Taylour's plaque, was subjected to lead isotope analysis from which R. H. Brill of the Corning Museum of Glass startlingly concluded.

The lead in the glaze is definitely of type L. Most type L. leads in the ancient world came from the mines in the Laurion region. The lead in the glaze differs markedly from leads found in numerous examples of 18th Dynasty yellow glasses, glazes and kohls. Improbable as it may seem, the most straightforward interpretation of these findings would be that the object was glazed (and presumably fabricated) somewhere near Mycenae and not in Egypt.¹⁻⁷

If this analysis is correct, and we shall see below other reasons for thinking that it is, it leaves two possibilities. The first is the one proposed above, that the plaque was made in Greece. However, the manufacture and the hieroglyphs are of the high standard required by Egyptian workshops, and no one has previously considered the possibility that it could have been produced anywhere but Egypt. The idea that such a workshop existed at or near Mycenae is extremely implausible. It would have needed Egyptian royal licence and would have further required resident Egyptian workmen, or Mycenaeans with long apprenticeship in Egypt.

As Eric Cline argues, the second possibility, that it was manufactured in Egypt using lead imported from Greece, would seem much less unlikely. He is able to draw on analyses by the metallurgist N. H. Gale which indicate that the material of three other 18th-Dynasty Egyptian lead artifacts also came from Laurion near the southern tip of Attika. * He also cites Gale's comment that the Egyptian artefacts with Laurion composition suggest some sort of contact between the Mycenaean and Egyptian cultures at this time'.1.1 Further confirmation of the hypothesis that there was a regular export of metals from Atuka to Egypt around 1300 BC comes from the analysis of the copper in a bronze dagger with an inscription of Amenophis III found at Beth Shan in Palestine, which indicates that it probably came from Laurion. 60 The economic cosmopolitanism of the age is also shown by the fact that the copper in a contemporary spear from Beth Shan - also with the cartouche Amenophis III - seems to have come from Sardinia! 10. There is also documentary evidence to support the idea of metals from Greece, as the Isles in the Midst of . . . [the Wid Wi]' are included in a 19th-Dynasty list of mining countries at the temple at Luxor. 162

The idea that there was a substantial export of metals from Attika to Egypt in the 2nd millennium BC blows the isolationist model of Greek development sky high. Since Gale wrote his analysis of the lead, his wife, Z. A. Stos-Gale, has announced that two statues from the rith Dynasty were made of silver from Laurion 134. This shows that the metal trade, though flourishing at the height of the 18th Dynasty, was not restricted to that time and may well have existed at other periods when economic and political conditions permitted. Together they indicate that, when looking at the material archaeological finds, we are seeing less than the tip of the iceberg of contact between the regions.

Here, however, we will concentrate on the later period for which there are substantial material remains. Further evidence has emerged which has put the information on lead exports in context. The massive cargo of metals -- six tons of copper, a considerable amount of tin and some gold on the Kaş ship makes it clear that bulk shipment of metals was taking place around the Mediterranean during the 18th Dynasty Furthermore, evidence from Kas and elsewhere makes it clear that the ingots were of standard shapes and many scholars believe that there was 'a central authority over the production of and trade in this important commodity [copper]. 161 Not surprisingly, scholars have differed as to where such a centre would have been. Cathing proposed the Aegean and Bass Syria, while Muhly and his colleagues see it as

having been in Cyprus.¹⁶⁵ As Cyprus seems to have been the major centre of copper production at the time, this would seem the most

plausible.

There is further evidence in its tayour in that many of the smaller ingots were marked with the Cypriot—and not the Cyprius—form of a sign read as na. However, it is not only copper ingots that are marked with this sign, since one made of tin appears to have the same sign. This cannot have originated from Cyprius as the tin in the ancient Mediterranean world came either from Afghanistan or Malaya or from Bohemia or Cornwall, though Bronze Age tin mines have now been found in Turkey. Muhly has maintained that the Aegean was using the European metal." However, Bass and Pulak believe that the fact that the Kaş ship, loaded with tin, appears to have been heading west indicates that this tin at least came from Asia. It the sign nais not specifically concerned with copper, what does it mean? One possible answer is that it was a Cypriot or Levantine rendering of the Egyptian not (smooth or fine) used in the compound nh not (especially fine gold). In the 18th Dynasty not was also used as 'the best'.

Whether or not this is the case, there is little doubt that the metal and other trade of the Fast Mediterranean of the 15th and early 14th centuries BC took place in the spheres of Egyptian political influence. The extent to which Italy and the metal-producing regions of Sardinia and Spain, which were clearly integrated economically, were politically involved is much more uncertain. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence of commercial relations including the find, mentioned above, of a spear made of Sardinian copper with the cartouche

of Amenophis III.161

We also know that the scope of the East Mediterranean trading area extended further across the whole of Europe from Britain to the Ukraine. Throughout this huge northern region, small numbers of weapons and beads from the south have been found in sites from this period. Some of these objects are specifically Mycenaean and others clearly Egyptian and others still have specific origins that are difficult to trace. All indicate the wealth of the East Mediterranean after the beginning of LHIII or the establishment of a Pax Aegyptiaca by Tuthmösis III. This evidence of trading networks would fit well with the spreading of the alphabet to the West Mediterranean and Northern Europe, which, I have argued elsewhere on palaeographical grounds, took place near the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. 17

Here, however, we shall concentrate on the East Mediterranean. From the Kaş ship and the Ugaritic written evidence we gain evidence of a grand circle going 'counter clockwise' with the predominant cur-

tents, taking ivory, hippopotamus teeth, ebony, spices and other tropical products, fine goods, papyrus and possibly wheat from Fgypt to the Levant, boarding tin, glass, resins and spices from there on to Cyprus. This exported copper and local pots. In the Aegean, the boats took on silver, lead and Mycenaean pottery and its contents and, passing through Crete, the circuit went on to the African shore at the present Mersa Matruh in Western Egypt and back to the Nile. 172

THE VOCABULARY OF TRADE

Although this encuit is only fully attested for this period, it is extremely likely that elements of it existed much earlier. This is indicated by the way in which the Greek vocabulary seems to reflect such a trading pattern. The Semitic names for spices have been referred to in the last chapter. The Egyptian origins of such words as papyros, ebenos from hbni, annes- (anis); kiki from kiki (castor oil - used for lamps), kommi (gum) from kmit; sindôn (fine tissue) from sndart (kilt of fine cloth) and nitron from nt have been accepted even by Aryanist scholars who believe that 'Egyptian culture stands to Hellenic as Chinese to European. It is in many respects so alien that Greeks could find little to borrow in the philological sense." I would add to this vocabulary of trade 'ivory' elephas, erepa in Linear B, from the Egyptian ibw (elephant) with the elephant determinative m and 'ivory' with that of 'bone' 4. The Greek word elephas serves the same double purpose. It is generally recognized that elephas, like the Latin ebur (ivory) is a loan." The specialist in Anatolian languages Emmanuel Laroche has argued that elephas comes from a Hittite form la-ah pa-as, meaning 'tooth of elephant', and a hypothetical form * lahpant with a Hittite suffix of animation n(t). This he derives in turn from the Semuic alpu(m) (ox), linking this to the Syrian elephants and ivory that survived well into the 2nd millennium. 22 While there might be contamination from these sources, the, which specifically means 'elephant', would seem a more probable source for both the Greek and Hittite words. Despite the Syrian ivory, Egypt and the rest of Africa would seem to be the most likely point of origin. Chantraine dismissed an etymology from thw, apparently unaware that the initial 3 was originally a liquid. Given the correspondence b > ph, seen in the transcription of Nbt bi as Nephthys and the name Wih ib Re as Quaphris. and the Egyptian propensity for prothetic vowels, I see no serious phonetic difficulty with this etymology, which has a perfect semantic fit. The Latin ebia would seem to come from a later pronunciation seen in the Coptic ebu, the final -r being added 'after the analogy with femur; robur etc.1177

The generally accepted cases of word loans for exotic goods from Egyptian to Greek provide very little evidence as to when they were borrowed. The derivation of *clephas* from *shw*, however, must have taken place in the early 2nd millennium or earlier. This is indicated not only by its attestation in Linear B but also by the retention of the consonantal value of 3.

Another possible Egyptian ctymology in Greek is much more fundamental - it is that for sites (wheat), defined not as a plant but as the cereal used for food. This word has no Indo-European cognates. Furthermore, the initial se, which, in Greek, did not survive from Indo-European, makes it a likely candidate for a loan. The Assyriologist and linguist W. Muss-Arnolt proposed that sites was 'connected' to the Assyrian le u, feminine le ata (grain, corn). " The German semust Heinrich Lewy linked it to the Sumerian zid with the same meaning. The Italian Imguist Nunzio Maccarrone argued that, while Fe'atu and zid were phonetically and semantically plausible etyma for silos, as there was much more direct contact between Greece and Egypt than there was between Greece and Mesopotamia, it was more likely that it came from the Egyptian s(u,t (wheat).'8) Maccarrone admitted some difficulty with the vowel, which remains as su in Demotic and suo in Coptie However, he postulated a form *5" of from which sit could derive. He pointed out that the loan must have been made before the dropping of the final -ts from Egyptian in the New Kingdom " This early range would seem confirmed by the presence of vito in Linear B The Semitic and Egyptian forms ie'u and s(u)t are clearly related, and zid is a loan word, and it may be that a West Semitic form will be discovered. In the meantime, I believe that Maccarrone's arguments are plausible and should be tentatively accepted

Interestingly, there are two other possible loans from Egyptian on related subjects. The first of these is the Greek art- (bread baked from wheat). In their etymological dictionaries both Prellwitz and Boisaq are inclined to see artuo (prepare food) as the fundamental meaning of the cluster, which would fit quite incely with the Egyptian rth (bake, especially bread). The semantic overlap with artos (wheaten bread) is not perfect, as 'baked bread' is trith in Egyptian. Nevertheless, both the semantic and the phonetic correspondence with artuo are reasonably good. The Italian linguist Pisani derived artos from a reconstructed Iranian root *arta (flour) and he has been supported in this by Georgacas but Chantraine is sceptical ** He is equally doubtful about the hypothesis that artos comes from a substrate language found in the Basque, arto (bread made of maize) ** Such a connection would seem very distant in space and time and could well be a loan from Greek into Basque directly or indirectly through Spanish. Artos itself.

is a very old word; not only does it occur in Hesiod but it also appears in Linear B in the compound atopogo, which Chadwick sees as artopogo (bakers). * Thus, here too there could well be an early loan.

The standard Egyphan corn measure the hkit was written with the determinative of This measure had a curious characteristic in that, written with a numeral, it stood for 100 hkit, with a half, 50 hkit, etc. Thus, there was a very close relationship between it and the number 100. The Greek word for 'hundred' is hekaton. This is explained as coming from the proto-Indo-European. Admit om, from which the Latin centum and the Germanic hund are supposed to derive. However, the initial he in the Greek form has caused a considerable problem for linguists. It would seem plausible to suggest either that this was the result of contamination from hkit or, more likely, that the Greek word is a straightforward borrowing from the Egyptian.

There are both phonetic and semantic parallels to strengthen this hypothesis. The ugly old Egyptian frog goddess of fertility was called *Hkt* and there was a clear relationship between this name and *hki* (magic). In Greek mythology there was the old crone goddess of magic Hekatë, whose name has no Indo-European etymology.

The semantic parallel for a borrowing of hekaton from hkit is with the Greek stem khili (thousand). This is conventionally supposed to come from a hypothetical proto. Indo-European root *kheshoi, seen in the Sanskrit sahasram (thousand). As Chantraine admits, there are many formal difficulties with this derivation. He is adamant, however, that there is no case to be made for borrowing. As far as I am aware, no one has attempted to derive it from the Egyptian hi (thousand). As it is vocalized with an o, an o and an o in different Coptic dialects, it is difficult to determine the vowel. However, the consonantal structure and the semantic field fit perfectly.

The Greek word khilos or kheilos (todder) is of unknown origin. It would seem to come from the Egyptian hiw (vegetables, plants). This brings us back to the plausible Egyptian etymologies for key Greek words in the vocabulary of wheat, sitos, art, and possibly hekaton. These etymologies suggest a possible answer to a question that has become even more acute since it has become clear that Greece was exporting metals to Egypt and the Levant, what materials was Egypt providing in exchange for these and the goods provided in or with Mycenaean pottery?

Egypt produced and presumably exported high-quality gold, papyrus and linen and possibly cotton *** We know from the Kaş wreck that ebony was shipped in bulk and it is virtually certain that both elephant and hippopotamus ivory was another major Egyptian export **

It is likely that other tropical goods -- ostrich feathers and eggs as well as gums, ointinents and spices were sent north from Egypt. Slaves. however, were more likely to have been shipped from Greece to the Near East than vice versa

It will be noticed that with the exception of daysos, the word for gold which has a Semitic etymology, the Greek names of all the other Egyptian exports have plausible Egyptian origins. Is it possible that the plausible Egyptian etymologies for the Greek vocabulary of wheat

indicate that this too was exported from Egypt-

There is, to my knowledge, no contemporary documentary mention of this and archaeological traces of such a trade would be difficult to find. Nevertheless, a reasonable encumstantial case can be made for the Egyptian export of wheat during the Bronze Age. In the first place, we know that Egypt, which was proverhal for its agricultural richness, was a substantial wheat producer and that the crop was easily accessible by water. The Bible describes with some plausibility South Syrian nomads buying grain from Egypt. The whole world came to Egypt to buy corn from Joseph, so severe was the famine everywhere " There is also no doubt that grain was shipped in bulk during the Late Bronze Age, at least for famine rehet. A letter found at Ugant from the late 13th century contains a request from the Hutite king to the king of Ugarit asking for 2,000 measures of grain to relieve the famine at the city of Ura in Cilicia, which he estimated could be done in one or two trips. The French Assyriologist Jean Nougavrol tried to work out the capacity of such a ship and concluded that the king of Ugarit must have possessed ships capable of carrying 500 tons 37 Astour, in his discussion of this issue, points out that such voyages were not limited to creeping around coasts, as Columbus's flagship, the Santa Maria, was 233 tons

The Kas ship has confirmed Nougaviol's estimate of the capacity of late Bronze Age ships. These particular shipments of grain supposedly came from Mukis to the north of Ugarit. However, it would seem that in the 13th century BC Ugaritic agriculture was highly commercialized. The Seimitist and economic historian Michael Helizer stresses the fact that land prices were far higher at Ugarii than they were in Mesopotamia and suggests that one reason for this may have been that 'A large part of the agricultural lands in Ugarit was covered in olive groves, date palms and vinevards etc.100 It is interesting that the usual Ugaritic word for 'estate or farm' was gt (wine or olive press). This situation would seem likely to have led to frequent or constant shortages of grain, which seems to have been considerably more expensive in Ugarit than in Egypt. We know that Ugarit itself was receiving grain from Egyptian granaries. A tablet of the same period, found at Tel Aphek just outside Tel Aviv, refers to a missing delivery of approximately fifteen tons of grain from Joppa, the site of the chief Egyptian granary in South Camaan, due for Ugarit apparently by ship. ¹⁹⁶

The local food shortage referred to in the Hittite letter to Ugarit appears to have been part of a widespread famine affecting much of Central Anatolia; indeed, the pharaoh Merneptah (1236–1223 BC) boasted of having provided grain to the Hatti. Diodoros Sikeliotes reported an Egyptian tradition that Erechtheus, a Bronze Age king of Athens, secured his position there by bringing a large quantity of grain from Egypt to relieve a famine. It was this in fact that was supposed to have led to the introduction of the cult of Demeter.

How far should famme relief be distinguished from regular trade? Most economic historians would argue that the line between the two is easily crossed, especially in the ancient East Mediterranean, where 'years of dangerously low rainfall occur with frightening regularity, and there is a high statistical probability that several such years should

run successively1,199

We know that at least by the 10th century BC. Phoenician cities were regularly deficient in food supplies 10th Given the scale of urbanization and manufacture, and the constructed arable land around the coastal cities, there is little reason to doubt that this was also the case in the Late Bronze Age, when it is clear that Canaan was already exporting cedar wood, 'Tyrian' purple dye and finished metalwork and it is very likely that it was manufacturing and sending out large quantities of taw glass as well as decorated containers in that material.²⁰

There is no doubt that during Classical times (500–320 BC), except during periods of Persian occupation of Egypt and hostility to Greece, there was a major trade between Greece and Egypt based on an exchange of Greek silver for Egyptian grain, although it has rightly been insisted that other commodities were involved. The classicist M. M. Austin has made a strong case that the trade was already functioning the Archaic Age. Brown, who has written a thesis on Egyptian objects found in Greece, maintains that there was no similar export of grain from Egypt to the Aegean in the Bronze Age. He argues that such imports would have been unnecessary 'for a population considerably smaller than that of Classical Greece'. The evidence on relative populations in Mycenaean and Classical Greece is uncertain but it seems likely that, in some key regions at least, the density was quite similar. In the Late Bronze Age there was a specialization in wool, metal and pottery production and agricultural

emphasis on olives and vines, in which shortfalls of grain would seem likely. Although imports are not mentioned in the Linear B texts, scholars working on Pylos, the Mycenaean kingdom about which most is known, are surprised at the relative lowness of acreage put to wheat.²⁰⁵

There is also the argument by analogy with the situation during much of the 1st millenmum BC when shipping had not significantly improved since the Bronze Age and Egyptian wheat, transported by sea, provided food reserves for Greece and much of the Mediterranean basin. 206 Most significant of all is the discovery, made since Brown argued against the Bronze Age trade, that there is now archaeological proof of one half of the exchange, the export of silver and lead to Egypt, thus - and given the circumstantial evidence cited above—the export of grain from Egypt to Greece in the Bronze Age would seem very likely. It would seem very probable then that the dense population and prosperity of Mycenaean Greece during the ceramic periods LHIIIA and LHIIIB (1470-1220 Bt) was dependent on a sophisticated, and fragile, trading network covering the Eastern Mediterranean. Local agriculture could not support such a population through the inevitable cycles of bad harvests and therefore relied on Egyptian grain for relief.

There is a common identification of wheat or bread with life, as in the Hebrew match lehem (staff of bread, the food supply upon which life depends). In Middle Egyptian Egyptian in' (make) only was 'to provision' and only with the determinative of meant 'corn'. In late Egyptian, the language spoken during the period with which we are concerned, only(w) was used with the same writing to mean 'life, sustenance and victuals'. Thus, it is probable that the Egyptian formula tin only (the breath of life), given by the pharaoh to foreign tributaries, had the tangible sense of promised grain supplies, as well as a political and spiritual meaning. This would have given Egypt an economic as well as a politico-military and cultural hold over Mycenaean Greece.

Even if Egyptian wheat was not included in the exchange of commodities, there is no doubt that during the period from 1470 to 1220 BC, there was a dense network of trade around the East Mediterranean and extending to the West Mediterranean and Black Sea. While the trading pattern of the 15th and 14th centuries clearly resembled and was probably built on earlier ones, it had its own characteristic features which appear to reflect the political situation of the time. While the lead in some weights for some fish-net sinkers come from the Bolkardag region of the Taurus mountains in Southern Anatoha, there is nothing else from the zone of Hittite control. ** Nor. apart

from what Bass sees as the eastern tin, was there anything from Mesopotamia.

Thus, the trade goods came either from regions known to have been under Egyptian control, like Nubia, the Levant and Egypt itself, or from Crete, Mainland Greece and Arzawa in Western Anatolia. This pattern is clearly not the result of chance. Eric Cline has found the same pattern, indicating that Greece belonged to the Egypto-Levantine world rather than the Hittite Anatolian one, in a survey of foreign objects found at Mycenae from the LHIII period. He lists 22 objects from Egypt, 19 from Syro-Palestine, 2 from Mesopotamia and 1 each from Cyptus and Anatolia. The balance is still more striking when one remembers that, as pointed out above, the Anatolian object is unlikely to be Hittite.²⁰⁹

The foreign objects were largely found in LHIIIB contexts—26 out of 45 — with another 5 coming from LHIIIA—B. This can partly be explained by the length of the later period, c. 150 years as opposed to c. 100 for LHIIIA. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the finding of objects inscribed with the name of Amenophis III in LHIIIB contexts indicates that some foreign objects probably arrived in Greece several

decades before they were buried.210

In this section, I have argued that there is a general correspondence between Semitic and Egyptian etymologies for Greek words for goods and the import of these goods into Greece during the Bronze Age. The only surprise here is that the etymologies indicate that, at the end of the Bronze Age, wheat was exported from Egypt not merely to the Levant but to the Aegean. There is documentary evidence that Egyptian wheat was sent north by sea for famine relief in this period and I argue that there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that such relief was given easily enough for local economies and populations to develop beyond the subsistence levels imposed by bad harvests.

Wheat is of course very difficult to detect through excavation, but now, thanks to land and underwater archaeology, we have a much clearer idea of many other items that were traded around the Medi-

terranean between 1470 and 1220 BC.

The picture given by these objects fits relatively well with that from the distribution of Mycenaean potters and what we know of Egyptian and Aegean history from documentary records: that is to say, there was some increase in contacts after Tuthmösis III's domination of the Levant and possibly around the Aegean c 1470, the approximate point at which LHIIIA began. Around 1420, with the accession of Amenophis III and the beginning of LHIIIA2, relationships intensified greatly. They remained high for some decades but began to

fade somewhat after the waning of Egyptian power in the Levant after 1370, even though, as mentioned above, Greek trade does not appear to have been present in North Syria after Hittites took control of the region around that date.

THE DECLINE OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE ON THE AEGEAN 1370-1220 BC

Amta Yannas maintains that 'after the Amarna period [c. 1370] Mycenaean imports virtually cease'. If, however, one takes LIHHB as beginning at that time, there are plenty of shards of that ware throughout Egypt and the Levant not to mention their abundance in Cyprus. 11

As indicated above, a relatively large number of Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian objects discovered in Greece have been found in LHIIIB contexts but at least some of these must have arrived earlier. The ceramic period is so long that it is difficult to tell whether the contacts were uniform throughout the period or whether they reflected the changes of Egyptian power, notably the revival of Egyptian influence over the Levant and possibly the Aegean during the first twenty-five years of the 10th Dynasty.

In the last chapter, I mentioned Ramesses II's claims that chiefs from the Wid wr had been sent to him and the implications of Egyptian suzerainty.^{2,3} However, there is no archaeological confirmation for any official Greek presence in Egypt at this time. What is more, there is a somewhat surprising lack of royally inscribed objects from Ramessés II's long reign in Greece (those from its very end will be described below). On the other hand, the same is true of the 18th-Dynasty pharaoh. Luthmösis III, whose claims of suzerainty have the backing of very plausible tomb paintings.

PHI AND PSI FIGURINES AND SMITING GODS

At this point it would seem useful to examine two types of figurines from the LHIII period, the Phi and Psi figurines from Greece found in the Levant and the smiting god figurines from the Levant found around the Aegean. The Phi and Psi terracotta figurines are named after their shapes, which resemble the letters ϕ and ψ

The function of the figurines is not at all clear. They have been seen as votives, divine nurses or toys. The latter two would seem more likely, as their appearance has been correlated with child burials. On the other hand, deposits of these figurines at the shimes at Delphi

and Amyklarin Sparta would suggest that they were votives there. It seems to me that these categories are not mutually exclusive and they could well have served all three functions. However, I believe then origins, like those of the earlier Cycladic and Cypriot figurines, are related to the Egyptian Shuabits, figurines buried with the dead to act as servants and protectors in the afterlife.

A number of the Phi and Psi figurines have been found in Cyprus and the Levant, especially Ugarit. As Flizabeth French, who has stud-

ied the distribution, writes,

The presence of Mycenaean figurines does seem to presuppose the presence of Mycenaeans or those who have consciously adopted their ways, and this makes the overseas distribution particularly interesting. The scarcity of examples is again striking, as is the small number of finds in proportion to the other Mycenaean remains from Rhodes and Cyprus.³¹⁵

Anita Yannai rejects this indication of a Mycenacan presence on the Levant. She makes the most of the inconsistencies pointed out by Elizabeth French as well as the facts that the figurines are frequently accompanied by those of animals, the virtual absence of Greek personal seals on the Levant and the non-attestation of Greek names at Ugarit. 15 I fail to understand the significance of the presence of the animal figures, one way or the other. Furthermore, while it is true that only one Greek seal from EHIII has been found in the Levant, at Tell-Abu Hawam in Palestine, there are very few Syro-Palestinian scals in the Aegean, though we know through onomastica or lists of personal names that they were present there. Finally, the lack of personal names. at Ugarit reflects the situation there only after 1370 and I see no reason to believe the situation was the same before the city entered the Hittite sphere of influence or that there were no Greeks in the Southern Levant still under Egyptian suzerainty. All in all, despite the difficulties, I find French's argument persuasive and accept that the figurines do indicate that there were some Mycenaean Greeks present in the Levant between 1470 and 1220 BC

The smiting god figurines are altogether more formidable. They represent 'a striding figure with tall headgear holding a weapon in the right hand'. These are the figures of the thunder gods Tarkhun, Tessub, Ba'al and Reshel mentioned in earlier chapters. However, as Largued in Chapter VI, these were derived from images of the striking pharaoh wearing the crown of Upper Egypt "The closeness of the iconography was also mentioned in the discussion of the seaf of Ba'al discovered at Tell el Daba'a which had parallels to images.

of Sesostris dancing at the Heb Sed Festival (19 It is also clear that, as late as Ramesses II in the 13th century, pharaolis identified themselves with Mont and his Semitic counterpart Reshel in their northern conquests, 200

Smiting god figurines have been found in Late Bronze Age contexts at Mycenae. Tryns, Delos and at Phylakopi on Melos. Others have been found in Iron Age strata or without clear contexts at Dodona, Lindos, Nezero, Patsos, Samos, Thermon and Soumon 4. The figures cannot all be described as bric-a-brac since the only ones found in a controlled excavation, those at Phylakopi, were in clearly cultic positions in a shrine dating to the beginning of LBHHB. 2.2 There is no doubt that the cult was extraordinarily widespread and that it was derived from the Levant which was the centre of the figures' distribution. 219

Their presence is particularly interesting because it is the only Levantine cult of which there is any archaeological trace in the Aegean. One explanation could be that the ambiguity between the pharaoh as warrior and the gods of warfare, storm and pestilence that was undoubtedly present in Egypt, and may well have been seen in the Levant. also existed in the Aegean. In such a case, the statues represented not only Reshel's Greek counterparts. Apollo the archer of pesulence and Herakles but the pharaoh himself. Thus, the Homeric idea of the king 'honoured by the people like a god', which would seem inappropriate to what we know about Mycenaean or Homeric kings, would lit the image of the deified pharaoli quite well. (4) Examples of the ambiguity between the pharaoli and a Syrian weather god can be seen at the very end of the Late Bronze Age on cylinder seals found around the Aegean. Both the seal found on the Gelidonya wreck and another from Peratrin Attica portray gods with Egyptian crowns and Egyptian attributes.995

Whether or not there is anything to such speculation on a pharaonic cult, the smitting god statues make it quite evident that there was a considerable Levantine cultural penetration into the Aegean by the 14th century BC.

CANAANITE JARS

The clearest archaeological indicator of Levantine economic penetration into the Aegean are the Canaanite jars. As with the smiting gods, there is no doubt that they developed in the Syro-Palestinian region, which is where they have then widest diffusion. They became the standard jar used for transport from the Late Bronze Age to the 6th

century BC. Anita Yannai reported fourteen of these from the Aegean – those found at Menidi, Mycenae, Aigos, Athens, Pylos, Asine, Thebes and Thera. The earliest was the one from Thera, which she put in the early 15th century, but which, as mentioned in Chapter VI, we must now see as 17th century, thus pushing back the development of the form two centuries. Fragments of a Canaanite jar have been found off Pseira on the northern coast of East Crete in an LMIB context from the 16th century. "Yannai sees the number of jars as far lower than one would expect if there had been intense commercial contact between the Levant and the Aegean and she concludes her discussion of them:

To sum up, not much can be learnt from these storage jars. The twelve jats are spread chronologically over nearly three centuries, and two sites in Greece have produced 75% of the evidence so far known. Although foreign, and from the Levant, it is hard to see in them an important item of trade as suggested for instance by Vermeule, with contents of wine, oil or spices. Were they indeed such, there could not have been much demand for their contents. As they were found in the only shipwreck of the period found to date, off Cape Gelidonya, they are more likely to have served as containers for commodities needed aboard ships heading West, where they remained. 228

This turns out to have been a case of 'the argument from silence' and the common-sense view of Emily Vermeule and others that the Canaanite jars were containers for cargo has not merely been strengthened by the recent discovery of Canaanite jars from Late Bronze Age contexts at Pseira, Knossos, Kato Zakro and Kommos in Crete but has been spectacularly vindicated by the discovery of the Kas wreck. This ship contained over 120 'Canaanite amphoras'. Their contents are difficult to analyze, though it is clear that some contained fruits and others resms, including ones of terebinth, pistachio and frankincense Still others contained organic detritus, which may have come from stoppers for the mouths of the jars but could also possibly have come from impurities among olives, figs or other fruit or possibly even in wheat whose export from Egypt has been suggested above. Most surprisingly, one jar was found to be full of Cypriot pottery. Thus, there is no doubt that they were used as general containers and not just for liquids 22

The discovery of all these jars underlines - once again - the dangers of the argument from silence. The fourteen previously excavated should never have been seen as representing a significant proportion

of those shipped to Greece. Their chance survival should more plausibly be seen as representing thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of the jars used in hundreds or thousands of voyages, which did not sink or whose wrecks have disintegrated or not been found

LVORY

The Kaş wreck also contained sections of ivory and two hippopotamus teeth 250 Even at this time there were some elephants left in Syria. Nevertheless, it is virtually certain that, as the Egyptian etymology of elephas would suggest, this, like the teeth, came from Africa in general and from or through Egypt in particular. The fact that it was unworked, taken together with the discovery of unworked ivory at Kato Zakro in Eastern Crete, would suggest that Mycenaean rulers had a taste for their own local styles.²³¹

There is some debate as to the relationship between these Acgean styles and those of the Levant. Emily Vermeule has stated that there was 'a more accentuated orientalism of style [in the ivories] since the raw material came from the East'." Annta Yannai disagrees and argues that there are fundamental differences in both techniques and motifs. She maintains that the Mycenaeans preferred relief in the round while the Syro-Palestinians generally used engraving or inlay. However, she admits exceptions to both rules, the animal scenes from Delos are engraved, while the examples of relief work from the Levant are more numerous. 254 When it comes to motifs, Yannai admits the parallels but plays them down, rightly pointing out:

the problem in this instance is in determining whether the influence is direct or through intermediaries, in which case the intermediate could be another place or another medium. In the first case, the question is whether the oriental motifs detected in some Mycenaean isoties have their origin in Pre-Mycenaean Crete, in the second rather than contacts between schools of ivory carvers, it could be influence through another field such as metalwork or glyptics.⁵⁴

This is absolutely right, since by the 15th and 15th centuries Mycenaean Greece was a fully fledged member of the Near Eastern world, sharing a common heritage but with its own characteristics. There was, as Anita Yannai points out, the Cretan tradition, which itself, as we have seen, drew heavily on Egyptian and Levantine culture. More important, the ivories depicted the hunting and struggling lions and griffins of the 'Hyksos international' tradition, which had now become the 'national' one of Mycenaean Greece. Nevertheless, there was further artistic mixture in the LHIIIB period, as the French art historian Jean-Claude Poursat, who has made a study of the ivories, admits. However, he sees it in terms of an exchange of styles at Cyprus, which certainly led to the introduction of oriental motifs in Mycenaean ivories; on a smaller scale there was an influence in the other direction from Mycenae to the Levant.²⁸⁵

There is no doubt from the archaeological evidence cited above that, after its copper came into large-scale production in the 15th century. Cyprus played a central role in the trade of the East Mediterranean. On the other hand, it is equally certain that it plays a key role in the ideology of Aryanist and isolationist archaeologists by providing a screen or filter between East and West, allowing them to be in contact without actually touching. It seems to me that both the documentary and archaeological evidence show that there were many other ways in which the peoples of Egypt and the Levant were able to reach and influence those of the Aegean and vice versa.

CONCLUSION

There is now every reason to suppose that dense and far-reaching networks operated in the Fast Mediterranean at least after 1470 with the establishment of the Pax Aegyptiaca following the victories of Tuthmösis III. Given the documentary and archaeological evidence for close contacts, it would be extremely surprising if there had not been extensive linguistic, religious and other cultural exchange during these centuries. Furthermore, because of the greater age and sophistication of the Egyptian and Levantine cultures, it would seem overwhelmingly likely that the predominant cultural flow was from the Fast Mediterranean to the Aegean rather than the other way around.

On the other hand, the evidence indicates that already in the 15th century BC not only was Egypt, Egypt and the Levant, the Levant, but Greece was Greek. The Mycenaeans were speaking Greek and worshipping gods with Greek names and it is overwhelmingly likely that many of the Greek cults and myths found in later times were already current in the Late Bronze Age. Thus, the formative period of Greek culture must be pushed back beyond this to the 18th and 17th centuries BC, in Hyksos times – the age portrayed in the Thera murals. It is most likely that it was in this period that the amalgam of local Indo-European with Egyptian and Levantine influences that we call Greek civilization was first and lastingly formed

The heroic end to the heroic age The fall of Thebes, Troy and Mycenae 1250–1150 BC

By that had dominated the Middle East since 1500 was beginning to crumble. The 'victories' of Ramesses II around 1300 BC may have prolonged Egyptian influence in the Levant by a few decades, but unlike those of Tuthmosis III they had no lasting effect. The Mitanni kingdom had disappeared and was replaced by a revived power in Assyria, which dominated Mesopotamia. In 1, 1280 there was peace between the Egyptians and the Hittites, and during the second half of the century the latter became embroised with Assyria. By the 1230s, Hittite power began to disintegrate. There was a famine in Central Anatolia which was possibly part of the general chimatic deterioration discussed in Chapter VII. The Hittite Empire appears to have lost control of Western and Southwestern Anatolia where there was a resurgence of local independence. It seems to have been in this situation that the Trojan War was fought

In Greece, Thebes, the seat of the last of the original Hyksos dynasties, the Kadmeans, was besieged in the 1250s and appears to have been destroyed around 1230 BC. Pelopid rule was not secure as there appear to have been threats from the northern Greek tribes, the Dotians, Boiotians and Thessalians, on or beyond the fringes of Mycenaean palatial civilization. Even so, Pelopid kings appear to have been able to mount a considerable expedition against Troy, which in turn appears to have rallied a number of West and South Anatolian as

well as Thracian allies. This conflict appears to have ended around

At least since the time of Thucydides, it has been conventional to suggest that Greece never recovered from the disruption of the Irojan War. In fact, however, many of the palaces and cities, including Mycenae, survived for another fifty years and some, like Athens, much longer than that. The collapse in the 12th century is in some way linked to the migrations and destructions of the Peoples of the Sea reported in Egyptian records. It was argued in Volume 1 that many of these came from the Aegean and spoke Greek. Homer makes Odys seus say that he took part in a raid on Egypt and it is likely that 'Greeks' from both Mycenaean states and fringe tribes, including some aligned with the Trojans, were involved "It is interesting, however, that the mam Dorian conquest, that of most of the Pelopoimese, took place in the 1150s. This, as we saw in Chapter VII, was the decade following the eruption of Hekla III, which seems to have had a devastating effect on Northern Europe and may have been a factor in the defeat of the Shang Dynasty and rise of the Zhou in China. It would seem possible, therefore, to make a tentative link between this eruption and the final collapse of the Near Eastern Bronze Age and Mycenaean civilization

CYLINDER SEALS

One important class of Near Eastern object found in the Bronze Aegean, which was not considered in the last chapter, was the cylinder seal. Cylinder seals were in use in Mesopotamia and Syria from the 4th millennium and they continued to be used there for the next three thousand years as markers of personal and corporate property Made out of hard or semi-precious stone, they also appear to have had a talismanic quality, and the fact that they were often preserved for several centuries indicates how highly valued they were. It is known, for instance, that owners were sometimes obliged to report the loss of a seal to the authorities.5 Mycenaeans used day as a surface for writing and they too made and used cylinder seals imitating east ern patterns; an unfinished one made of local stone has been found at Mycenae." Nevertheless, Anita Yannai is right to point out that they were not used in Greece as extensively as in Mesopotamia?

In this section I want to concentrate on cylinder seals from Mesopotamia, Syria and Gyprus, although the latter two are sometimes hard to distinguish from each other. These foreign finds are particularly interesting because of their personal and institutional value. Their presence at a particular site is extremely significant.

In 1967 Hans-Gunter Buchholz published a list of just over one hundred Near Fastern cylinder seals found in Greece (Yannai 1eported four more discovered in the following decade).* Of those that Buchholz could date, 14 came from before 1600 [01, according to my chronology, 1670] BC, 36 from between 1600 [1670] and 1200, and 13 from later than that. In some ways their provenance resembles that of the objects found at Mycenae, notably in the absence of Hittite seals and the presence of a large number from Syria or Cyprus, the difference lies in the fact that there were none from Egypt. This is not surprising, because Egypt used cylinder seals only at the beginning of the dynastic period in the late 4th millennium BC. The other difference is that a number of seals came from Mesopotamia, that is, from the Mitanman and Kassite kingdoms that ruled there until their overthrow by the Assyrians in the second half of the 13th century. By far the biggest cache of these was that found in the Kadmeion or palace at Thebes, but, before discussing this exceptionally rich and significant find, it would be helpful to consider the history of the city.

THE BOIOTIAN THEBES AND THE PHOENICIANS' ARRIVAL

In Chapter II, some consideration was given to the early history of Boiotia and the argument was put forward that we should accept the tradition preserved in Homei and by the 6th-century mythographer Pherekydes that there had been two foundations of Thebes. This is not merely because of some mythical need for binary Jungian or Lévi-Straussian foundations but also because I believe that the tradition was accurately reporting two actual foundations, those of the Egyptian or Egyptianizing Amphion and Zéthos in the middle of the 3rd millennium and of Kadmos the Phoenician in the 2nd. It should be emphasized here again that I am not insisting that any such individuals ever existed; even if they had done, they are so encrusted with myth that it would be impossible to extricate any historicity from them. Nevertheless, I believe that the stones do serve a historical function as they would seem to symbolize or represent historical processes and in this case migrations and conquests that actually took place.

As mentioned in Chapter II, it is virtually certain that the name Kadmos comes from the West Semitic qdm, 'Easterner and 'ancient one'.' This is shown by the derivation of Europa, the name of Kadmos' sister, from the Semitic $\forall b$ (west or evening).' The outline of the standard version of the myth is that Europa had been playing on the beach of her father Agenor's kingdom of Tyre. There Zeus saw her

and, turning himself into a bull, persuaded her to ride on his back. He then carried her off to Crete and the west. Europa's brothers Kadmos and Phonius and others pursued their sister without success. However, they settled down and built cities at various places, all of which later had special associations with Phoenicians. The most notable of these was Kadmos' establishment of Thebes. The existence of such stories since the times of Hesiod and Homer, in the roth and 9th centuries BC, and of the legends of Kadinos the Phoenician as the founder of Thebes was discussed in Volume 1.

Our confidence in the Bronze Age origin of these legends is strengthened by archaeological confirmation of a number of Classical reports about early Thebes. Late Bronze Age Thebes had seven gates. precisely as the Classical tragedies described it. LHIIIB iconography from Boiotia emphasizes a royal figure and a sphinx, suggesting that the stories of Oedipus and the Sphinx, in which the hero answers the monster's riddle which relieves the city of her depredations, were current in the 14th or 13th centuries, when he was reported to have ruled Thebes, "Because of such finds and the widespread and relative consistency of the legends, I see no reason to doubt that there were strong surviving traditions from the Bronze Age into Archaic and Classical times - especially in Thebes. Thus, Hesiod and Homer, who were generally well informed about the past, were almost certainly right when they portrayed the last rulers of Thebes in the 13th century as seeing themselves as Kadmids, whose ancestors had come from Phoenicia. The issue of whether or not these rulers were right to think this is not so clear. Nevertheless, this self-image and the fact that the probably Afroasiatic name. Thebes appears in Linear B texts rule out any possibility of a Kadmean Phoenician conquest or settlement of the city after the end of the Bronze Age.

The credibility of the Bronze Age tradition depends on a number of factors, the first of which is at what point in the 2nd millennium it is plausible to see a Phoenician or West Semitic migration or conquest Ruth Edwards has pointed out that a LHIIIB settlement would not allow enough time for the many events reconnted in Theban historical legends before the city's fall "Furthermore, we know that the official language of the city in the 13th century was Greek. Thus, it is clear that any Phoenician domination must have taken place eather and cannot be directly connected to the hoard of oriental objects found in the last palace, although, as will be discussed below, it is quite likely that there was an 'enclave colony' of Levantine craftsmen in the city at the time.

It is possible that there was a Phoenician invasion or settlement

duting LHHI, that is, after 1470 BC when there are at least two destructions." However, the reconstructions give no evidence of any orientalization. The fact that there is no archaeological sign of a settlement or conquest does not provide an insuperable objection, as we have seen, the Achaian takeover elsewhere in Greece left no tangible trace. On the other hand, one would expect the Kadmeans to have left more evidence than the Pelopids, both because of the innovations they were supposed to have introduced and because, according to tradition, then migration would seem to have been much more substantial.

There is no doubt that there are many more signs of Semitic speakers having been in Boiotia than there are of Anatolian speakers in the Peloponnese. Apart from the name Thebes itself and those of its founders Kadmos and Europa, there are those of the river Ladón as well as the Gephyroi—all of which, as mentioned in Chapter III, have plausible Semitic etymologies. Similarly, the city names. This be and Thespiae can be derived from the Hurrian god Teššub. Tocholars since Bochart in the 17th century at have seen Elieus, an epithet of Zeus at Thebes, as deriving from the Phoenician Fliun, which Philo of Byblos rendered as Hypsistos (Most High) in Greek; the name appears as "El Thyon in the Bible." This would be well with the cult at Thebes of Zeus Hypsistos which was associated with the Hypsistoi Gate.

Another name is Ismenos, the alternative name for the river Ladón, which is linked by the cult of Apollo Ismenios to the god Apollo. Apollo's role as a healer would correspond well with the Canaanite healing god Ešmun. The Semitic root 6m, with the two meanings 'eight' and 'fat' or 'fertile', was suitable for the land through which the tiver Ismenos flowed. The number eight is significant because, according to Philo of Byblos, Ešmun was the eighth brother of the seven Kabiror or Kabeiror, mysterious underground pygmy smiths. The derivation of their name from the Semitic kabîr (Great) is confirmed by their Greek and Roman names Megaloi Theor and Magni Dei. The Kabiror were worshipped in Beirut in Phoenicia and in Borotia and Samothrace. According to tradition, Kadmos was involved in both the latter cults. 30

Victor Bérard proposed another plausible Semitic etymology for the mountain name Kithairon, upon which a holocaust with strong Syrian parallels was carried out, from the Semitic root qtr, which has the Piel form qutter (offer burnt sacrifices) "

Having accepted these Semitic etymologies, I am not convinced that they make Boiotia extraordinary. In the first place, there are also sev-

eral names with plausible Egyptian origins—possibly Thebes itself and Kopais, Képhissos, Alalkomenai and Athénai as well as the Sphinx Mountain. Secondly, many of the Boiotian Semitic, and Egyptian, place names occur elsewhere in Greece. In Chapter 11, 1 discussed the toponomy of irrigation and mentioned 'Semitic' names, such as Orchomenos and Ladón, and Egyptian ones, such as Peneus, being found not only in Boiotia but also in Arkadia and Thessaly. There are others such as Kephissos, Athénai and Harma, as well as Thebes itself, that occur elsewhere around the Aegean. In short, while there is a high incidence of names and cults with plausible Egyptian and Semitic origins in Boiotia, too much emphasis cannot be laid on this fact be cause they appear so frequently elsewhere.

The same impression that Boiotia was not especially different from other parts of Greece is also conveyed by the archaeological evidence. This suggests that Boiotia in general and Thebes and Orchomenos in particular were extremely prosperous during the Late Bronze Age and that irrigation works on Kopais and other lakes were considerably expanded during this period. The tombs, palaces and fortifications built on the basis of this wealth and considerable trade seem to have been very much like those found in other rich parts of Mainland Greece, such as the Argolid and the Southern Pelopoinese. As mentioned above, there is strong evidence of Boiotia having been in close contact with Greece, especially during LHIIIB, but Cretan influence was widespread throughout Greece in the Mycenaean Age. Thus, apart from the oriental hoard in the palace, the material culture of Thebes seems no more 'oriental' than that of the rest of Greece.

Similarly, while it is certain that Linear B was used there in the Late Bronze Age and Herodotos tells us that alphabetic Kadmean letters were too, there is every reason to suppose that both scripts were in use elsewhere in Greece. The Boiotian inscriptions in both scripts make it clear that, at least by the 13th century, the official language was Greek and here again there is little reason to suspect that this situation had developed any later here than elsewhere. Thus, to sum up, if there was any truth in the Kadmean tradition of arrival from the Fast it would have to date from before the beginning of the age of the Mycenaean palaces we know.

ANCIENT CHRONOGRAPHIES

The idea that the Kadinean settlement was as old as that of Danaos is not new. The Parian Marble put Kadinos' arrival at Thebes at the equivalent of 1518-17 8C, while that of Danaos was set at 1511.25 How-

ever, as Ruth Edwards insists, this was not the only ancient chronography and she lists. Kastor of Rhodes from the 1st century BC, who placed Kadmos' arrival at the equivalent of 1307 BC. The church father Eusebius gave, in his different writings, dates ranging from

1455 to 1285 Bt. He put Danaos from 1492 to 1467 Bt. 2

Scholars who maintain a 2nd-millennium date of transmission of the alphabet to Greece, and who accept the traditional association of the introduction with Kadmos, have tended to prefer the later dates of even the one of 1313 BC spuriously attributed to the Hellenistic scientist Fratosthenes. However, most contemporary historians deny any possibility of a 2nd-millennium transmission of the alphabet. The few who have accepted some historical basis for the traditions of settlement have liked the Parian Marble's 16th-century dates for both arrivals, if only because they fit with the Ancient Model's linkage between them and the expulsion of the Byksos and their own association of these with the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. But, as we have seen in Chapter IX, these scholars were working before the shifting of MMIII to the period 1730 -1675 and indeed before the proposal put forward in this book that the first Hyksos colonizations of Greece should be seen in the 18th not the 16th century BC.

KADMOS AND THE ALPHABET

While unorthodox in their attraction to the Ancient Model in general, the scholars arguing for a 15th- or 14th-century date for the arrival of Kadmos have accepted the conventional wisdom, established in the 1930s, that the alphabet was introduced to Greece in the 1st millen-

nium, probably the 8th century BC.55

Treject this convention and have argued on epigraphic grounds not merely that the alphabet was introduced to Greece in the late 2nd millennium, but that the transmission can have been no later than 1400, though it was probably after 1800 BC. Thus, while accepting an overall association between the movement that Kadmos represented and the introduction of the alphabet, 1 do not feel obliged, as the historians of the alphabet B. L. Ullman and David Diringer did, to lower the date of his arrival.

Similarly, while I accept their attachment to the Ancient Model—in general—one of my revisions of it is to shift the arrival of the Hyksos in Greece from the period of their expulsion from Egypt in the 16th century to the period of their general expansion in the 18th. This association between the transmission of the alphabet to Greece and the Hyksos receives further traditional backing from the fact that the ear-

liest report of the introduction of the alphabet to Greece, that of Hekataios of Miletos in the 6th century, refers not to Kadmos but to Danaos, ⁹ The relationship between the two and their Hyksos connections will be discussed below. Thus the epigraphic arguments for the spread of the alphabet coincide with the historical one for the spread of the Hyksos in the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as with the Greek tradition.

The diffusion of Mycenaean influence in the Western Mediterra nean, the Black Sea and Northern Europe during the 15th century, after the establishment of what I see as the Pax Aegyphaca, would explain the diffusion of early alphabets beyond Greece to Numidia and Spain as well as the existence of runes in Northern Europe and Central Asia 3 Nevertheless, they could well be earlier and the spread to the Aegean must antedate this, despite the fact that historically the idea that the alphabet spread in the East Mediterranean in the century of Egyptian hegemony (1470 - 1370 BC) is very attractive, because of the abundant evidence of frequent contact, much of it through trade, for which a convenient script like the alphabet would be extremely useful. However, this later period is difficult if not impossible to reconcile with the archaic nature of the scripts that appeared in Anatoha and Greece Thus, it is possible to retain the association be tween Kadmos and the alphabet and to put him in the Hyksos age, even if this has to be raised to the 17th or 18th centuries.

KADMOS AND DANAOS: HYKSOS RULERS

This would also tally with the report of Danaos as the transmitter of the alphabet and the strong tradition that Kadmos was related to Danaos. At different times, the Hellenistic mythographer Apollodoros, basing himself on traditions going back at least to Homer, saw Kadmos as a cousin or as a brother of Danaos. At first blush this may seem strange, given the clear attachment of Danaos to Egypt, while Kadmos was the most famous Phoenician. In Classical and probably in Archaic times too, Kadmos was often specifically associated with Tyre. However, it is unlikely that this association dates back to the Bronze Age.

Evidence from archaeology and Egyptian texts leaves little doubt that Tyre was an ancient city dating back at least to the beginning of the 2nd millennium "There is Herodotos' informed statement that it was founded \(\epsilon\). 2750 BC." Furthermore, we know that Tyre was in touch with the Aegean in the 2nd millennium BC. The gentilic Turifo exists in Linear B and the Greek form. Tyros shows that the city name

was introduced to the Aegean earlier than 1400 BC, when its name was For, before the sound-shift $t \ge 5$, which made the Phoenician name Sor. Friedrich put the terminusante quem of the loan in the middle of the 2nd millennium and this would be confirmed by the dates of c. 1500 and the 14th century put forward for the sound-shift by the American Semitists Zellig Harris and W. L. Moran. **

Nevertheless, in Homer and the Pentateuch, Phoenicia was epitomized by Sidon not Tyre "Furthermore, there are also traditions that Kadmos came from Sidon and there is hitle doubt that, for most of the Bronze Age, the Levantine city par excellence was Byblos." Thus, it would seem likely that the connection of Kadmos the Phoenician and his family with Tyre should be dated only to the period after Tyre's rise to pre-eminence in the 11th or 10th centuries BC and that both this association and those with Sidon were simply cited to establish Kadmos' credentials as a Phoenician

There is no doubt that by Archaic times there was a close identification between Kadmos and his brother Phomix, the eponym of Phoenicia Kadmos' other brothers were Kilix and Thasos, the eponyms of Kilikia or Cilicia in what is now Southeastern Turkey and Thasos, an island in the Northern Aegean. These, like that of another kinsman Membliaros, clearly served the aetiological function of explaining Phoenician influence in Kilikia, Thasos and Thera – where Membliaros was supposed to have settled. Kadmos was also associated with other places where Phoenician influence was strong. Thrace, Samothrace and Rhodes. all of which were worked into the story of his pursuit of Europa. The control of the control of Europa.

Phoenicia was not the only country associated with Kadmos' origins. Many sources linked him to Egypt.' Some of these were undoubtedly trying to make a connection between the two cities named. Thebes and they are consistent in that most viewed him as a foreigner in Egypt. Thus, there are parallels between Kadmos and Danaos in being foreigners in Egypt, through invthical kinship and the invention of the alphabet. There were other hinks in such things as the close association of both heroes with Rhodes, particularly the city of Emdos where both were reported to have made votive offerings to the temple of Athena." Danaos' origin from the Hyksos Semitic speakers in Lower Egypt has been discussed in Volume 1 and again in Chapter IX above."

All this would point to a common origin for both heroes in the Hyksos movement in the 18th and 17th centuries BC. Hekataios of Abdera, whose writings at the end of the 4th century BC were discussed in Volume 1, specified that both Danaos and Kadmos were expelled from Egypt as Hyksos leaders. If Kadmos were a Hyksos ruler of

Semitic and Hurrian speakers from Egypt, it would explain much of the toponymic evidence of these languages in Boiotia, although, as we saw in Chapter III, some of the place names may be earlier. I should add that this view of Kadmos as a Hyksos leader and as a contemporary or near contemporary of Danaos is not new or original. It is held by Emily Vermeule, Frank Stubbings, George Huxley, Michael Astour and others. 40

Since the re-dating of the Thera eruption, however, we have to adjust their chronology and place the establishment of the Kadmeans at about the same time as that of the Danaans in the late 18th and early 17th centuries. Thus both movements contributed to the formation of Mycenaean Greece, which would explain the similarities in the material cultures of the Peloponnese and Boiona in the Late Bronze Age. What made Thebes different was that there was no Pelopid takeover and the original dynasty appears to have held power there until the middle of the 13th century BC.

PROBLEMS IN THE WRITING OF LINEAR B

The only major difficulty for the historical scheme that the Semitic influence on Boiotia came in with the Hyksos in the 18th and 17th centuries comes from the name. Thebes or Thebai itself. As stated above, this name would seem likely to come from the Canaamte tebah (ark or chest), which itself came from the Egyptian thi or dht (box). These two were often confused with one another and with the possibly related word dht (wicker float, ark of bullrushes) and dhi (coffin, shrine and hence palace). 49

The problem is that Thebes or Thebai was not written as * Tepa in Linear B but as Teqa. This would appear to make it difficult to derive the Greek city name from the Egyptian dbit or Canaanite têbâh. Interestingly, there are two comparable cases. The first of these is basileus which originally meant 'high officer' rather than 'king' and has a plausible etymology in the Egyptian pro (the officer or the vizier) which was transcribed in Akkadian of the late 2nd millennium as paŝia(ra). However, it is written in Linear B as quiteu not * pasireu. Finally, there is the Greek river name Pamissos which would seem to have come from the Egyptian Pi mw (the water) which was a frequent toponymic element in Egyptian. However, Pamissos appears to have been written in Linear B as Qamisijo.

I believe that the simplest explanation for all of these terms is to suppose that they were introduced into Greek after the Greek labio-

yelars had broken down and the Proto-Indo-European sound k had disappeared and become p or t or k depending on the vowel that followed it. There is no doubt that when Linear B was devised labiovelars were still pronounced in Proto-Greek and that the series of signs now transcribed with an initial q was borrowed from a language which also had these sounds to represent them. However, it is almost equally clear that the Linear B syllabary was used to represent the language we should now call Greek by the 17th century BC at the very latest. Thus, as the broad-minded Indo-Europeanist Oswald Szemetényi wrote about the series of signs beginning with q. 'a much more difficult question is whether the sounds so denoted were still labiovelars [when they were written] * The point at which the Linear B tablets were written is still very uncertain. Some may be as early as the 14th century. However, as Largued in Chapter X, Laccept the case made by Palmer and Niemeier that most of the tablets date from the end of the 19th century.52

No one now seems to doubt that the labrovelars in front of u and y had been delabialized to become ku and ky before that time. The problems of dating the palatalization of the labiovelars before e and τ to become te and tr and of their labialization before u and o to become pa and po are more complicated. There is no doubt that k^*o could be written as po where there was another labiovelar in the same word, which indicates some instability here. Aevertheless, the consensus among Mycenologists is that the original k^* was still present in the

19th and 12th centuries in these cases.

The bases for this judgement, however, seem very slight. The survival of labiovelars or their 'unorthodox' reflexes in later Greek dialects tells us nothing about the date of their breakdown in the standard language represented in Linear B. Lejeune has shown that the Linear B sign for a labiovelar before o is the same as that in *equos (horse) where the kw is not a labiovelar. This would suggest that the Linear B sign go was pronounced as keo. It could, however, merely reflect an earlier situation when the spelling convention was established. Furthermore, there are two possible cases of early labialization in the Linear B texts. There is no evidence about ga specifically. Ventris and Chadwick initially read qu as a labial pas, but Chadwick later retracted this reading. However, even if one accepts Chadwick's discrediting of his and Ventris's earlier etymologies indicating this, it still does not establish that qa was heard as kaa."

The linguist Michel Lejeune has argued that the lack of alphabetic letters to represent the labiovelais demonstrates that they had disappeared before the alphabet's establishment, which he, following conventional wisdom, takes to be in the 8th century ac * Today, however. the date of the transmission of the alphabet from the Levant to Greece is being raised to the 11th century, or, as I claim, to between 1800 and 1400 BC. Accepting these dates would indicate that labiovelars had disappeared by the 11th century of the middle of the 2nd millenmum. However, the situation is still further complicated - in my disfavour – because I see the letter phi ϕ as having originated from a Semitic gup used to represent labiovelars before then breakdown 100 Nevertheless, there is no trace of the labiovelars in Hesiod or Homer. who not only lived in the 10th and 9th centuries 8c, but - if I am right on the introduction of the alphabet - were following spelling conventions that went back into the Bronze Age. This indicates that there had been no labiovelars in their dialects for some considerable time,

Finally, there is the admittedly circular argument that Qamiso and quineu have good etymologies from the Egyptian name Pi mw and word pisc. The transcription of these two with ga rather than pa would fit a very common pattern according to which foreign loans are transcribed by rare or redundant signs. This practice provides the additional information that the word was foreign. This phenomenon can be seen in the Japanese use of the less common katakana syllabary for foreign words and the Modern Hebrew use of tet and quph to reproduce foreign ts and ks rather than the standard for and kaph?

These arguments make a good case for a scheme in which Pr niw and pro-were introduced to the Aegean in the 15th of 14th centuries after the breakdown of kea in Greek. This would in fact fit the fact that the term ps) seems to have come into official use only in the 18th Dynasty. However, the name Thebes of Thébar would seem to be much earlier. Indeed, if we are to follow tradition associating the Kadmean imgration with the introduction of the alphabet, the former must have come before the breakdown of the labiovelars

The name Theba was sometimes linked to the earliest Kadmean stories or even earlier to those around Amphion and Zethos " On the other hand, there was another tradition that the city had originally been called Kadmeia and that Theba was a later name, 'The simplest' way to explain the problem away is to say that Tega has nothing to dowith tebah or db: Failing that, one could argue that the use of ga and pa was random in names or postulate that. Theba still sounded for eign in the 13th or 14th centuries and was therefore transcribed that was Finally, one could follow the tradition that Theba was a later trainer None of these suggestions is satisfactory. Nevertheless, the depth of plausible Semitic and Egyptian cultic and linguistic influence and the strength of the tradition of the settlement of Kadmos the Phoenician

are overwhelming. Furthermore, the difficulties in proposing any later colonizations and the intricate legendary links between Kadinos and Danaos and the Hyksos make the end of the Middle Bronze Age the only possible time for the Kadinean arrival.

Such early traditions and the legitimacy they bestowed would explain the emphasis on the Kadmean and Phoenician ancestry given in the many tragedies written about the decline and fall of the city. This is especially emphatic in Euripides' *The Phoenician Women* in which the chorus cries:

From the Tyrian seacoast,
From an island of Phoenicia.
I have come . . .
But now raging war,
Stands at this city's ramparts,
With a blaze of blood.
Threatening death to Thebes, which God Iorbid!
Friend suffers with friend,
If these seven towers should fall,
Our country too is struck to the heart,
We and they are one family,
Descended alike from Io;
Their fate, then, is ours too.64

Or later:

When Kadmos came from Phoenicia to this country
An untained heifer bounded before him...
You too Epaphos son of Zeus,
Born long ago to 15 our ancestress,
I invoke with a song of the east,
With prayers in the Phoenician tongue:
For you Thebes was founded by your descendants

Such passages not only emphasize the Phoenician ancestry of the Kadmeans, they also stress the connections with Danaos the descendant of Iō.

THE TREASURE OF THE KADMEION

If the 13th-century rulers of Thebes held a behef in their Phoenician origins and legitimacy, did this affect their actual contacts with the Near Fast? It is interesting that, despite the fact that Thebes was, as has been stated above, essentially Mycenaean, a significant number of

Levanune objects have been found in and around the city. For in stance, a Canaanite jar has been discovered in a rich Late Helladic tomb outside the city.65 Much more sensational are the finds from the Kadmeion or palace of Thebes itself. These include two ivory throne legs that have no parallel in the Aegean and an extraordinary collection of cylinder seals. The cylinders, together with some Aegean seals, some agate, onyx and lapis jewellery, were found in a LHIIIB context. Although it is uncertain whether they come from LHIIIB1 or LHIIIB2, the second would seem more likely because they appear to have been buried in the final destruction of the palace, probably around 1230 BC. As with the discovery of the 120 Canaanite jars on the Kaş wreck, the find of thirty eight cylinder seals in one spot, where only sixty others had been found from all previous excavations in the Aegean, should give pause to those who want to believe that the quantity of objects present in Antiquity can be determined from those that have been excavated in modern times.

The sensational discovery of the oriental seals in the Kadineion, the palace of the Phoenician Kadineans, has led to a great deal of loose thinking. Suggestions were made that they represented the invasion of Kadinos himself or were proof of a Canaanite or even Babylonian metropolis in Greece." Despite the exaggeration of such claims, the seals do indicate that relations between Greece and the Levant were

much closer than has generally been supposed.

The archaeologist Connie Lambrou-Phillipson has argued cogenily that the treasure found in the palace came from a workshop of Levan tine craftsmen. She points out that eleven of the cylinder seals were 'abraded' or deliberately ground away, and on one there appeared to be the beginnings of a Mycenaean design." However, she also points out the presence of other techniques of jewellery and gold work that, according to her, have seldom if ever been encountered in Aegean craftsmaniship: the inlaving of jewellery with lapis lazuli, gold-wire making and the inlaving of metal articles with gold, niello. She herself admits a number of other examples of these techniques from the Aegean. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that they were better and earlier established in the Levant, especially at Byblos, and I think that there is little doubt that this was the origin of their use in the Aegean."

Lambrou-Phillipson also draws attention to the ivory carving on the throne legs, which has no parallel in the Aegean and does suggest craftsmen from a school of Levantine ivory carving for furniture parts that flourished from the 17th to the 7th centuries BC. Her most impressive example of the latest Near Fastern technology is the iron drill found at the Kadmeion with a collection of ivories. There was a

scarcity of iron in the Aegean at this time, while, as she stresses, it was being used in the Levant. Although Connie Lambrou-Phillipson has not made a conclusive case for an enclave colony of Levantine craftsmen at Thebes, she has made a good one or at least a case for the presence of a number of individual Levantine craftsmen. Fither of these hypotheses would fit well with the evidence of Near Fasterners in the Linear B onomastica. Furthermore, Lambrou-Phillipson has shown without doubt how closely in touch the makers of luxuries were with each other in the Late Brouze Age, which is precisely what one would suppose from other archaeological evidence, most notably that of the Kaş ship.

THE KASSITE CONNECTION

If some of the seals found in the Kadmeion had been abraded, others had not and from the latter it is possible to learn a considerable amount. Seven of the seals were made in Cyprus or Syria - it is very difficult to tell the styles apart from the 15th to the 13th centuries BC. Another four seals were originally engraved elsewhere but had been re-engraved in Cyprus or Syria in this period 2 There is also one Hittite cylinder seal. However, although it comes from the 'Hittite world', there are some features that are not purely Hittite. In fact, the seal most closely resembles a sealing found at Ugarit of an official from Carcemish in North Syria. Thus, it may well come from the region of Commagene seized by Assyria in the 13th century." There were eight Mesopotamian seals from the Old Babylonian period early in the 2nd millennium or earlier, two of which had been recut in Cyprus; three seals were Mitannian from Northern Iraq in the late 15th and 14th centuries, showing both local and Egyptianizing influences; and a further two are of mixed style but may be Assyrian."

The most splendid pieces in the collection were the cylinder seals from the period of Kassite kings of Babylon, some of them in the purest lapis lazuli. These date from the 14th to the 13th centuries. It will be remembered that the Kassites were the people who conquered Babylonia from the northeast at approximately the same time that the Hyksos conquered Egypt in the 18th century BC.

Edith Porada, the expert in ancient seals, has thought long and hard about these cylinders and the significance of the hoard. Apart from arguing that they show the sophistication of the workshops in which they were made, she is unable to give any special significance to the Cypriot seals. However, her considered opinion of the Kassite seals and how they got to Thebes is elaborate and fascinating.

Among the Amarna letters of Egyptian diplomatic correspondence there was a letter from the Kassite king Burna Burna's II (1375 · 1317 BC) to Akhenaton (1381 – 1364 BC) in which the writer said that he was sending the pharaoh a nana of lapis lazuli. The mina was the standard Mesopotamian weight of about 510 grams. Edith Porada contends that the use of one mina of lapis lazuli as an acceptable gift is confirmed by this being the weight of a number of vases listed in the temple archives at Nippur during the Kassite period. She and Ext Touloupa, one of the archaeologists who discovered them, weighed the Kassite seals from Thebes and found them to be 496 grams. Porada believes this to be close enough to one mina. The idea that ancient Near Eastern monarchs would have been casual about such things is implausible. On the other hand, there may be one missing and it should be remembered that some weight would have been lost through the abrasion.

Edith Porada maintains that the Kassite seals were too splendid for personal use but were used especially for dedications to gods. She postulates, without direct evidence, that these had been dedicated to the Temple of Marduk in Babylon, whose cult was already central at that time. Her circumstantial evidence comes from the use by the 7th-century Assyrian kings Sennacharib and Esarhaddon of a Kassite cylinder seal that was probably dedicatory but which had been partially reinscribed by Fukulti Nimurta I five centuries earlier. She also shows that a son of Burna Burias had dedicated a block of lapis lazuli to the

temple of Enlil.79

Fhere is no doubt that Tukulti Ninuria I pillaged the temple of Marduk at Babylon after he captured the city and overthrew the Kassite rulers. Furthermore, Porada is able to show that some consideration was given to the disposition of the booty." From all this, she concludes that the Kassite seals found at Thebes had been seized by Tukulti Ninuria I from the temple of Marduk at Babylon, when he took it a 1235, and that they were sold or given to the ruler of the Greek city.

How can the presence of the seals in Thebes be explained? Porada is fully aware of the Hittie treaty of the 1240s, referred to above, in which there was an attempt to block trade between Ahhiyawa (the Achaians) and Assyria. She was not, however, aware of the block of Laurion lead stamped with the seal of Tukulti Ninurta I, which indicates the importance of such trade before, and/or during or after the blockade. Furthermore, there is the political angle, in that, as we have seen, the basic strategy of Ahhiyawa was anti-Hittie. This provides an explanation for the Achaians' good terms with the Hitties'

major enemy Egypt in the late 15th and 14th centuries, and it would also seem plausible to extend this principle to the Hittites' new enemy Assyria in the mid-15th century.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THEBES

There are, however, some problems with the scheme of explaining the Kassite seals at Thebes in terms of an Aḥḥiyawa-Assyrian alliance. In the 13th century, Kadmean Thebes appears to have been the mortal enemy of the Pelopid rulers of the Aɪgolid, who are generally supposed to have been the kings of Aḥḥiyawa referred to by the Hittites. There are no surviving records in the Hittite archives of different powers in the realm of the Aḥḥiyawa, although, as mentioned above, one possible reason for deleting the name of the King of Aḥḥiyawa in the text of King Tudhaliyas IV (c. 1265-1240) may have been internal struggles.**

The discovery of the Kassite cylinders would have been much easier to explain on diplomatic grounds had they been found at Mycenae, the presumed capital of Aliftyawa, rather than at its rival. Thebes, As it is, they would seem to be best explained as the result of trade and it is possible that Theban or Boiotian vessels played some tole in the shipping of Attic metals to Syria for the Assyrian market. If we accept Edith Porada's scheme as a working hypothesis, as it would seem reasonable to do, despite the large number of suppositions upon which it is based, it provides some indication for the date of the destruction of the Argive forces of Thebes or at least that of its palace.

In his general survey of Thebes, Sarantis Symeonoglou puts this in the ceramic period at the end of LHHIB1, which, according to the Chronology proposed here, would be r 1300 BC. In his earlier study of the palace itself, however, he stated that there were some elements of LHHIB2 and that 'a date later than this is possible'. The Canadian classicist Robert Buck, in his A History of Boeotia, agrees with this second view and puts the consensus for final destruction of the palace 'near the end of LHHIB'. The this book that would be r. 1220 BC.

The Combridge Ancient History puts the fall of Kassite Babylon at 1235 BC. Porada points out that the fact that work on abrading the cylinders found in the Kadmeion had not got very far would seem to indicate that they had not been in Thebes long. There is no way of telling how quickly Tukulti Ninurta I would have disposed of his loot or how fast or directly it travelled from Babylon to Thebes, possibly past a Hittite blockade. However, it is unlikely that the total was less than five years. Thus, it would seem likely that the destruction of

Thebes took place sometime between 1230 and 1225 BC. If, as tradition emphasizes, the war of the seven heroes against Thebes, which is so widely described in Greek drama, took place a generation earlier, this would then be around 1250 BC. From these two points we can begin to examine possible dates for the Trojan War. Before doing this, however, we should look back at what is known of Trojan history.

A BRIFF SURVEY OF TROJAN HISTORY

The site of Troy on the southern end of the Dardanelles, where boats would have to wait for a south wind to blow them, against the current, north to the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea, gave the city a crucial economic and strategic importance. As is well known, there were seven Bronze Age cities of Troy, dating back to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in the late 4th millennium. In Chapter V, I looked at the possibilities that the 'Iwii mentioned in the Mit Rahma inscription was (W) lhos or Troy and that the site known archaeologically as Troy V, which was replaced with a change of culture ϵ 1900 BC, had been taken by the armies of Sesöstris and Ammeneměs II [Memnőn] ⁸⁴ We also saw, in Chapter X, that the majority belief is that the Wilwry shown as submitting to the pharaoh on the statue base of Amenőphis HI was (W) llios. Opinion is, however, divided as to whether this and the other names referred to a single Egyptian expedition or had been used earlier in the New Kingdom "

Archaeologically, the period dated by imported Mycenaean pottery to LHHIA1 [1470—1415] was one of the most prosperous in Troy's history, and it was one in which the city was in close contact with Greece. Sometime in the middle of the 14th century the city was destroyed, possibly by earthquake, but soon after that a new Troy (VII) was constructed, which, however, seems to have had less contact with Greece. This lessening has been plausibly supposed to be the result of increased Hittite influence.

Before looking at this, we should consider reports of earlier contacts with Wilusa – the country names Wilusa and Tarii(ú)isa are widely agreed to be Ilios and Troy – preserved in the Hittite archives. The most informative text is a treaty between the Hittite king Mutawalis and Alakšanduš king of Wilusa just before 1300 BC ²⁰ The distinguished Hittitologist Hans Guterbock renders the first few lines as follows:

After my forefather Labarnas had long ago subjugated all the lands of the Arzawa [and] the land of Wilusa, Arzawa began hostilities but Wilusa defected from Hatti – since the matter is long past. I do not

know from which king. (But even) when they had [defec]ted from Hatti they (its people) were at peace with Hatti and kept sending [messengers] But when Tudhaliyas came to Arzawa he did not enter Wilusa: [it was] at peace and kept sending messengers."

Labarnas reigned in the 18th of 17th century BC and the loss of suzerainty about which Mutawalis is ignorant probably occurred after the collapse of the Hittite Old Kingdom with the Hutrian pressure on the east of Hatti (the country of the Hittites) in the second half of that century. The Tudhaliyas mentioned was probably Tudhaliyas II. whose defeat of the Arzawa alliance around 1430 BC has been referred to above. The section of the text dealing with further relations in the 14th century is badly damaged but it seems that, while Hatti continued its struggles with Arzawa until the latter's destruction c 1340, it remained on good terms with Wilusa, possibly protecting it from its immediate neighbours.95

Hittite suzerainty over Wilusa seems to have been confirmed with the treaty between Mutawalis and Alaksandus at the very end of the century. It is generally agreed that the contingent of Drdny - the Classical Dardamans, close associates of the Trojans - who fought with Mutawalis against Ramesses II at the battle of Qadesh in the fifth year of the latter's reign c. 1300 BC were from Wilusa. 46 After that.

Egypt seems to have been out of the picture

In the middle of the 13th century, there is evidence from the socalled Millawanda letter written by a Hittite king, probably Tudhaliyas IV (c. 1265-1240), to a vassal in or near Millawanda (Miletos). According to this, the vassal was sheltering Walmus, a ruler of Wilusa, who had been overthrown. The Hittite king asked him to send Walmus so that he could rejustate him as ruler and as his vassal. 1 his, as Itamar Singer has plausibly argued, marks the end of direct Hittite influence over Western Anatolia.58

In the Late Bronze Age, Troy was in the zone of conflict between the land powers of Anatolia, usually the Hittites, and the sea powers of the Aegean, notably Greeks, who after the 15th century were known to the Hittites as Ahhiyawa. We know that there was a considerable import of Mycenaean pottery during late LHII and LHIIIA down to the beginning of LHHIB, that is from c. 1500 to c. 1350, suggesting close relations. This is also the period when Egyptian documents indicate contacts with Wilwry and Arzawa." The picture is somewhat puzzling because this includes the period around 1,330 of Tudhaliyas II's defeat of the Assuwa Alliance and it is possible that the recession in Mycenaean pottery imports in LHIIIA2 seen by some scholars reflects this. 100

In any event, there is no doubt that there was a striking diminution in the amount of Greek pottery found in Troy VIIA, which raises the possibility that although there was no hery destruction of Troy VI, its collapse and rebuilding may have been the result of a change of power, tipping the balance towards the Hittites. This probably occurred with the conquests of the West Anatolian kingdoms and the destruction of Arzawa by the Hittite king Mursilis II in his third year, c. 1340. There are indications that these were co-ordinated with a Hittite alliance with Wilusa. [6]

The so-called Tawagalawas letter is nowadays generally thought to have been written by Hattusilis III in the 13th century. Earlier scholars, however, attributed it to Mursilis II, and the mythological grounds for preferring this have been given above of II such were the case, the war between Hatti and Alihiyawa over Wilusa and the peace settlement that followed it, referred to in the letter, should be placed in the second half of the 14th century about the time of the end of 11oy VI and the beginning of 11oy VII. 11 this correlation is accepted, it would seem that the settlement was in favour of the Hittites or at least against the interests of Alihiyawa. This 'Pan-Anatolian' alliance was consolidated at the end of the century, as we have seen, with the battle of Qadesh.

Despite the lack of Greek pottery in Troy VIIA, there is no doubt that by this time there was a strong Greek influence on the town, an influence which had presumably existed for some time previously. The name of Alaksandus, the ruler who signed the agreement with Mutawallis, has been seen by many scholars to be a Hittite orthography for the Greek Alexandros 1.4 The Indo-Europeanist Calvert Watkins also points out that the Homeric Trojan prince Paris had the alternative name Alexandros. The Hittitologist Laroche derives Paris from a Lavian name Part-LU or Part-zitis Pari (man) 1.7 Watkins draws a parallel between this and the Greek Alex-andros or Alex-'man' . Pan(ya) seems to have been a family name and Laroche and Georgiev have independently derived the name of Paris' father Priamos from Pariyamawas, a name attested from Cilicia 127 Such an intricate linguistic interplay suggests that Homer may not arbitrarily have given Greek names to many Trojans but that they may have actually possessed them. Thus, although it was not as Hellenized as Millawanda Miletos to the south, it would seem reasonable to suppose that Iroy as a tradmg city reflected profound cultural influences from both Central Anatolia and the Aegean.

In the 1230s, Hatti appears to have been seriously threatened by the famine in Central Anatoha and it seems likely that its control of western

and southern regions had been lost. A Hence, the absence of any mention of the Hittites in Homer and the geographical range of the Trojan alliance as portrayed in the *Iliad* may well reflect the actual situation, not as it was following the destruction of the Hittite Empire after 1200 BC, but after its loss of control of Western and Southern Anatolia c. 1235. It was from these regions and Thrace that the Trojan allies were reported to have assembled 10% Thus, the Trojan War could well be seen as a Greek attempt to move into the power vacuum left by the recession of Hittite power.

THE DATE OF THE TROJAN WAR

For the last fifty years attempts to date the Trojan War have been baffled by the Swedish scholar A. Furumark's authoritative dating of Mycenaean pottery. His The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery, which was written at the height of archaeological positivism and German influence in the late 1930s, put the beginning of LHHHB at 1300 and its end at 1200 13 Scholars have used this framework to date the cities of Troy VI and VII. The Mycenaean pottery from the former is mostly from LHIHA but there are some 'elements' of LHIHB 1 Following Furumark, this would put the end of Troy VI at around 1280 1275 BC. This is too early for the traditional range of dates given for the fall of Homer's Troy, 1250-1170 BC. Thus, scholars have generally preferred its successor. Iroy VIIa, which was destroyed by fire in the approved Homeric manner. The rather scanty Mycenacan material in Troy VII comes from LHIIIB with a few shards from LHIIIG. - According to Furumark's chronology, this would put the destruction after 1180 BC. Such a date would fit the lower end of the traditional dating but, given the collapse of Aegean civinzation which began around 1200, it is difficult to see how such a mighty expedition could have been launched so late.

The unsatisfactory nature of both destructions—in terms of the Homeric story—has caused great perturbation among those who take the ancient sources seriously. This agonized confusion can be seen most recently in the popular but informed and thoughtful BBC television series by the journalist Michael Wood. On the other hand, these difficulties have been a boon to sceptics like Moses Finley who have used the archaeological confusion to cast doubt on the historicity of the Trojan War and hence on all Greek legends.

The situation is now made much more straightforward by the raising of the ceramic periods—for reasons that have nothing to do with the Trojan War. As mentioned above, the ceramic chronology adopted in

this book would make the fall of Troy VI about 1340 BC, which would correspond well with Mursilis II's re-establishment of Hittite power in Western Anatolia; Troy VIIa was destroyed shortly after the beginning of LHIHC, which is seen here as c. 1220 BC. Thus, on archaeological grounds, the siege of Troy would seem to have taken place between that date and c. 1200.

I his would also fit the Egyptian record of a major invasion of the Sea Peoples that took place in the fifth year of the pharaoh Mereneptah ϵ 1231. This alliance included both the Ikwš, almost certainly the Achaians, and the Trš, the Tyrsenoi referred to in Greek documents, probably the ancestors of the Etruscans. * These almost certainly came from Northwest Anatolia and so would have belonged to the Irojan alliance against the Greeks. Hence, it would seem impossible that such an alliance could have taken place after the beginning of the Trojan War. A date between c. 1220 and 1210 BC would fit very well within the traditional range from 1250 to 1170 BC. It would also make it possible for a massive expedition on something like the scale that Homer described to have been organized. Such a time-scale would lengthen the life of Troy VIIa to over 120 years, making it much more than a squatters' camp, as has sometimes been supposed. And, as mentioned above, the layer of ashes and burnt matter found above Troy VIIa would fit the hery destruction of Troy described in tradition.

There is no doubt that some of the aspects of the Homeric story are folkloric. For instance, Gyrus Gordon has provided plausible Ugarnic antecedents to many aspects of it, including that of the story of the stolen bride for whom it is necessary to besiege a city. 16 Similarly, Emily Vermeule has shown both that many descriptions refer to techniques of warfare that were no longer in use in the 13th century and that some verses can be scanned properly only in a 'pre-Mycenaean' dia lect. Her response to this is to suggest that the siege may have taken place long before the end of LHIIIB, in LHIIIA or LIIII, which she puts in the early 14th century. While it is clear that LHIIIA does mark a high point of Mycenaean contact with Troy, her archaeological evidence for a Greek destruction of the city is slight. 17 It would seem far more plausible to suppose that when Homer or, as Mark I wain put it, someone of the same name, composed the Iliad and Odyssey around 900 вс, he drew from a Mycenaean epic tradition as a whole, as well as from that concerning the Trojan War. This would explain the presence of pre-13th-century elements

Calvert Watkins has now found reference to a Luvian epic, specifically referring to the city, which apparently began with the line 'When they came from Steep Wilusa'; this strikingly resembles the 'steep

Ilios' of Homer. 118 I his startling parallel and the possibility that many of the epithets and descriptions of the city may refer to Troy VI not Troy VIIa do not damage the credibility of the war itself. For while, like many other epics, the *Huad* and *Odyssey* contain a large number of extraneous elements, some of which antedate the destruction of Troy VIIa by many centuries, there seems no reason to doubt the core of the story. Thus, the mobilization of a considerable Greek army, which besieged and eventually took. Troy some time around 1210 BC, would seem on archaeological grounds to have a historical basis.

While the denial of the historicity of Homer's Trojan War would have a devastating effect on the credibility of less well-attested traditions, its re-establishment does not have such dramatic repercussions. It was much more central to ancient historiography than, for example, the colonizations of Kadmos and Danaos. Even so, the confirmation of the historicity of the Trojan War does give some credibility to other Greek traditions such as these.

THEBES AND TROY

It has been argued above on archaeological grounds that the destruction of Thebes took place sometime between 1230 and 1225 BC and that of Troy sometime around 1210. There is also literary evidence to back this view. The 'Catalogue of Ships' contained in Book II of the *Ihad* is a list of contingents sent to join Agamemnon's expedition, which even the most extreme believers in the epics as oral compositions believe to be based on very ancient, if not Mycenaean information. ¹⁹ The catalogue begins with Boiotia and gives great detail about it, to such an extent indeed that some scholars believe it—or its original – to have been composed there. It contains no mention of Kadmeians, and Hypothéba (Lower Thebes), though described as 'well built', has no especial importance, let alone dominance. ²⁶ Thus, there is no doubt that the text was—or was meant to appear to be—after the destruction of Kadmean Thebes.

One difficulty in the credibility of this report comes with the name 'Boiotians' itself. As mentioned in Chapter II, the Boiotians were supposed to have been a tribe living in Thessaly who were pushed out of their home and invaded 'Boiotia'. Thucydides put the date for this migration some sixty years after the Trojan Wai 122 This would make it around 1150 BC, which—apart from Thucydides' explicit statement that the migration was later—is fai too late for the launching of the expedition to Troy Some scholars have tried to get around this by postulating two Boiotian migrations. ^{1,3} Furthermore, it would make a

short gap between the falls of Thebes and Troy difficult to sustain. However, this explanation seems less plausible than the suggestion that 'Boiotian' was an anathronism in the 'Catalogue of Ships'. In a recent paper the archaeologist and ancient historian John Fossey has argued that the 'Boiotian Catalogue' contained a mixture of Mycenaean and Archaic material and he backed his contention by pointing out that the Homeric numbers indicated later tribal organization. While I do not accept that the *Iliad* was composed in Archaic times, that is, after the 8th century, the idea that Homer was influenced by contemporary society around 900 BC seems very plausible.

Another possibility is that there were Boiotians in Boiotia in the Bronze Age. The similarity between Boiotian with its strong connotations of 'cattle' (bous) is strikingly similar to my interpretation of the name Minyan – the other inhabitants of Boiotia – which is from the Egyptian miliu (herdsmen). Both names would be very suitable for the rich plains and marshes of Boiotia and that name could well be a calque for miliu. 25 This is not to deny Thucydides' description of the

tribal migration but merely to question his nomenclature

One way and another, this objection to the close conjunction of the two sieges does not seem insuperable. Other traditions in fact indicate that they took place in the same generation. Homer maintained that the Diomedes and his companion Sthenelos who were at Troy had been involved in the final destruction of Thebes and that they were the sons of Tydeus and Kapaneus, who had fought in the first Theban Wat, with Polyneikes of Thebes ** Many of Homer's genealogies are clearly mythological. This one, however, has considerable apparently historical detail. Hesiod, in the 10th century, may have been implying the closeness of the two destructions when describing the end of Mycenaean civilization in his Works and Days:

But when the earth had covered this generation [the Bronze one] also, Zeus, the son of Cronus, made another the fourth upon the fruitful earth, which was nobler and more righteous, a god-like race of hero-men who are called demi-gods, the race before our own, throughout the boundless earth. Grim war and dread battle destroyed a part of them, some in the land of Cadmus at seven gated. Thebe, when they fought for the flocks of Oedipus, when it had brought them in ships over the great sea gulf to Troy for rich-haired Helen's sake: there death's end enshrouded a part of them.

Whether or not there was any connection between these two wars is even harder to determine. It may be, however, that the Argive and Achaian final triumph over the earlier 'Hyksos' dynasties led to overseas ambitions, though, as mentioned above, the recession of Hittite power was probably more significant

THE COLLAPSE OF MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION

If the Trojan War took place between 1220 and 1210, it signalled the end of Bronze Age civilization. Even before then, tradition reports that the Dorians had made then Instattack on Southern Greece. The Egyptian inscription describing the sweeps of the Peoples of the Sea, the Pist, Tkr. Skls, Dnn and Wis, by land and sea in year 8 of Ramesses III, c. 1190, has been mentioned in Volume 1.12 In this the Egyptians claimed, credibly, that Hatti, Qode [Cilicia], Karkemesh [Upper Euphrates], Arzawa and Alashia had been destroyed. Despite the participation of Greeks among the Sea Peoples argued in Volume 1, the Mycenaean states did not survive the crisis long.

The recent discoveries at Kaş and elsewhere have made it clearer than ever that the Mycenaean palaces and their economies were integrally connected to those of the Near Fast. We know that such trade survived the Fall of Thebes and the Trojan War. The Cape Gendonya wreck with its Syrian crew and international cargo of nietal and metal-work is not of the same scale or splendour as the Kaş ship but it shows that, when it sank just before 1200 BC, there was still trade around the East Mediterranean. 190

Further evidence of the continuation of trade is provided by the grave-goods from the cemetery at Peratrin Fastern Attica. These date from LHHB C to well into LHHIC. From the earliest strata of these come several scarabs of Horemheb, last king of the 18th Dynasty (1348–1320 BC), and Ramesses II (1304–1237). The re-dating of the beginning of LHHIC to c 1220 would make the Ramesses II scarabs almost contemporaneous and therefore imported and buried in a relatively short time. There are also figures of the Egyptian god Bes and faience crocodiles, as well as two Mitanni cylinder seals. "It is impossible to say whether these were acquired through trade or robbery, though trade would seem more likely, given the graves' proximity to the lead and silver mines of Laurion. In any event, they show that contacts between Greece and the Near Fast survived into the 12th century.

Nevertheless, the sieges of Thebes and Troy symbolically marked the end of the heroic ages, as Hesiod and Thicydides specified, and there may have been disturbances in Greece soon after that time. There is also strong evidence of a major social and economic upheaval after the beginning of the ceramic period LHHIC. These changes, which have been touched upon in Chapters VII and XI, appear to have involved a considerable decline of population over most of Greece. The decline seems to have been less steep in Western Greece, which a number of scholars have plausibly explained in terms of the higher rainfall there, which would make these regions less susceptible to drought. There was also a change in the pattern of settlements from dispersed houses or clusters of houses into 'nucleated' centralized villages, a transformation that is generally associated with so coal uncertainty and depressed economic conditions. In general, the archaeological evidence points to a shift from a prosperous special ized agricultural and manufacturing society to a much reduced subsistence economy.¹³⁵

Many scholars have linked this to the breakdown of trade in the East Mediterranean at this time. The argument made in the last chapter for an export of grain to the Aegean from Egypt—at least to relieve famine—provides some precision to this hypothesis "It is that the removal of this support occurred after the repeated raids by the Peoples of the Sea had weakened Egypt and made maritime transport increasingly dangerous. This in turn made at least Fastern Greece vulnerable to famine following the inevitable droughts. Therefore, the Mycenaean states were forced to turn to subsistence agriculture.

Nevertheless, the Mycenaean palaces seem to have survived for an other two generations. It was only sixty years after the fall of Troy that they were overrun by Greek tribes from the north, notably the Dorians but also the Thessahans and the Boiotians. These movements are clearly connected in some way to the Invasions of the Sea Peoples, especially the invasion of c. 1190. But they would also seem to be related to the weakness of the Mycenaean states. However, it is also in teresting to note that the invasions of c. 1150 happened very soon after the eruption of Hekla III in 1159, given what we know to have been its devastating effects in Northwestern Europe, and what may have been its harmful impact on Elam in the Iranian highlands. Thus, it is possible that it was a short-term climatic variation caused by this that stimulated the most powerful tribal movements and finally destroyed the Mycenaean state system and its palaces. "

Thus, the collapse of Mycenaean civilization seems to have been overdetermined. Mycenae was damaged firstly by local wars at Thebes and Troy and the subsequent dynastic feuds described in the epics and tragedies; secondly, by the breakdown of trade and civilization around the East Mediterranean after the Invasions of the Sea Peoples c. 1190 BC, with the consequent lack of the staples necessary for a spe-

cialized tood-deheient economy. Thirdly, there were the migrations of northern Greek tribes around 1150 BC, which were possibly precipitated by the Hekla volcanic disaster. In any event, 1150 BC marks the end of the Greek Bronze Age with which this book is concerned.

CONCLUSION

The events of the second half of the 13th century BC discussed in this chapter linked. Thebes with Assin and Babylon, and the Ahhiyawa based at Mycenae with Central Anatolia, Syria and Egypt, providing glimpses of the dense network of trade and diplomacy that existed over the whole of the Middle Fast and Fast Mediterranean at this time. Paradoxically, we know rather more about this period, because the destructions that brought it to an end have preserved documents and objects from it that are lacking for earlier centuries. There is thus no reason to suppose that such far-reaching networks did not operate in earlier centuries, at least after 1470 when the victories of Tuthmösis III appear to have led to the establishment of a Pax Aegyptiaca. The flourishing society of late Mycenaean Greece appears to have arisen as the result of this Egyptian hegemony and there is no doubt that the two fell at the same time.

Conclusion

THE PURPOSE OF THIS volume has been to show how the documentary and archaeological evidence from the Bronze Age supports the two hypotheses that Egypt and the Levant had a fundamental impact on the Aegean in this period and that the Classical and Hellenistic writers knew what they were talking about when they referred to colonizations of Greece from Egypt and Phoenicia. I believe that this purpose has been achieved. It could be argued, however, that this has been achieved only by committing what many modern scholars would consider to be 'outrages'.

Indeed, in many ways, this volume is more outrageous than the first. On the other hand, as fewer readers will be aware of the extent of the 'outrages', it would seem useful to indicate some of them here. A significant number of these 'outrages' fit into the interesting general pattern of a return to older scholarly beliefs or, to be more spe-

cthe, those of the early 20th century.

There would seem to be an extreme paradox here, as the main thrust of my whole project has been against the influence of racism and anti-Semitism on scholarship. Yet in this volume I have frequently found myself championing the views of scholars working at the high tide of racism 1880–1940, though it must be said that these are generally on issues in which racism is not directly involved.

These are also issues where the conclusions of the older generation of scholars fit better with the results of modern scientific techniques than do the views of contemporary scholars. To take two instances discussed in this volume, lead isotope analysis shows that lead from Cen-

tral Europe was being used in Mesopotamia around 3000 BC. This is exactly what Gordon Childe would have expected, as he believed that Sumerian prospectors had gone up the Danube at this period. Similarly, the latest radio-carbon datings put the beginning of the Egyptian Old Kingdom to around 3000 BC, which lits the chronology of James Breasted, but that is far earlier than any accepted by conventional wisdom today.

I believe that this pattern is not the result of random coincidence and that the modern archaeologists have been led astray for reasons that can be relatively easily explained in terms of the sociology of knowledge. Firstly, there has been the turn away from diffusionism. As Largued in Volume 1, I believe that on one level this represents an admirable rejection of the uses of diffusionism to justify imperialism and colonialism. However, it also indicates the desire of new professionals to appear sober and responsible and not indulge in the spectacular theories to which amateurs are so attracted.

This is connected the second tendency that appears to have misled modern scholarship. In a surprisingly large number of areas of Western ancient history, there was no great increase of information between 1920 and 1960. This period was one in which there was a powerful drive among archaeologists to acquire 'scientific' status. This in turn produced a double effect. In the first place, archaeologists wanted, above all, to avoid being considered as speculative and irresponsible. However, they also needed to show that the discipline was progressing and innovative. Thus, the only alterations they could make were those that demonstrated their greater scepticism and caution. For this reason all 'progress' in these disciplines since 1920 has tended to restrict the geographical scope and lower the historical dating of ancient activities. Recent evidence from scientific techniques, however, points in precisely the opposite direction and this has led to the paradoxical situation that the archaeologists who have proclaimed then scientific status most loudly are in the greatest conflict with the results of the new scientific techniques when applied to archaeology. What is more, the results of the new techniques often hi better with the ideas of earlier or more conservative scholars.

Thus, a number of the controversial ideas in this volume are only 'outrageous' in the light of modern conventional wisdom. An example of this comes in the attempt I make in Chapter I to reverse the present isolationist current among archaeologists with a return to modified diffusionism, and in particular to the belief that early European Bronze Age civilization derived in some way from the still earlier metalworking cultures of Southwest Asia and Northeast Africa.

If I am right here, it means that the sustained attack on the posi-

tions of the early 20th-century archaeologists Oscar Montelius and Gordon Childe launched by Colin Renfrew and his colleagues has not merely been a complete waste of time but has been positively harmful to our understanding of the origins of Greek civilization. I also go beyond Montelius and Childe by arguing that Crete and possibly the Cyclades may well have become Semitic-speaking at this time.

Another example of my revisionism comes in Chapter III, where I champion the views of two very unfashionable Greek archaeologists, the late Spyridon Marinatos and Theodore Spyropoulos, when they claim that there were strong traces of Egyptian influence on Greece in general and Boiotia in particular during the 3rd millennium. If they are right, and I believe they are, Greece at this time must have contained some substantial states capable of massive irrigation works and collection and storage of considerable amounts of grain. Furthermore, these works and buildings look so 'Egyptian' that Egyptians may well have been involved in them, either in positions of authority or as experts or both.

In the fourth chapter, I propose that the Cretan palaces and the bull cult associated with them were at least indirectly derived from the contemporary Egyptian 11th Dynasty and that it is possible that there was Egyptian suzerainty over Crete and the Cyclades during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. Here I am going beyond early 20th-century scholarship, but it is a picture that Sir Arthur Evans would have found less scandalous than most specialists in Cretan archaeology today.

Probably the greatest single outrage in this volume of Black Athena is the elaborate effort to resuscitate the northern campaigns of the 12th Dynasty pharaoh Sesostris. Stories of his magnificence and his far-reaching conquests were believed until the late 18th century. After that time, however, the idea of two black pharaohs, Sesostris and his son Ammenemês II, having led an Egyptian army as far as the Balkans and the Caucasus seemed completely preposterous. I maintain that this extraordinarily widely attested legend has been strikingly strengthened by the newly discovered Mit Rahma inscription from the 12th Dynasty. Even if it had not, however, I think that there is sufficient other evidence to suggest that the pharaohs did lead campaigns to the north on this scale. Such a proposal goes flat against the dominant trend in Egyptology, which is to limit the scale of any Egyptian operation or foreign contact and to see as boastful or purely sym bolic any claim to have dominated any foreign region, especially those to the north.

The most unconventional aspect of the treatment of the Thera eruption in Chapter VII is the post-morten on the fierce defence of the conventional dating of 1450 or 1500 BC for the cruption based on

an earlier hunch. This was in the face of substantial evidence from comparative styles of pottery, radio-carbon, dendrochronology and analysis of the Greenland Icecap, all of which indicated that the eruption was more than a century earlier. The bad taste here is to dig up an issue that many people now consider decently buried. I believe that such an investigation is useful because it is important to understand the sociology of knowledge and the processes by which historical arguments are decided.

The main point of Chapter VIII is the conclusion I came to, with some surprise and distress, that there may well have been not merely Hurrian speakers among the Hyksos invaders of Egypt, but also Indo-Aryan or at least Indo-Iraman speakers. This shows not only that Aryan Models may sometimes be useful or 'true' but that the anti-Semitic scholars who denied on principle that the Semitic speakers of Syro-Palestine could have provided the drive for such an invasion may this time have hit on the better historical explanation for morally reprehensible reasons.

Nevertheless, I insist that the fact that barbaric invaders from northern and barren lands have – as appears in this case – sometimes conquered more prosperous and cultivated regions does not mean that all historical changes can be explained by such processes. In particular, I am still convinced that in the case of Greece such a model is definitely unhelpful.

In Chapter LX, the 'outrage' is once again my support of early 20th-century scholars against their descendants or *epigono*. The ancient historian Eduard Meyer made a case for a Hyksos conquest of Crete which I believe has better support than the isolationist arguments against it. Smilarly, the distinctly old-fashioned archaeologists Spyridon Marinatos and Frank Stubbings insisted that Greek legends should be taken into serious account when assessing ambiguous archaeological data. They concluded that, although not straightforwardly Egyptian, the goods found in the Shalt Graves and contemporary burials showed strong signs of Egyptian and Levantine influence. On this basis, they concluded that the legends had been essentially accurate when they reported, if not Egyptian colomization, colonization from Egypt, at this time.

It must be pointed out, however, that both Marinatos and Stubbings belong firmly to the Arvan Model and deny that these invasions introduced any long-term Egyptian or Semitic influences into Greece. I believe, on the contrary, that the period after these settlements, c. 1700–1500 BC, was the one in which Greek as a language and the 'Greek' cultural or national identity were formed and that, during much of this period, considerable areas of Greece were dominated by

Semitics and Egyptian-speaking dynasts and that these high-status cultures and languages had a critical impact on the formation of both Greek and Greece.

There is nothing particularly outrageous about Chapter X. It is a survey of the written and pictorial evidence for contacts between Egypt and the Levant on the one hand and the Aegean on the other The only controversial aspect of my work here is to take the Egyptian claims of knowledge of, activities in and suzerainty over the Aegean more literally and seriously than has been customary

Chapter XLIs, in some ways, even less controversial. Although many non-specialist readers may be surprised at the extent of the archaeological evidence for contacts between the Near East and the Aggean between 1550 and 1200 BC, scholars concerned with the period are fully aware of them. There are three new features here. The first of these is the insistence that the intimacy engendered by this degree of contact must have had important and long-lasting effects on Greek language and culture. The second is the relating of the recent heightening of ceramic periods - brought about by new work on synchronisms with Egypt and the re-dating of the Thera eruption - to evidence from Egyptian documents. This makes the ceramic periods in which there was massive trade between the Aegean and the Near East tally neatly with the periods of maximum Egyptian power and influence over the East Mediterranean. Thus the expansion of Mycenagan trade. would seem to have taken place within a Pax Aegyptiaea. The third innovation in this chapter is my suggestion that the new proof that Aegean lead and silver were exported to Egypt during the New Kingdom raises the possibility that the trade of such metals for Egyptian grain, known to have existed in Archaic and Classical times, was already taking place in the Late Bronze Age. Such a supply of grain, at least as a buffer against famine, allowed Mycenaean Greece to develop a specialized and sophisticated food deficient economy capable of supporting a large population.

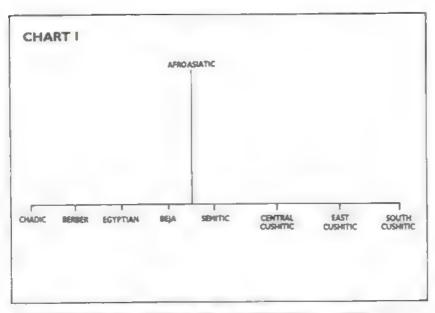
The vulner ibility of such a system led to the collapse of Mycenaean Civilization after 1200 BC, which came with the weakening of Lgyptian power and increasing difficulties of marine transportation, following the Invasions of the Sea Peoples, all of which are described in Chapter XII. In this chapter, the new ceramic datings provide a plausible chronology for the sieges and falls of the Greek Thebes and Troy. This confirms the veracity of Homer and the Classical Greek writers, which in turn provides support for the credibility of the Ancient Model which they maintained.

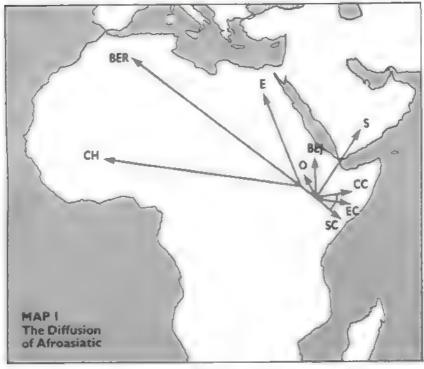
Although there are exceptions, such as my belief in the northern campaigns of Sesostris, most of my revisions to today's conventional wisdom are in time with the views of scholars in the early part of this century. Where I differ from them, of course, is in my non-acceptance of the principle of ethnic history and permanent racial hierarchy. However, if one subtracts that crucial element from their thinking something remarkably close to the Revised Arvan Model emerges.

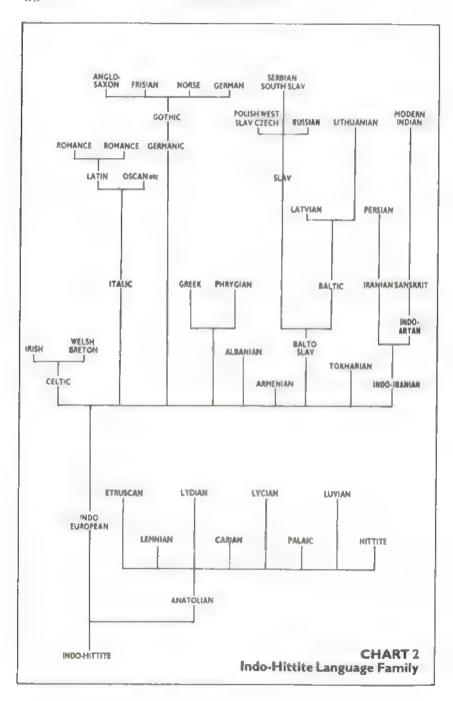
Oscar Montchus and Gordon Childe saw the whole scheme I am proposing when they talked about 'the irradiation of European bathatism by Oriental civilisation'. Without in the least meaning to, Eduard Meyer laid down a crucial way in which Egyptian and Semitic civilization and languages could have been introduced to the Aegean when he suggested Hyksos control of Crete, Similarly, Frank Stubbings and Spyridon Marinatos indicated another way of transmitting West Semitic and Egyptian culture to the Aegean when they argued that the grave goods of the Shaft Graves indicated a migration from Egypt None of these scholars, however, was able to see the logical consequences of their hypotheses, namely that Greek culture and language were permeated by those of Egypt and the Semitic speaking Levant It is these consequences that I want to underline.

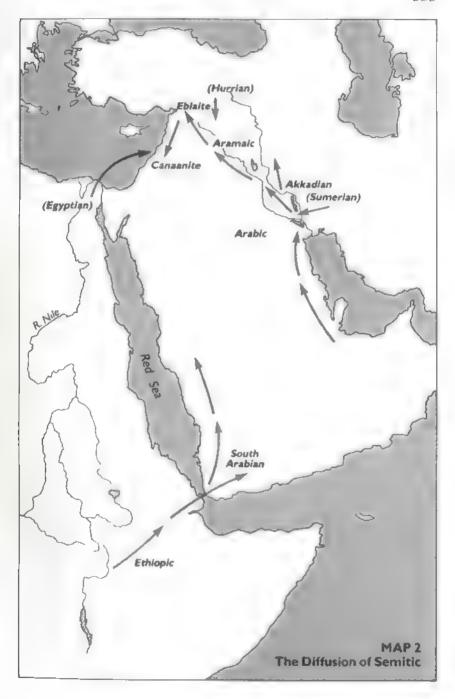
To conclude this conclusion: if a significant quantity of what I claim in this volume is correct, much of contemporary work on the archaeology and ancient history of the East Mediterranean will have to be rethought. Having said that, however, the 'outrages' in this book are nothing to those I propose for the next volume. Volume 3, for there I shall attempt to challenge the linguists on language, which is, for romantic positivist scholars, the holy of holies, the vanctum vancturum or, to use the Altoasiatic prototype for this phrase, godes haggoddsim.

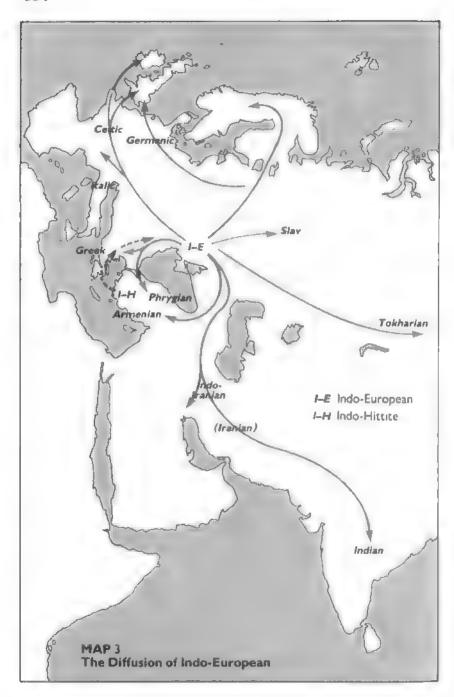
Maps and Charts

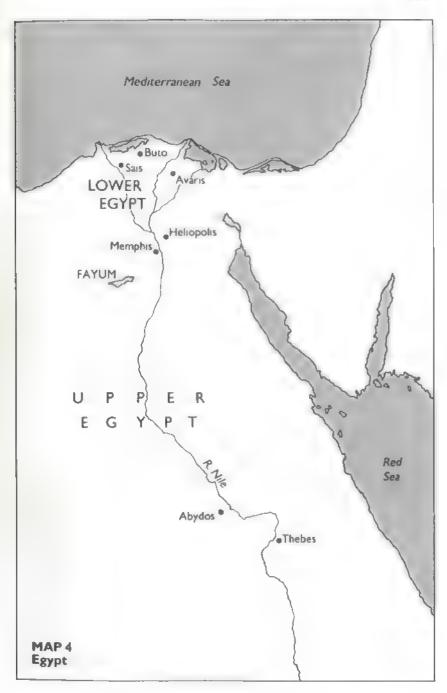


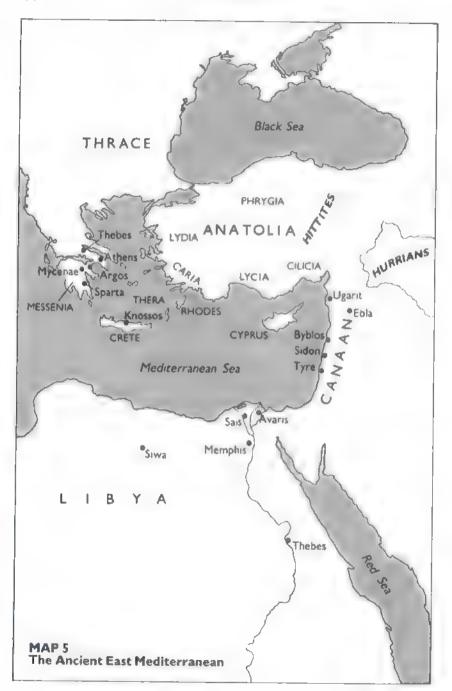


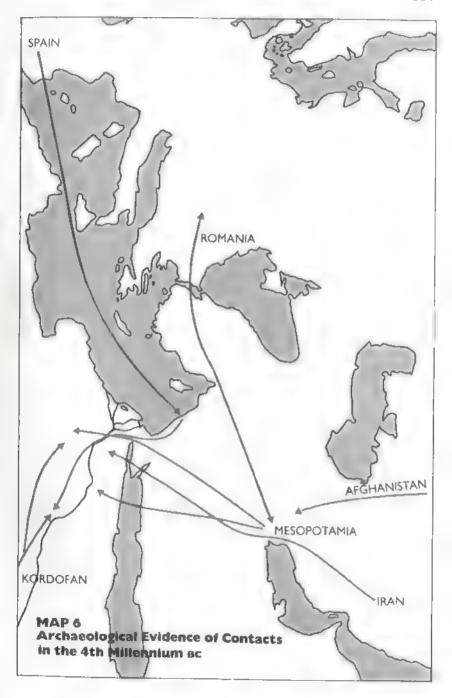


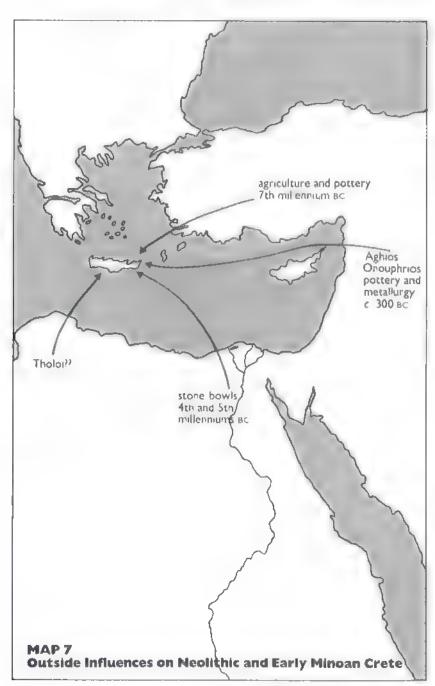


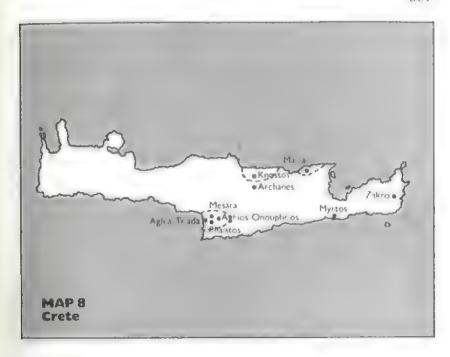


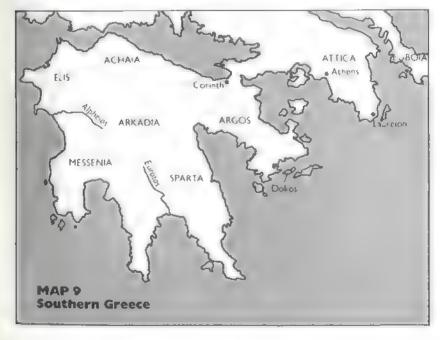


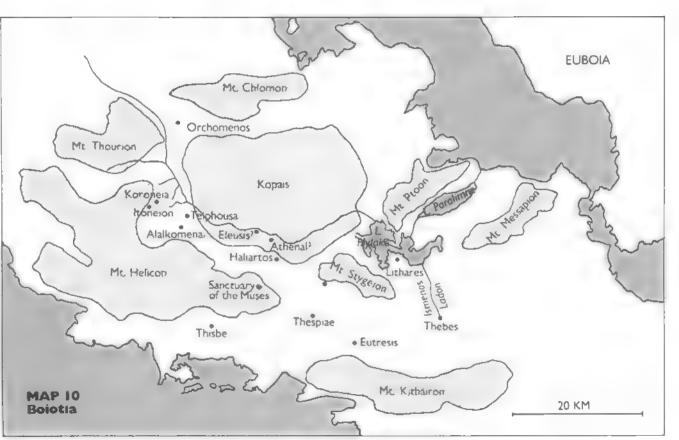


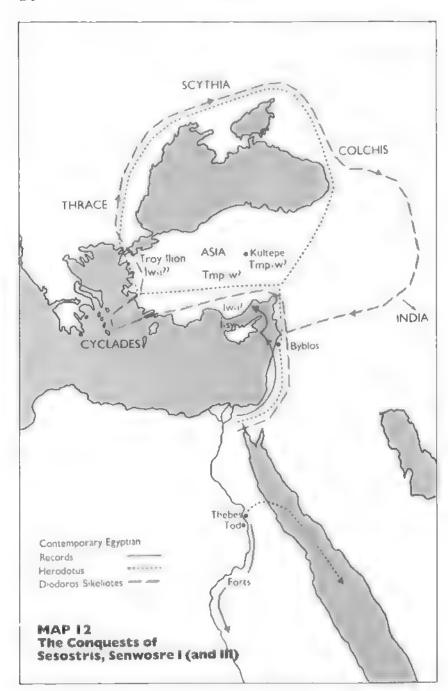


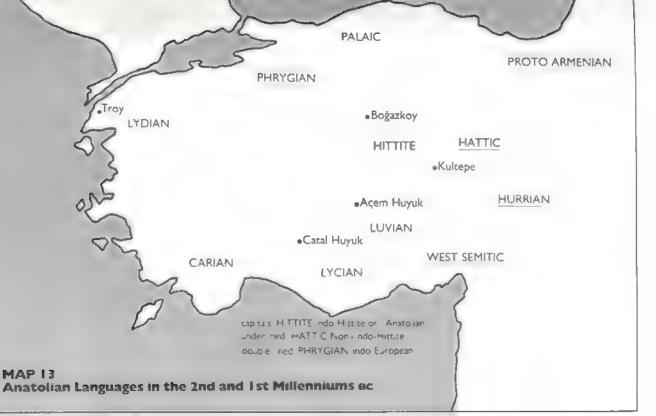


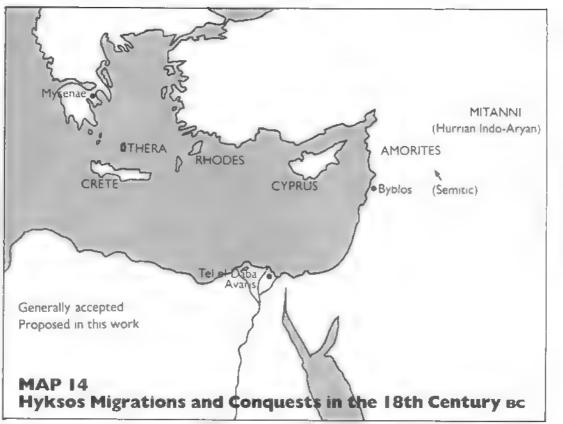


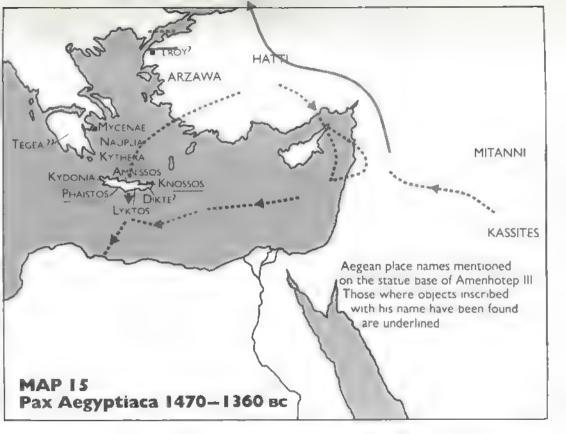


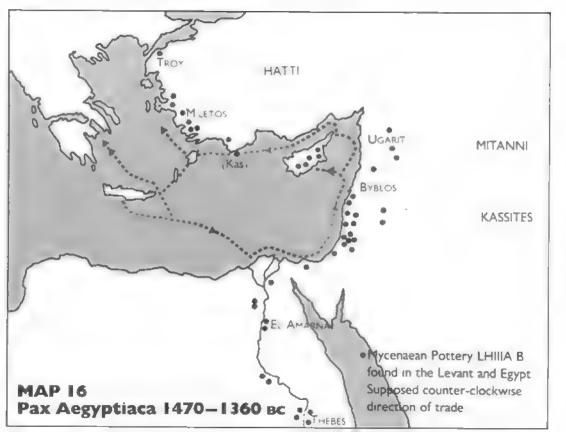


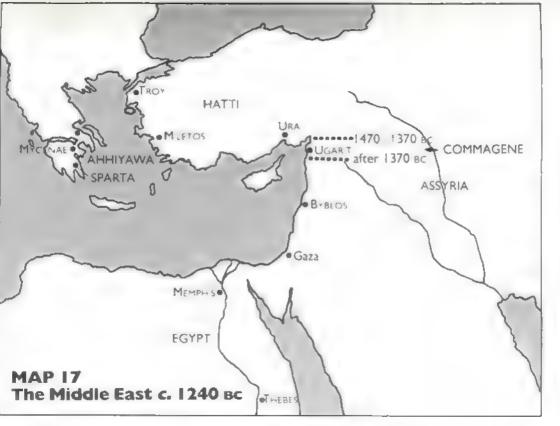












Notes

PREFACE

Peradotto and Myerowitz Levine (1989)

INTRODUCTION

1, Vol. 1, pp. 442-5.

2 McNeal (1972, p. 20). I admire the article for its hold attack on the subjective linguistic underpinnings of the Arvan Model and its use of Goethe's important dictum. The most important thing to understand is that everything factual is already theory. My objections are to its faith in professionalism and refusal to accept anything less than certainty.

3. Edwards (1979, pp. 65-89).

4. Nilsson 1932) Burkert (1985) pp. 47-53) is more cautious but he does not deny Nilsson's basic case.

5 Naveh (1973, pp. 1-8), Bernal (1987, pp. 1-19). Bernal (1990).

6 For Cyprus, see Jensen (1969) pp 138-41) and Friedrich (1957), pp 124-31) for Crete Davis (1967) p 26), (fordon (1966) p 13), Steightz (1976) p 85. Marmatos (1958) p 228. Raison and Brishe (1961) p 130). Brown (1978) p 44), pure Brice (1959) p 330)

7 Thucydides I 1, Pausanias, III 3/3, and Plutarch De Gen. Soc. 5-7

- 8 Josephus, Contra Apionem, I 12-21 For Philo see Baumgarten (1981) and Attridge and Oden (1981) For Manetho, see Waddell (1940, pp. vii. xxx).
- q Josephus, Contra Apionem, I 14, Walcot (1966, pp. 18-19) and Kirk. Raven, and Schofield (1983, pp. 48-72)

- 10 Many commentators have pointed out that Herodotos' chronologs of Egyptian history can be straightened out by a single textual emendation (de Selincourt, 1954, p. 166).
- 11 Josephus, Contra Apronem 1 28, trans p 175
- 12 Josephus, Contra Apionem 1 107 111, trans pp 205 7
- 13. See below, ch. VII, nn. 2-62.
- 14. Åström (1978, pp. 87-90).
- 15. See ch. VII
- 16 Petrie (1890, 1891, 1894). See also Cadogan (1978, p. 209).
- 17. Plato, Tomaios 22D.
- (8. Bernal (1989a, pp. 22-5).
- 10 Gardaner (1961, p. 309), Wilson (1969, p. 27). For the continuities of material culture, see Prausintz (1985, p. 191).
- 20. (1975, p. 52)
- 21. See Herrin (1987, pp. 19-53).
- 22. Volume 1, pp. 303-5.
- 23 Especially pp. 281-330 and Bernal (1988)
- 24 Paire Leach (1986) and Thapai (1975, 1977), both of whom have written builtain and devastating ideological criticisms of 19th-century Indology and Indo European studies.
- 25 Kuhn (1977, p. 463). For the division of Kuhn's earlier 'paradigms' into 'exemplats' and 'disciplinary matrices', see Suppe (1977, pp. 135-51).
- 26. Barnes (1982, p. 11).
- 27. Kuhn (1970, p. 169).
- 28 Lacatoš (1970, pp. 106-11).
- 29. Volume 1, pp. 407-8.
- 30 Volume 1, pp 326 30 and Bernal (1988)
- 31 Renfrew (1972, p. xxv).
- 32. Volume 1, p. 64.

Chapter 1

CRETE BEFORE THE PALACES, 7000-2100 BC

- 1 See M. H. Sulmon (1982, esp. pp. 19-30) and the papers in Renfrew, Rowlands and Seagraves (1982).
- 2. Volume 1, pp. 407-8.
- 4 Adams (1968) and Renfrew (1987, esp. pp. 86-94).
- 4. Adams (1968, p. 213).
- 5 McNeul (1972, p. 19) See Introduction, n. 2
- See Volume 1, pp. 407-12.
- See Volume 1, pp. 270-2.
- 8 For a good survey of these archaeological trends, see Erigger (1980, pp. 84-81, 44-9)
- 9 For Myres's racism, see Volume 1, p 389 For Gordon Childe's early love of the Arvans, see Volume 1, pp 388 9 and 1rigger (1980)

pp=49-53). Childe of course later played a distinguished role in opposing Nazi racism and anti-Semitism. See: Trigger (1980, pp: 91-2).

- 10. For Remach, see Volume 1, pp. 370-3. For Kossinna, see Trigger (1980, pp. 24-6). It will be remembered that the Sumerians were seen as the originators of Mesoporamian civilization. For some of the ideological aspects of this, see Volume 1, pp. 364-5.
- 11. See, for instance, Trigger (1980, p. 50).
- 12. Strabo, Geography 10.4.2.
- 13. Branigan (1968a, p. 7).
- 14 Branigan (1908a, p. 7), Renfrew (1972, pp. 63-4). Hood (1971, p. 28) raises the possibility that the earliest pottery came from further cast, possibly even from Palestine.
- 15 Weinberg (1965b, p. 17) Rentrew (1972, p. 67) is clearly suspicious of this idea but he does not raise any objections to it. For the association of Ubaid ware with Seminic speech, see Volume 1, p. 12.
- 16. Hood (1971, p. 31).
- 17. Fyans (1928, p. 34), Pendlebury (1963, p. 74). Alexiou (1967a, p. 484). See also Branigan (1970a, p. 141). The same idea was proposed by the Greek archaeologist Xanthoudides (1924, p. 128). Objections to this have been raised by Banti (1933, pp. 244–5) and Hood (1971, p. 173).

The word tholos, for which Chantraine can find no satisfactory Indo-Furopean etymology, would seem likely to come from the Egyptian dust, twoit in Demotic the underworld or the inner chamber of a tomb. This seems to be derived from desic (dawn, morning). For the connections between Aegean tombs of the 3rd millennium and smorse, see Goodison (1985, pp. 70–2).

- 18. Warren (1965, pp. 30-1) See also Pendlebury (1930a, pp. 20-1) and Hood (1971, p. 29).
- 19 Warren (1965, p. 8), Renfrew (1972, p. 347)
- 20 Ivans (1921, pp 64-70, 1928 (Volume 2), pp 21-59, 1925, esp. pp, 11-23).
- 21. Oates (1979, pp. 21-2 and 29-30).
- 22. Jidejian (1968, pp. 11-15).
- 23. Gardiner (1961, pp. 396-7). Hoffman (1979, pp. 293-4). For the Lapissee Biggs (1966), Herrmann (1968) and Kulke (1976).
- 24. Williams (1980; 1985, pp. 32-5 and 1986).
- For the trade patterns in general, see Helck (1970, pp. 12-13). For the evidence from Spain, see Monteagudo (1985, pp. 36-41). For Romania, see Helck (1979, pp. 9-12) and Dumitrescu (1982-p. 84). The radiocarbon dating for this is much higher, suggesting a date in the 5th of 6th millennium. Given the lack of carbon datings for early Mesopotal mian tablets, I do not think this can be completely disregarded and the possibility remains that there may have been writing in this very remote period. Nevertheless, the likelihood remains that it should be placed with the trade in the 4th millennium. Similarly, the cylinder seals of

undoubted Mesopotamian inspiration, and the pottery forms resentblung those of Anatolia found in the Maliq II period in Albania, should probably be updated to the beginning of the 3rd millennium if not the 4th For the objects, see Prendi (1982, p. 204) and Eggebrecht and Eg gebrecht (1988, p. 186)

26. The idea of Near Fastern prospectors on the Danube by the end of the 4th millennium is an old one. See Childe (1949, esp. pp. 239-40) and Dayton (1982a, p. 154). An Extreme Aryanist, J. E. Dayton, sees the mitiative as coming from Europe. For the lead cups, see Dayton (1982a, p. 166).

This dating is rather earlier than that of conventional wisdom but ie 27 flects the general updating of Near Fastern chronologies suggested by the recent carbon dates from the Egyptian Old Kingdom, See cli 3. nn. 71-87 and 96-7.

28. See Renfrew (1972) and, more recently, (1984, pp. 248-57). See also Trump (1981, pp. 75-7) and Andel and Runnels (1988, pp. 240-2).

See Andel and Runnels (1988, pp. 242-5). However, it is interesting to note that they are not so Eurocentric in their title as Renfrew himself They refer merely to 'the emergence of civilization in the Aegean'.

Branigais (1970a, pp. 199-200). The name Onouphrios is generally accepted as coming from the common title for Osiris, Wit ufr. The good or beautiful being. This, of course, has nothing to do with the pottery which is named after the place name Agios Onouphrios, Saint Onouphrios'

31. Branigan (1970a, pp. 199-200).

32 Renfrew (1978, p. 89).

33. Weinberg (1954, p. 95; 1965a, pp. 302-8). There are also striking parallels around 3300 BC between styles of fortification in Palestine and the Cyclades and Spain See de Vaux (1971, pp. 214-18), Trump (1981,

pp 100, 126) and Renfrew (1972, pp. 392-9).

- Brangan (1970a, pp. 199-203), Hood (1971, pp. 36-8). While Bransgan (1970a, pp. 181-2) lists the finds of Egyptian objects from the Old Kingdom, in his article (1973b) he plays down their quantity. This would seem to be to emphasize the great expansion of confacts between Egypt and the Aegean after EMIII Warren (oo (1005, p. 48) admits that there are remarkably close resemblances between Early Minoan and Ghassulian objects.
- Renliew (1972, p. 347). This argument is referred to in Volume 1, 35 pp 15-16
- Helck (1979, pp. 13-15) and Renfrew (1972, pp. 444-9). For the ivors, 36 see Krzyszkowska (1983, pp. 163-70).
- 37. Renfrew (1972, p. 449).
- 38. Renfrew (1972, p. 57)
- 39 Odyssey, XIV. 252-8; Helck (1979, p. 4).
- 40 See n. 29 above.
- 41. Renfrew (1972, p. xxv).

- 42. Renfrew (1972, p. 269)
- 43. Masson (1967 p. 9, n. 1), Chantraine (1968 75, p. 785).
- 44. Dolgopolskii (1987, pp. 5, 9). The Georgian keim, which is sometimes believed to be the original one, is now generally seen as a loan, for a detailed study of this word, see Brown (1969, pp. 147–51).
- 45. For yane, see Gordon (1966, pp. 28-9) See also below, ch. X, n. 137 For the monphthongization of ay > a in this case, see Rendsburg forth coming.
- Harris (1939, pp. 8-9). Moran (1961, pp. 34-72). Moscati et al. (1969, p. 46).
- 47. See Zohary and Hopf (1988, pp. 140-1).
- 48. This, at any rate, is the belief of Lipinski (1981, p. 201).
- 49. Goodison (1985, pp. 159-60, 1988, p. 169) For Goodison the most important cult object here is the earthenware so-called 'fiving pan'. For a detailed survey of these, see Coleman (1985)
- 50. See Volume 1, pp. 230-1.
- 51. See Katz (1986, pp. 168-9) and Pois (1986, pp. 43-5). Lam grateful to Glenn Ayala for this reference.
- 52. Muller (1820 4), Black Athena Volume 1, pp 310 11
- 53. Burkert (1985, pp. 200-1).
- As Goodison (1985, p. 50) points out, however, many cultures, like Japan, have sun goddesses and they were also found around the Mediterranean in Anatolia and Ugarit so that even this is not necessarily a local Aegean phenomenon. It is also interesting to note that the Hebrew semes (sun) is both feminine and masculine. I believe that there may even be Egyptian connections in the case of Crete, as Rhea, the leading goddess in later Crete, seems to have gained her name from the Egyptian Ru(Rivat) tiv, the Egyptian female personification of the sun. See below, ch. TV, nn. 137. 8. For ways in which this Aegean preference for a female sun affected the Greek adoption of Egyptian solar theology in respect of Artemis and Europa, see Volume 3.
- 55. Goodson (1985, pp. 84 -5, 1988, p. (69).
- 56. Goodison (1985, pp. 85, 101).
- 57. Goodison (1985, p. 110). Watrous (1987b, p. 67) also sees a connection between Cretan figurines of beetles and Egyptian solar beetles.
- 58. See ch. II, n. 25, and Volume 3.
- 59. Renfrew (1972, pp. 44-60); Goodison (1985, pp. 120-3).
- 60. Burkert (1985, pp. 37-8).
- 61 Newberry (1909, pp. 27-30). Hall (1929).
- 62. See ch. IV, nn. 72-86
- 63. Cadogan (1986, p. 171). For the Northern European attachment to the double-axe, see Volume 1, p. 467.
- 64. See n. 27 above.
- 65. See Porada (1982, p. 291).

Chapter II EGYPTIAN INFITENCE ON BOIDTIA AND THE PELOPONNESS. IN THE 2RD MILLENNIUM, I

- 1 Theophrasios, Peri phytón historius, IV 10.1, IV 59, Peri phytón aitión, II 12 4, Plmy, Natural History II 95 and XIX 1 2 2; Plutarch Sulla 20 3-5. These should be seen in relation to Herodotos II 156. It should also be noted that Sarapis, Ammon, Isis and Anulus were all worshipped in Thebes in Hellenistic and Roman times and that there was a cult centre of Sarapis at Tanagra in Southern Boiotia. See Spyropoulos (1973a, p 25) Such cults were so widespread in Greece at the time that it is difficult to make much of these.
- 2. Muller (1820-4, I, p. 02).

3. Müller (1820-4, 1, p. 93).

1 For the Kopais and Képhis(s)os, see ch. HI, nn 94-7 For Minvan, see ch. III, n. 48, and Volume 3. For Thebes, see ch. XII, nn. 49-52.

5. Ihad, XIV.321-5, tr. A. T. Murray, II, p. 01.

6 Schachter (1981, p. 16) sees the cults of the two as being seen as parallel in Thebes.

7. Volume 1, p. 95.

8. Chantraine plausibly derives this from the Greek selas (fire or torch light). However, he can find no acceptable etymology for this. There would seem to be a link between selas and the Egyptian Demotic sl- sol in Coptic, meaning 'wick or torch. This root does not exist in Ancient Egyptian and Cerny plausibly suggests that oil comes from the Semitic * 1 Sa ula in Arabic means 'kindle', 'blaze. Thus the most likely hypothesis is that both Demotic and Greek borrowed from an unattested West Semitic *sal, meaning 'fire', 'flame', 'torch' or beacon'

9 Astour (1967a, pp. 170-2). For sharp criticisms of this, see Burton. (1972, pp. 102-3).

to. For the importance of cattle herding in the origins of Egyptian civilization, see Hoffman (1979, pp. 236-8).

Pausamas, IX. 16. 1.

12 See Volume 1, p. 114.

- 13. See Ranke (1935-52, I, p. 226)
- 14. Gardiner (1957, pp. 428-30).

15. Herodotos, IL.43.

16. Letzes, Scholiast on Exkophron. This may also have been accepted by Apollodoros, II 1/12, see the discussion in Frazer (1921, I, p. 183, n. t.

17. Strabo, IX.2.18

18 Pausamas, IX 33 1. The idea that this Kekrops was the later king of Athens is challenged by Roesch (1982, p. 214) and supported by Schachter (1986, p. 113). I believe that Roesch could well be right and that Pausanias was rationalizing here.

19 See Fossey (1974, p. 15, n. 40) who cites Schachter's thesis and Schachter (1981, p. 114, n.3) who cites Fossey's article.

- 20. Fossey (1974, p. 15, n. 40).
- 21 Schachter (1981, p. 113).
- 22 Strabo, IX 2.29 See also Pausanias, f 13 1 and X 1.10 and Farnell (1895-1909, I, pp. 402-3, n.61).
- 23. Saved (1982, I, pp. 71-2, 106-14).
- 24. Keimer (1931, pp. 151-9); Hollis (1988, pp. 1-3).
- 25. See ch. 1, n. 58. For more, see Volume 3.
- 26. Strabo, IX.2.29
- 27. Movers (1841-50, II, 1, p. 258) and Bérard, Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée, 211d ed., II, p. 337, not in (1902-3). See Astour (1967a, p. 140)
- 28. The use of the köthon to mean a 'large drinking cup' could either refer to the Carthaginian harbour or be an example of soldiers' humour. For more on this etymology, see Brown (1969, p. 157).
- 29 Schachter (1981, p. 113), Haid, IV 8 and V.908
- 30. Schachter (1981, p. 113).
- gr Pausamas, IX 5 1.
- 32 Pansamas, 1 38 7. Varro, Recrusticae, 3 1.2.
- 33 Meyer (1928-36, II, p. 194). See also Fontenrose (1959, pp 236 7)
- 34. Aischylos, The Persians, Il. 37-40.
- 35. See below, ch VII, nn. 122-3
- 36. See Pope (1981, p. 170). In Volume 4 there will be further discussion of the relationship between the Rephain with their shishy abode and the Greek Titans (Titanes), whose name has been reasonably linked to the Greek titanoi (men of mud or gypstim). Astour (1967a, pp. 196-7, n. 3) plausibly suggests it comes from a Semitic word for 'mud or clay' found in the Akkadian title 1 am indebted to Scott Noegel for the whole section on the relationship between Ögygos and Óg.
- 37. Astour (1907a, pp. 236-7) shows the relationship between the Rephaim vip' (heal) and the archangel Raphael on the one hand and snakes on the other.
- 38. Pope (1981, p. 170).
- 39 Deuteronomy 3.11.
- 40. Ezekiel 38, 39 and elsewhere.
- 41 Midrash Bereshit Raba 34.13; Sanhedrin 108b, Largum Yerushalini Di 2.11, 3.10; Yalkut Reubeni on Gn. 7.22.
- 42. Astour (1967a, p. 212).
- 43. Isaiah 54.9.
- 44. Erman and Grapow (1982, I, p. 376). It is not, however, in Lesko and Switalski-Lesko, 1982-90.
- 45. Gauthier (1925-31, I, p. 208)
- 46. Ezekiel 39.18
- 47. Astour (1967a, p. 212).
- 48. Zebahini 113h; Sanhedrin 108b, Rosh ha-Shanah 12a, Yerushalmi Sanhedrin 10, 29b; Yelmmadenii in Yalkut 11508 on Isaiah 64 11.
- 49. Schachter (1981, p. 113) dismisses the association with Odysseus as complete lantasy and he is probably right. However, as Odysseus name

may well sumply mean 'voyager', *ndistruction the Egyptian ndist (expedition, journey, campaign). This could also be applied to Herakles whose possible association with the cult will be discussed below.

- 50 Pausamas, IX 33.7 Pausamas, VIII 20.5 · 6, reports that the Arkadians also had a river. Fitton near their cult of Asklepios and Athena. Interestingly, it was placed at Peneos, which we shall see below derives its name from the Egyptian powe (the Flood). For other references to Athena's birth and other activities near. Fitton see Farnell (1895–1909, I, pp. 266–9, 385. 6, n. 16). Farnell, of course, believes that the Labyan Triton was named from a Greek one.
- 51. Herodotos, IV.178.
- 52 Apollomos Rhodios, IV 149, Diodoros 4H 534, Plmy, Natural History, V.28.
- 53 For the derivation of h from her, see Frman and Grapow (1925-31, V, pp. 255 and 318).
- 54. Schachter (1981, p. 113).
 - 55. Lactantus on Statius, Thebiad, VII 330. See Schachter (1981, p. 112)
 - 56 See Farnell (1895-1909, L. pl. xv) and Schachter (1981, p. 122)
 - 57. Schachter (1981, pp. 120-1).
- 58 Saved (1982, I, pp. 101-6). For the coin and the statue at Priene, see Farnell (1895-1909, I, p. 338).
- 59 Sayed (1982, I, pp. 51-62).
- 60. Sayed (1982, I, pp. 31-2).
- 61 Pyramid Texts 508 g. Saved, Doc 196 (1982, I, pp 31-2) He provides references for all the published translations
- 62 Saved (1982, 1, pp. 61 2, II, pp. 319-20, Doc. 287)
- 63 Saved (1982, L. pp. 67 g) See also Hollis (1987b, pp. 8-9)
- 64. For Neits warlike triumph over Seth and Apopi, see Saved (1982, I, pp. 72-6). For the identification of Seth with Poseidon, see Volume 1, pp. 66-7). It will be discussed further in Volume 4.
- 65 Farnell (1895-1909, I, pp. 270-1).
- 66. See Volume 1, pp. 303 6, 320
- 67. Burkert (1985, p. 221)
- 68. Burkert (1985, p. 221)
- 69. For Seth's characteristics, see Rundle-Clark (1959, pp. 111-15)
- 70. Fontenrose (1959).
- 71. Burkert (1985, p. 221).
- 72. Schachter (1986, pp. 211–14). 73. Pausanias, IX 33-1, Strabo, IX 230.
- 71. Thebais schol, on Iliad, XXIII 346-7.
- 75. Pausanias, VIII.25.4-7 and 42 1. See also Bérard (1894, pp. 136-7)
- 76 The connection would seem to be confirmed by the existence of the variant Erion on an Arkadian coin. See Schachter (1986, p. 222, n. 5). Eris (strife) which has no Indo Furopean etymology, may well derive from the West Semitic root, hir (scorch, kindle), which is used in the sense of 'kindle strife' in Proverbs 20.21. For more on this root, see below under Herakles.

77. Fontenrose (1959, p. 368, n. 5).

78 This and the parallels with Mary Magdalene will be discussed in more

detail in Volume 4.

79. For the Osiran version, see Plutarch, *De Iside*, 3561 and 366B. C. For Seth's paternity, see Budge (1904, p. 378) and Graefe on unpublished sources (1984, IV, col. 459, n. 20)

80. See Bérard (1894, pp. 136-7) and Fontenrose (1959, pp. 47, 421)

81. Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, 244-76.

82. Bérard (1894, pp. 136-7).

- 83. Fontencose (1959, p. 47, esp. n. 5) For the relationship between ge and Demeter, see Volume 1, p. 57.
- 84. For a full bibliography on this, see Snowden (1970, pp. 307-8, n. 6)

85. André (1948, pp. 44-53).

86. See ch. IV, n. 99 and ch. X, n. 9.

87. Lewy (1895, p. 139) and Astoni (1967a, p. 130). The Indo Europeamsts prefer to derive *erebos* from a root *regios (dark) found in Sanskill and Armenian. Another Semitic word for 'West', 'ahārôn, appears in the place name Achiciôn, the river associated with death in cult and mythology, and located geographically in the far northwest of Greece. See Astour (1967a, p. 314).

88. Plutarch De Iside..., 366B. Trans Babbit, p. 93

89. Knauss (1987a, pp. 43-6; 1987b, p. 3).

90. See, for instance, Fonteniose (1959 pp. 177-81)

91. Fontenrose (1959, pp. 370-2).

92. Astour (1967a, pp. 226-7; 250-71).

93. Hestod, Theogony, 282-3.

94. Strabo, IX.2.25

95. Berard (1894, p. +16) followed Bochart in deriving the name from cpgh (tem). This would seem plausible in the light of the myth that Athena put reins on Pegasos. This form is not attested in biblical Hebrew. However, pag, which sometimes has the meaning 'halter', and pagd' (ba) do occur in Aramaic and Neo-Hebrew from the first centuries AD and it is quite possible that the root did exist much earlier. Given the Semitic etymology of Bellerophon at would seem likely that this root for Pegasos also played a part in the creation of the myth.

96. See Breasted (1906, III, § 589 and IV, § 111).

97. Pindar, Pythian Ode TV 2, Kallimachos, quoted in Strabo, X 5 1 and XVII.3.21. For others, see Bates (1914, pp. 96-7).

98. Bates (1914, p. 97).

99. Breasted (1906, IV, § 111). 100. See Lhote (1959, pp. 182~8).

101. Herodotos, IV.170-93.

102 Herodotos, IV.180.

103. Iliad, VIII. 184-5, and Odyssey, XIII.81-5

104. Bernal (forthcoming)

105. See Gardiner (1947, II, pp. 5, 28-9)

106. Procopius, History, I 19 29, Phny, Natural History, VI, 35, Arkell (1961)

p. 178). Andre (1948, pp. 44-53). It is generally accepted that the Greek word oasts comes from the Lgypnan while, with in Coptic

107. Procopius, De Belto Persuo, I 19/29 31, cited in Bates (1914, p. 23b)

to8 Gauthier (1925-31, V, p. 21).

109 Herodotos, 11.50.

110. Lloyd (1976, pp. 237-8).

111. See Volume 1, p. 67.

112. Herodotos, IV.180 and 188,

113. Dennis (1848, I, p. 109).

For the gentilic suffix "n, see Gordon (1966, § 8.60). There is no reason why the Etruscan form Nethini should be older than the Latin Neptune Nethini would seem more fikely to derive from Neptune than vice versa. For Roman awareness of the significance of Nbty, see Winkler (1985, pp. 309—18).

115. For Delphos see n 84 above. For the meaning of the stem Delph. see

Volume 4.

116. Gauthier (1925 31, V, p. 27).

117. For Rb, Libu, see Gardiner (1947, I, pp. 121-2).

118. See Odyssey, IV.85 and XIV.295.

119. For a bibliography on references to Tilphousa/Telphousa/Thelpousa, see Fontenrose (1959, p. 367, nn.3-4).

120. See above n. 86

121. See above nn.83-4

122. Frazer (1898, IV, 262-3; 286)

123. For more on this, see below, ch. 111, nn. 85-6

Astour (1967a, p. 214). For the Ugaritic parallels, see Gray (1956, p. 32), for the biblical ones, see Pope (1973, p. 30). The tradition linking the Arkadian Ladon to a snake or dragon would seem to have survived in the modern place name Drakovoum, 'Dragon Mountain', for a mountain near the source of the river.

125. Hesiod, Theogony 333-5. The snake is not actually named in the Theogony but for the identification with Ladon, see West (1988, p. 258, L934).

See Pistis Suphis, 287-9. Budge (1934, pp. 357-79) and Fontenrose (1959, pp. 234-7).

127. See ch. VII, nn. 107-18.

128. Scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios, IV. 1396.

129. Astour (1967a, p. 214).

130. See Fontenrose (1959, p. 369).

131. For Anuket(is), see Otto (1975c, cols 333-1). For this derivation of Onka, pace Bérard (1894, p. 140).

 Herodotos, II 28. For some of the mimense complexity surrounding these supposed springs see Floyd (1976, pp. 107-17).

133. For Nephthys and Anuxis, see Graele (1982, cols 158 g).

134 Sayed (1982, I, p. 125).

135. For Khnum being known as Nb kbhw, see Gardmer (1947, 11, p. 1) though his reference to Gauthier (1925, 31, V, 170) does not mention

Khmun. For the possible use of the title libh alone, see Budge (1904, 11, p. 5)

- 136. See ch. III, nn.94-7
- 137. See Pausamas, II 4.5
- 198. See Pausanias, II 20 6
- 139 Inscription at Esna, Sayed, Doc 1024 (1982, II, pp 634-5)
- 140. See n. 60 above.
- 141. For Nett as Low and mother of Re, see Sayed, Dot. 260 (1982. II, pp. 308-9).
- 142. I. Samuel 6 7-12; Astour (1967a, pp. 157-8).
- 149. Pausantas, IX.12.2.
- 144. Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 7-11)
- 145. Euripides, The Phoenician Women. 822—33, trans. Vellacott (1972, p. 265), and Schohast on [3].71. Phetikydes quoted in Apollodoros, III.4.2; Pindar, Pythian Odes, III.94 (167); Diodoros, IV.65.5 and V.49.1. Pausamas, IX.12.3. For further bibliography, see Frazei (1921, I, p. 317, n.4).
- 146 Furipides, The Phoenician Women, 822 7, trans Vellacott (1972, p. 265).
- For other reasons for their snaky or ophic natures, see Astom (1907a, pp. 154-8, 392)
- 148. Astour (1967a, p. 160).
- 149 This was seen by Barthelemy (1763, p. 226). Chantraine, writing two hundred years later, calls the etymology of horkos 'obscure'.
- 150. Sethe (1906-9, IV, I 823)
- 151. Hintze (1975, col. 333).
- 152. Schachter (1981, p. 113) Bickerman (1980, p. 20), however, saw the equivalent as Poseidomos
- 153. Apollodoros, II 4 8, and Diodoros, IV.g.a.
- 154. Schachter (1981, p. 121, n. 3).
- 155. Volume 1, p. 76.
- 15b See the eighty-mac place names beginning with R in Gauthier (1925–31, III, pp. 112–28).
- 157. Lewy (1895, p. 194, n. 2).
- 158. See Sayed (1982, p. 141).
- 159 Saved (1982, pp. 282-3 Docs 220 and 221)
- 160. Burkert (1985, p. 209).
- 161. See, for instance, Kirk (1974, p. 257).
- 162 Jacobsen (1976, p. 195).
- 163. Jacobsen (1976, pp 208-19)
- 164. Herodotos, 11.44, and Levy (1934, p. 48).
- 165. Dussaud (1946-8, p. 208)
- 166. For a full bibliography on this, see Lloyd (1976, pp. 205-6).
- 167 See Seving (1944-5). Dussaud (1946-8) See also Brundage (1958) Brundage effectively demonstrates the relationships between Herakles and Gilgamesh and Melqart. He then goes on with what would appear to be misplaced precision, to tie the Greek hero to 7th-century Southwest Anatolia.

168. Chadwick (1976, pp. 87, 95).

169 There may also be some punning with the Akkadian farium, which is not present in Eblaite, and the Hebrew var (king). Going through the shift s > h will be discussed in Volume 3.

170. See Roberts (1971) and Jacobsen (1976, pp. 226–32). Interestingly, Walter Burkert sees a connection between Erra and Thebes. However, he connects the Mesopotamian divinity to Adrasios, the mythical king of Argos and enemy of Thebes, who led the seven heroes against Thebes (1984, pp. 97–104). Thus, to the extent that Herakles is identified with Erra, he would here be the enemy of Thebes rather than its champion. Nevertheless, Herakles, violence and unrehability make this quite possible.

171. Apollodoros, II 5/8. For further bibliography, see Frazer (1921, p. 201, n. 2). For the cult of Herakles at the Spanish Abdera and the difficulties. Arvanist scholars have in dealing with its purely Phoenician nature, see

Farnell (1921, pp. 145, 167).

172. Herodotos, II.43.

173. Lloyd (1976, pp. 203~4).

174. Sauneron (1968, p. 18)

175. te Velde (1970, p. 186).

176. te Velde (1970, p. 175). In fact, Budge notes a variant form of Hrks p. hrd, 'Hrks the Child' (1904, I, p. 463).

177. See Budge (1904, I, p. 463) and Sameron (1960)

178. Budge (1904, I, p. 463, n. 3).

179 See Syncellus (1719, p. 81) For Lepsius' interpretation of this, see below, n. 222.

180. See Gardiner (1957, pp. 71-3).

t81. Herodotos, II 43 - (Llovd (1976, pp. 207 - 11) denies that there was any Phoenician cultic connection. This case had already been demolished by Van Berchem (1967) - not cited by Llovd - who looked at the problem throughout the Mediterranean.

182. Diodoros, 111.74.4.

183. De Natura Deorum, 111.42.

184 See Altenmuller (1977, cols 1015 18) and Yadm (1982)

185 For a bibliography on this see Yadin (1982, p. 266)

186 For the unsatisfactory nature of the proposed Semitic etymologies, see

Fulco (1976, pp. 64-5).

187 For his cult at Byblos, see Fulco (1976, p. 55, iii) 292-4). For the confusion between the Egyptian and West Senitic gods, see Leclant (1966, p. 53, iii) 7 (10). Simpson (1966, p. 68) and pace Fulco (1976, p. 55). For the Egyptian cities, see Gardiner (1947, II, pp. 113-14, 176).

188 Fulco (1976, p. 20).

189. Gardiner (1947, II, p. 114).

190. Fulco (1976, pp. 3-21).

191 Diodoros, IV.10 2 See also ch IV, nn 132 58

- 192 Yadın (1982, pp. 269-74) For his arguments on Dan, see Yadın (1968) and, below, ch. X, nn. 53-9 For the Aegean origins of the Sea Peoples, see Volume 1, pp. 445-50.
- 193. Fulco (1976, p. 50) and Yadin (1982, p. 270).
- 194. Lloyd (1976, p. 195).
- 195. Posener (1966).
- 196 Sethe (1929, pp. 30-4), Bonnet (1952, p. 142), Grifhths (1955, p. 23) For a full hibbography, see Lloyd (1970, p. 195)
- 197. See above, it 170. There is a Hebrew root (13p with the same meaning, burn over, pestilence), but Eulco (1976, pp. 64-5) sees this as deriving from the divine name.
- 198. Sethe (1929, pp. 30-4), Bonnet (1952, p-142); Griffiths (1955, p-23), Lloyd (1976, p. 195)
- 199. Apollodoros, IL5.11.
- 200. Gardiner (1947, II, p. 55).
- 201. Machiavelli (Gilbert, 1904, p. 354). For a full hibliography of Herakles and Antaios, see Frazer (1921, I, pp. 222-3, n. 2).
- 202. te Velde (1982, cols. 247-8).
- 203. Sayed (1982, pp. 139-40)
- 204. Saved (1982, pp. 116, 128).
- 205. Sec n. 181 above.
- 206. Herodotos, 11.44
- 207. Herodotos, IL50
- 208. Lloyd (1976, p 239)
- 209. For Menthotpe's divinity, see ch. IV, n. 158. For that of Senwosre 1, see ch. V, n. 57.
- 210. Diodoros, 1,55 5
- 211. Rachel Levy (1934) pointed out the parallels between the Tel Asmar Scal and the Heraklean Labour over fifty years ago. For a detailed study of the scal, the Ugaritic texts and the Greek legends on this theme, see Rendsburg (1984).
- 212. Servius, the commentator on Virgit in the 4th century AD, pointed this out in his commentary on Aeneid VI.287.
- 213. See Diodoros, IV 18 6, and Graves (1955, II, p. 120).
- 214. See nn. 122 7 above. Astour (1967a, p. 392) points out that the image of a god strangling two snakes is found on one of the Kassite seals found in Thebes (see below. ch. XII. in 75—87). Although this shows that the iconography goes back to the Bronze Age in the Middle East, I believe that its presence in Thebes can only be a coincidence.
- 215. Pausanias, IX.38.7, and Strabo, II.4.11.
- 216. Herodotos, II.99
- 217 Herodotos, II.108.
- 218. Herodotos, II.13, 101.
- 219. Diodoros, I.51.5 52
- 220 Diodoros, I.57.1-4.

- 221. See Waddell (1940, pp. 223, 225). See also n. 209 above
- 222. Lepsius (1871, p. 54). Burton (1972, pp. 171-3) points out some of the technical difficulties of the measurements.
- 223. Wildung (1984, p. 40, ill. 33).
- 224. For more detail on this, see ch. V, n. 57.
- 225. Stevenson Smith (1971, p. 169)
- 226. Burton (1972, pp. 175-6). The name Ny-mi^e t-R^e was rendered in a number of different ways which include Lamatés, Lamatis and Labatés and Labatés (Waddell, 1940, p. 224, n. 1).
- For two excellent surveys of the complicated literature on this, see Burton (1978, pp. 162-3) and Lloyd (1976, p. 34).
- 228. Astour (1907a, pp. 215-10). See also Levin (1989)
- 229. Kretschmer (1927, pp. 76-8), Hrozny [Civ. of Hitties and Subaraeans] and Graves (1955, p. 206).
- 230. Pausanias, TX 27.8. He refers specifically to Herakles as the Idaian Daktylos', that is, a 'finger' of Mount Ida, in Crete and Northwest Anatoha used as protector of the infant Zeus. The name Ida in connection with the fingers was clearly derived from, or at least punned with, the Semitic root, 3d (hand, and possibly from the proto-Egyptian word d indicated by the sound value of d given to the sign access though it is not attested with this meaning in Egyptian texts. See Gardiner (1957, p. 455) and Greenberg (1986, p. 287).
- 231. Pausamas, VII.5,5. Astoni (1907a, p. 215) secilis to overstate the case here by saying that there was a similar statue at. Thespiai.

Chapter III LGYPT'S INFLUENCE ON BOTOTIA AND THE PELOPONNESS IN THE 3RD MILLENNIUM, II

- Plutarch, De Genio Sociatis, de Lacy and Emarson pp. 389-97. For textual difficulties with this passage, see Schachter (1981, p. 14). For more on the tomb and its excavation, see Persson (1932, pp. 295-307).
- 2. Levi (1971, I, p. 380, n. 190).
- 3. Schwartz (1950, p. 81).
- 4. Cartledge (1987, pp. 328-9).
- 5. Diogenes Laertios, VIII.87, trans. Hicks (1925, pp. 401-3).
- The problem is not quite so great as 5chwartz (1950, p. 78) imagined because Nektanabes began to reign in 379 not 378 as 5chwartz supposed. See Lloyd (1983, p. 281).
- 7. Plutarch, de Iside, 10. Clement of Alexandria, Strom., 1-15, 6q; Diogenes-Laertios, VIII 90. Schwartz (1950, p. 78).
- 8. For bibliographies of discussions of the credibility of Plato's trip to Egypt, see Volume 1, p. 459, n. 148
- g. This is the opinion of many authors. See, for instance, Persson (1942, p. 303) and Schwartz (1950, p. 81).
- 10. Cartledge (1987, pp. 296-7).

11. Schwartz (1950, p. 79).

12. See Symeonoglou (1985) pp. 15-19) and Shaw (1987, p. 60)

13 Hesiod, Merkelbach and West, 1983, frg. 182 Palaephatos c. 42 in Loeb, p. 214, no. 96.

14. Odyssey, XI.262-4.

15. Fragment of Hecatacous, Jacoby (1923-9, I. F (19))

16. Volume 1, p. 83.

17. See Hesiod, Merkelbach and West, 1983, Itg. 182. Palaephatos (- 42 in Loeb, p. 214, no. 96. For a general survey of this evidence, see Buck (1979, p. 46) and Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 76-7).

18. Fragment of Pherecydes, Jacoby (1923) 9, HI, F 41). According to the scholia on Europedes, *The Phoenician Women*, 638, the man from whose herd Kadmos took the heifer that led him to Thebes was called Pelagon. Could it be that this name too came from Prakw?

19 For detailed discussions of these sources, see Buck (1979, p. 46) and Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 76-7).

20. Pausamas, IX.5.1-3.

21. Strabo, IX 2 28. Buck (1979, p. 46), Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 76-7).

22. Aischylos, Secen Against Thehes, 526 (9), and Pausamas, TX 17/2. For Symeologious identification of this site in these references see (1985, pp. 83, 192).

23 Loneas and Loucas (1987, p. 100).

24 Keramopoullos (1917, pp 381-92) see also Symeomoglou (1985, p. 273).

25 Spyropoulos (1972a, pp. 18–23) See also Konsola (1981, p. 100) cited in Loucas and Loucas (1987, p. 96).

26. See Higgins (1979, pp. 25-7).

27. Spyropoulos (1972a, p. 20). The higher dates given here for the Greek ceramic periods are because the Egyptian synchronisms on which they have been based have been raised by radio carbon dating. See ch. V. nn. 84-8.

28. Symeonoglou (1985, p. 273).

29. For scholars who accept this conclusion, see, for instance, Treul (1983, p. 441), Konsola (1981, p. 140) and Loucas and Loucas (1987, p. 90).

30. See Schachermeyr (1967, pp. 209-70) and Konsola (1981, pp. 231-4, 238) cited in Loucas and Loucas (1987, p. 97)

31 Loucas and Loucas (1987, pp. 97-8)

32. Spyropoulos (1981a, pp. 84-6).

33. Pini (1968, p. 39).

34 Spyropoulos (1981a, pp. 117-24).

35. Pace Treul (1983, p. 441).

36, Burl (1979, pp. 130, 254).

37 Burl (1979, p. 129). This does not mean that I go all the way with J. Ivims (1974, pp. 68-80) that Silbury Hill and other 3rd-millenmum Megalithic monuments were built by Egyptian colonists, but that I do agree that the builders had sophisticated mathematical knowledge and

certainly were awate of Old Kingdom Egypt. Is my's problem that Silbury Hill appeared to pre-date the pyramids has now been resolved by the higher dating for the Egyptian Old Kingdom.

38. Loucas and Loucas (1987, p. 99).

39. Edwards (1947, pp. 136-7).

10. Loucas and Loucas (1987, pp. 99-100).

41. Pausanias, IX.17.3, Levi (1971, I, pp. 342-3). For sources on Bakis, see Kern (1896, II, cols 2801-2).

12. Pausanias, X.32.9.

43. See Volume 1, pp. 117-20.

14 Homeric Hynni to Ge, 11 6-7, and Euripides, Nanck frag. 195

- 45 For a bibliography on the dranning of the Kopais, see Hope Simpson (1965, pp. 113-20). See also Spyropoulos (1972a, pp. 22-b, 1973a), Fossey (1974). Wallace (1979). Knauss, Heinrich and Kalcyk (1984), and Knauss (1986, 1987a, 1987b).
- 46 See Fossey (1974, p. 7) and Wallace (1979, p. 8). Fossey admits, however, that 'the initial construction' could be earlier.

47. Laufter (1981, pp 245-6).

- 48 Knauss, Heinrich and Kaleyk (1984). Knauss (1986, 1987a, 1987b).
- 49 Knauss, Heinrich and Kakyk (1984, p. 56)

50. Knauss (1987a, p. 103).

51. Spyropoulos (1981, pp. 133-4).

52 Konsola (1981, p. 39), Loucas and Loucas (1987, pp. 102-3),

59. Spyropoulos (1981, pp. 135-6).

54. It is surprising how little recent research has been published on the important subject of the 12th-Dynasty water management of the Fayum but see Arnold (1977, cols 87–98).

55. See Tzavella-Evjen (1984)

56 Marinatos (1946). See also Vermeule (1964. p. 35).

57. Renfrew (1978, p. 110).

58. Renfrew (1972, p. 288)

- 59. Balcer (1974), who does not consider the possibility of a Middle or Farly Helladic date.
- 60. Knauss (1987a, pp. 103-4).
- 61. Knauss (1987a, p. 206, n. 33).
- 62. Spyropoulos (1973a, p. 209).

63. Shaw (1987).

64. Volume 1, pp. 88-98.

65. Volume 1, p. 94

66. Volume 1, pp. 83, 186.

67. Pausamas, VIII, 14.2

68 Kalcyk and Hemrich (1986), Knauss (1987c), Knauss, Hemrich and Kalcyk (1986).

69. Hope Sumpson (1965, p. 81).

- 70 Blud, H 605 See also Knauss, Hemrich and Kalcyk (1986, p. 604)
- 71. For Herakles associations with Arkadian lakes, see ch. II, nn. 213-14

- 72 Knauss, Heintich and Kalcyk (1980, p. 604)
- 73. See ch. II, nn. 122-4.
- 74. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 543).
- 75. Knauss, Henrich and Kalcyk (1986, p. 611).
- 76. Knauss, Heinrich and Kaleyk (1986, p. 611) See Strabo, IX 2-18, and Pausanias, IX.24.1-3.
- 77. It is possible that there is some contamination here from the verb erchanai
- 78. See, for instance, Moscati et al. (1969, p. 17)
- 79 Hooker (1979).
- 80. Herodotos, V 60, trans de Selincourt (1954 pp 360-1)
- 81. See, for instance, Astoni (1907a, pp. 138-224) and Berard (1804).
- 82 Kalcyk and Heinrich (1986, p. 12).
- 83. Chantraine tentatively links it to the Lithuanian rithet (dig)
- 84. Job 30.3-8.
- 85. See ch. II, nn. 59-71, and 139-41.
- 86. See ch. H. nn. 123-4. For Panau see Gardiner (1947. H. p. 177)
- 87. Herodotos, VII.128-9.
- 88. Nonnos, Dionysiaka, V1.366-80.
- 89. See ch. II, n. 122.
- 90. Pliny, Natural History, XXX1.54.
- 91. Pausanias, VHI.14.1; Levi (1971, II, p. 405).
- 92 Frazer (1898, IV, pp. 231-3), Kalcyk and Heimich (1986, p. 12). I am unable to see this line in the photograph they reproduce on p. 11.
- 93. See ch. VIII, nn. 48-9.
- 94 See Brugsch (1879 80, pp 823 5) and Gauther (1925-31, V, pp 169-72).
- 95. See ch. H. nn. 135-8.
- 96 For vsos, see Volume 3. See, for instance, Pausanias, I 37.3 and II 20.6 for the site of Theseus' purification by the Attic Kephissos where there was a sanctuary to Kephissos, where the river could be heard running underground.
- 97. See Gauthier (1925-31, V. p. 171).
- 98 Antural History, VII 209 See Knauss (1987a, p. 199, n. 22)
- 99 See Pausamas, IX 3.3% p. and Plutarch, Daedala in Fusebius Praeparatio Econogelica, III a 6 For the Ded, see cli. IV, n. 45 below
- 100. Knauss (1987a, pp. 194-9).
- to) Caskey (1956, 1957, 1960-1971), Vermenle (1964-pp-29-44)
- 102 Shaw (1987).
- 103 Vermenle (1964 p. 35) For the constitution of Ebla, see Petimato (1981, pp. 69-95).
- 104 Gale and Stos-Gale (1981) and Stos-Gale and Gale (1984b).
- 105. Vichos and Kvriakopoulou (1989); Bass (1990a).
- 106. See ch. IV, n. 23.
- 107. See, for example, Dayton (1982a, p. 158).
- 108 See Vermeule (1964, pp. 45-58) and Renfrew (1972)

- 109 Vermeule (1964, pp. 37-9).
- 110 For the potters marks, see Vermeule (1964, pp. 40-1)
- 111. See Bernal (1990, pp. 54-6).
- 112. See ch. IV, nn. 43-4.
- 113. Pettinato (1981, pp. 103-9) See also Biggs (1966), Herrmann (1968) and Kulke (1976, pp. 43-56).
- 114. Dayton (1982a, pp. 159, 163)
- 115. Pendlebury (1930a, pp. 53, 57, 64-5).
- 116. Brown (1975, pp. 8, 106. For the original attribution, see Frodin and Persson (1938, p. 234).
- 117. The cup is item 4578 at the Athens Museum See Stevenson Smith (1971, p. 180).
- 118 Helck (1979, p. 15).
- 119 For a transcription and discussion of this text, see Astoni (1967a, pp. 148-3).
- 120 See Volume 1, pp. 382, 501.
- 121. Coldstream (1973) and Coldstream and Huxley (1984)
- For a sensational view of this undoubtedly sensational subject, see Pear son and Connor (1968).
- 123 For Mellaart's assurance, see, for instance, (1967, p. 394)
- 124 See Mellaart (1967, p. 401).
- 125. Helck (1979, p. 16) See also Vermeule and Vermeule (1970).
- 186. Vermeule and Vermeule (1970, pp. 36-7)
- 127. Vermeule (1964, pp. 64-6) and Konsola (1981, p. 182) cited in Loucas and Loucas (1987, p. 103).
- 128. See Caskey (1980).
- 129 Stevenson Smith (1971, p. 181).
- 130. See Howelf (1973), Caskes (1986, pp. 22-3). For a recent survey of an guments on this, see Drews (1988, pp. 17~20).
- 131. Vermeule (1964, p. 59).
- 132. See Buck (1979, pp. 35-6).
- 133. Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 69-70).
- 134 Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 70-5).
- 135. Spyropoulos (1981, pp. 133-7).
- 136. See n. 18 above and Buck (1979, p. 47).
- 137. Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 76-7).
- 138. See Volume 1 pp 51-4 and 88 101. The cases of Athens and Sparta will be discussed in greater detail in Volume 3.

Chapter IV

THE OLD PALACE PERIOD IN CRETE AND THE EGYPTIAN MIDDLE KINGDOM, 2100 TO 1730 BC

- For a discussion of the new desirability of ancient Crete after 1900, see Volume 1, pp. 385+6.
- 2. Renfrew (1972, p. 98).
- 3. Whitelaw (1983, pp. 323-40).

- 4. Lewthwaite (1983, p. 172).
- 5. Cherry (1983, p. 33).
- 6. Cherry (1983, p. 11)
- 7. Matz (1973a, pp. 141-3).
- Ward (1971) p. 72) Ward went on (pp. 74–82) to demolish Astrom's low chronology for this Astrom does not recover from this in his later writing (1978) pp. 87–90). It is, of course-based on his low chronology for Mesopotamia, for which see below ch. V. n. 105.
- g. Cadogan (1978, pp. 200-14). The situation is complicated by the fact that there was a temporal overlap between the pottery styles known as MMIA at Knossos and the end of those called EMHI in the rest of the island. See Merrillees (1977, p. 37).
- 10. Matz (1973a, pp. 141-5).
- 11. Ward (1971, pp. 72-125).
- 12. Branigan (1970a, p. 81).
- 13. Krzyszkowska (1983) p. 168) Similarly, imports of faience which increased in FMIII could have come from Egypt or Syria. Katen Pollinger Foster prefers Syria on the circular grounds that this was where conventional wisdom maintains that Near Fasterii goods were coming to Crete from, but also because the techniques of the faience found in Crete seem closer to those of Syria than those of Egypt (1979, pp. 56~9).
- 14. Warren (1965 pp 7 43, 1967, pp 37 -48, 1969, pp 41 5, 71 91)
- Watrous (1987b, p. 67) for a demolition of an isolationist view on these pottery styles see his discussion on p. 70.
- 16. Watrous (1987b, p. 70)
- 17. Ward (1971, pp 92~5)
- 18 Evans (1921-35, I, pp. 117-25)
- 19. Pendlebury (1963, p. 83).
- 20. Matz (1928, pp 30 j2) Despite his demal of connections between Crete and Egypt at this time, Matz believed that the swastika motif was taken from Crete to Northeast Africa. Given the association of the swastika with the Afran Trace. Which was not restricted to Nazis it was untlimkable that the pattern could have passed from Africa to Europe. Ward (1971, pp. 85, 89) avoids the issue by maintaining that the simultaneous occurrence of the swastika in both Crete and Egypt was the result of independent invention.
- Emmen (1924, pp. 154-60), Biesaull (1954, pp. 33~41), Helck, (1979p. 20).
- 22. Ward (1971, p. 86). For a bibliography on the controversy over the seals, see his n. 347.
- 23. Comment by Z. A. Stos Gale on Poursat (1984, p. 87)
- 24. Ward (1971, pp. 107-25), Helck (1979, pp. 21-2)
- 25. Kantor (1947, pp. 21-4)
- 26. Ward (1971, pp. 108-10). It is interesting to note in this connection that the 'reef knot' design seems to have been introduced from Egypt to Grete in the 19th of 18th centuries BC. Higgins (1979, p. 37).
- 27. See, for instance, Vermeule and Vermeule (1970, p. 33)

- 28 For a justification of this unconventional chronology see ch. X, nn. 91 105.
- 29 The Cambridge Ancient History dates the break to 1700, in line with the ceramic updating required by the re-dating of the Thera eruption to 1628 BC. I put this at c. 1730 BC; see below, ch. VII,

30. For ways of playing this fact down, see, for example, Trump (1981, p. 175).

- 31. Graham (1962, pp. 231-2).
- 32. Graham (1970, pp. 238-9).
- 33 For a good description of this principle as it applied to Ancient Egypt, see Springborg (1990, pp. 73–88)
- 34. Higgins (1979, pp. 22-37).
- 35 Schachermeyt (1667, p. 47) argues that this convention was only established in Cicte at the beginning of MMIII. However, the basis for his argument is from pots where the convention never held. For Thueris see Schachermeyt (1967, p. 3) and plates 63—6)
 - 36. Watrous (1987b, pp. 65-6, 70).
 - 37. Bennet (1990, p. 194, n. 70).
 - 38. Branigan (1970a, p. 52).
- 39. Bintliff (1984).
- 40. Warren (1981). Sakellerakis and Sapouna Sakelleraki (1981).
- 41. Dow (1973, p. 602).
- Dow is particularly sensitive on this issue because he wants to use 'the argument from silence' to establish that there was a long period of illit eracy separating the Bronze Age from the Archaic one. This can be seen from his anxiety to show that 'Cyprus may have been crucially different' from Greece in preserving its Bronze Age script into the Classical period (1973, p. 606). For this argument and its relationship to supporting the Aryan Model and discrediting the Ancient one, see Volume 1, p. 398, and Bernal (1990, pp. 57–8).
- 43. Godart (1983).
- 44. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 31).
- 45 Evans (1921-35-11, p-19) See also Rundle Clark (1959, p-237). For the plausible hypothesis that both signs derive from the vertebra of an aurochs or wild bull, which was seen as the source of sperm and hence life, see Schwabe, Adams and Hodge (1982). This is not to say that they did not accrete many other symbolic meanings.
- 46 Newberry (1909, pp. 24-31), Gaerte (1922, pp. 72-5),
- 47 Pyramid Text Utt 685 Faulkner (1969, p. 295).
- 48. For the Farly Minoan cult, see ch. I, n. 55. Lakh, has no Indo Furopean etymology. Other derivatives of the would seem to include leikhen (tree moss, lichen). This seems more plausible than to take it from the Indo-European root. *leight found in our 'lick' and the Greek leikhe. Another strong possibility is the Greek lasios (hairy). The alternation between h and I was frequent in Egyptian.
- 49 For a bibliography on the Rarian Plant, see Frazer (1898, 11, pp. 514-15)
 For the etymology of Orgas, see Volume 4.

50. Nilsson (1950, p. 189).

51 Powell (1977, pp. 72-3) Powell gives an excellent survey of the earlier literature on this. He maintained his Aryanist orthodoxy on this by arguing that symbols can be transmitted between completely alien cultures without affecting fundamental systems of thought.

52. Kivt is not affested in connection with the island. For discussions of the known Egyptian names for Crete, see ch. X. nn. 2 - 23, below

- 53 For a discussion of this preference for Anatolia, see Volume 1, pp. 391-2.
- 54. Burkert (1985, p. 37)
- 55. See ch. I, n. 60, above
- 56. Hoffmann (1979, p. 91).
- 57. The only possible evidence of an Farly Minoan bull cult comes from two vases. From Porti and Kumasa in the Mesara representing bulls which seem to have human forms attached to the horns. Brangan (1970b, p. 81) writes about these. Some may plansibly be attributed to Farly Minoan II. We cannot be certain about the date of these. They could be later, and certainly some bull vessels, like those of Agios Kyrillos, are of Middle Minoan I date. (I am indebted to Lyvia Morgan for this reference.) The same uncertainty of date is true of the day models nos 412b and 5052 at the Herakleon museum. These do not appear to form a very strong foundation for a case in favour of an early or indigenous origin of the bull cult of palanal Crete.
- 58. Herodotos, II.145
- 59. Diodoros, HLS.
- 60. Strabo, XVII 2 3
- 61. Chassinat (1960--8, H, p. 676), Gundlach (1982, cols 195-9)
- 62. Chassinai (1966 8, II, p. 676).
- 63 Chassmat (1906-8, 11, pp 676-7) See also Gardiner (1947, 1, pp 80-6)
- Shack and Habte (1974, p. 26). For more on B*aza, see Leslau (1950, pp. 54-5).
- 65 Cohen (1970-6, 11, p. 53). The orthodox interpretation of this name is to derive it from bi-+ a'az (with strength), a problematic construction, see Mulder (1986, pp. 19-25).
- 66. Ruth 3.1-18. Other aspects of the extraordinarily rich myth will be discussed in Volume 3.
- 67. I kings 7.21. For other examples, see Herodotos, II. 45, and for a hibhography on this, see Lloyd (1976, p. 200)
- 68. Shack and Habte (1974, p. 175).
- 69 See, for instance, Gordon (1962b, pp. 178-205)
- 70. Klearkhos, It. q. in Frag. Hot. (r. H. See Cook (1914–40, H. pp. 28–32). For more on the lapyges, see Bernal (1990, pp. 44–7).
- 71 See Cook (1914-10, II, p. 30) Jane Harrison (1927) pp. 176-7) too saw this identification of the double-axe with Zeus katabates and thunder. It was not only double axes that were identified with thunderbolts. Hartison (1927), pp. 56-7) pointed out that stone axes or celts have also

been seen in this way and that modern Greek peasants called them in tropelekia (star axes).

72. See ch. 1, nn. 61-2.

73. Gardiner (1957, p. 503, R-22).

 Wannwright (1931, pp. 185 95). Wannwright also associates the missile with Horus and his counterpart Apollo.

with Horus and his counterpart Apollo

75. Cook (1914—40, I, pp. 84—6). The ctymology of the recent word belominter from the Greek belonna (missiles) shows how easy it is to see them as projectiles.

76. Cook (1914-40, I1, pp. 85-6).

- 77 See Gardiner (1957, p. 487) and Gundlach (1982, p. 130).
- 78. The Egyptian symbol represents the uterus of a heiler rather than that of a woman. This reflection of the centrality of cattle, particularly cows, has been referred to above. Schwabe, Adams and Hodge (1982, p. 445) maintain that the belief that it was the shape of the human uterus survived in European thought until the work of Vesalius in the 16th century Ab. I have no reason to doubt this, but I have not been able to find the reference they give to Gardiner (1947). For a moving linkage of wombs and intestines with spirals and labyrinths, see Eco. (1989, pp. 362–3).
- 79 Hm written with other determinatives increases the interest of the clus ter With (falling wall) and - (beat, force), hm meant 'demolish buildings and harm someone', but it also was used in the sense of 'debaiand exclude'. In Late Egyptian, this word signified 'demolish, force open, break through'. With the determinative A (motion) it seems to have meant 'wild, of animals' Hmr meant 'seize, grasp' or 'penetrate' or 'drive off'. Taken together, the cluster seems semantically very close to the Semine boaz with its double sense of destruction and penetration and protection from it Hin(w/y) also meant dust. Its having been writ ten with \(\frac{1}{2}\) (sail) suggests that it was associated with winds. Given the parallels with the storm god beaza, and the storm god Min's Hin, it is possible that this is the origin of the Greek khima in the sense of 'storm'. Khema meaning 'winter' has a clear Indo-European origin, but although winter in Greece can be stormy, the word does seem to have two relatively distinct semantic fields which could be the result of the conflation of two different roots.
- 80. Gauthier (1931, pp. 149-50), Chassmat (1966-8, 11, pp. 684-91).

81. Gundlach (1982, col. 136)

82 Gauthier (1934, p. 197). For a detailed survey of inscriptions concerning the god in these regions, see Bernaud (1977)

83. Gauthier (1931, p. 176).

84 Otto (1966, p. 118; n.d., p. 123).

85. Budge (1904, II, p. 18), Gauthier (1931, pp. 180-1); Otto (n.d., p. 123)

86. Voss (1827 -34) For Voss and Niebuhi, see Volume 1, p. 298

87. Borgeaud (1979, p. 263) For even wilder speculation, see the appendix by Alfred Willy (Borgeaud 1979, pp. 283-5)

- 88. Ruigh (1967, s. 86, n. 40).
- 89. Volume 1, p. 454, n. 50.
- go. For a discussion of this, see Volume 1, pp 91-2.
- 91. Both the Egyptian In(t) and the Greek pan referred to Tilapia Nitotica
- 92. See Sethe (1908, pp. 11-14; 1910a, pp. 71-8) See also Ham (-976, p. 69). For more on this, see Volume 4.
- 93 See Astom (1967a, pp. 174-5). There is also a possibility that the mysterious Greek fish-name bukkhos is a pun on pan panos
- 94. See, for instance, Frazer (1911, J. pp 6 121) and Jacobsen (976, pp 25-78).
- 95. Plutaich, 'On the Obsolescence of Oracles', 419 trans. Babbit (1936, p. 403).
- 96. Quoted by Plato in Minos in Loeb, Hesiod, p. 204.
- 97. Odyssey, X1.586.
- 98. Rubric to chs. CLXIII and CLXIII cited in Budge (1904, II, p. 10. See also Otto (1975b, cols. 245-6).
- 99. See ch. X. nn. 2-8.
- 100 Herodotos, II 7 and 99 Possibly the two vocalizations point to an earlier *Mayn, but this is purely hypothetical.
- 101. See Lloyd (1988, pp. 6-10).
- 102. The situation is made still more confusing by the fact that the leger dary Indian founder of political order and lawgiver was called Manu.
- 103. Diodoros, EXGIV 1 2, trans. Oldfather (1935, I. p. 319)
- 104. Aelian XI.10, cited in Otto (1938, p. 5, n. 2).
- 105. Manetho fragments 8, 9 and 10, Vercoutter (1975, col. 338). Sec also Lloyd (1976, p. 171).
- 106. Herodoros, II 99. claimed that Min had founded it. See also Gardner (1961a, p. 408).
- 107. For lwn, lwnw or 'On, see Volume 1, pp. 176-7.
- 108. Coffin Texts, V.1916. See also Kakosy (1982, col. 165).
- 109. Sethe (1923, p. 191) See also Otto (1938, p. 34)
- Apart from those mentioned in the text, one finds such parallels as *mulut* (harbour) and *mra, mr* and *mrgt*, all meaning 'harbour, shore, run aground', and *mr* and *mn*, both meaning 'sick man'. Interestingly, in modern Maghrebi and Egyptian Arabic, final I's are often pronounced as -n, as in futban (football).
- 111. Mnlw will be discussed below under Minyans
- 112. See Volume 3.
- 113. Lloyd (1978 pp. 609–26) For a discussion of the word much, the name of the site of such bullfights, and its relationships to the word mother, acc mother (sound of animals fighting) and the place names Mothere, Methana, etc., see below n. 174 and Volume 9.
- 114 Erman (1934, p. 27); Otto (1938, p. 36). The figure of a bull-headed Mnevis reproduced by Lanzone (1881 6, vol. I, pp. 170 2, pl. 55-3) is Ptolemaic and, as far as I know, there is no earlier attestation.
- 115. See Diodoros, I 61 1-3, and Phny, N H, XXXVI 90

- 116. See Herodotos, II 118-40 and Straho XVII 1 87. When Petrie looked at the site in 1880 and 1911 he found only a vast area of linicstone chips, and there seems to have been a considerable amount of lime burning there in Roman times. Diodoros, I 61 (-3, and Pliny (36 90) stated that it had been destroyed by their times. See Gardiner (1961a. pp 130-40) For sceptical but unconvincing attempts to deny the testimony not only of Herodotos but of Strabo and Petrie on this, see Armaor (1978, p. 70-1985). Very few of the scholars who since Life Antiquity have identified Herodotos' Lake Mocris with the Fayyum have accepted his description of the lake and the building of the Jaby unth by the Moeris of Ammeneines III in detail. Nevertheless, they have plausibly seen the association of the labyrinth with what appears to have been an exceptionally large and elaborate mortiany temple, confunical by archaeological and inscriptional evidence. For a good survey, see Lloyd (1988, pp. 121-7). It is noteworthy and indicative of the seentical Arvanist approach, which tends to see Greek descriptions of Egypt very lugely in terms of a levered Greek imagination, that Armayor takes the much munkier origins of the Cretan labyrinth as given
- Brugsch (1879) 80, H, p. 501) Brugsch is also mentioned in Volume 1, pp. 258, 261.

118. Gauthier (1925-31, III, p. 119).

119. See Kretschmer (1896, p. 304) and many others on this hypothesis, for which see Hester (1905, pp. 358-9). Frisk and Chantraine do not mention Brugsch's hypothesis. For the cult of the double-axe and its Near Eastern origins, see ch. I. ini. 61-3 above.

120 Volume (p. 6), and Stieghtz (1981b, pp. 195-8)

121. Hall (1905, pp 320-4) in 1920 (pp 153-5). Lloyd (1970, pp 92-6,

1988, pp. 120-1).

122 Waldell (1940, p. 224, n. 1) Diodoros, I 61, would seem to have reproduced both of the pharaohs names when he called him 'Mendês of Martis. I would derive these from him m hit and Ny-mif t-Rf. However, Vergote (1962) maintains that they are both different forms of Ny mif t.Rf. For the relationship between him in hit and Meinnion, see ch. VI, nn. 147–8.

123 See Volume 3.

124. Apollodoros, II 5 g and III 1/2, and Nonnos, XIII 222 and XI/284. For an extensive bibliography of ancient sources on Minos sexual adventures, see Graves (1955, I, p. 301).

125. Gauthier (1931, p. 83).

126 Volume 1, p. 95

127. Gauthier (1931, pp. 89, 205). Sethe's reading of names 47 and 52 of the Abydos list as Nft-ki. Min and Nft-ki. Min finuscisee the discussion in Stock, 1949, p. 35) is interesting in this regard. These pharaohs of the mysterious 8th Dynasty, from the middle of the 25th century, could have helped link Min and royalty in Crete four hundred years later.

128 Gundlach (1982, col. 136).

- 129 See Volume 1, pp. 310-11.
- 130. See Volume 1, pp. 85-8.
- 131. Graves (1955, I, p. 298), Wilamowitz Moelendorff (1931-32, I, p. 56, n.3).
- 132. Ranke (1935-52). Lam not the first to propose an Egyptian etymology for Rhadamanthys. Berard did so (1902-3, pp. 68-9), deriving it from the Egyptian amenti', limity, which he points out was transcribed by Plutarch as 'Amenthys'. This was the western land where the dead were judged. There may have been some punning with this (see below, n. 143), but Bérard could not explain the initial Rhada-
- 133. Gardiner (1957, p. 217, § 288).
- 134. Pyramul Texts, Utt. 503.
- 135. For a good general survey of his cults, see Bourghouts (1982, cols 200-4).
- 136. Jahnkuhn (1980, col. 212).
- 137. Bourghouts (1982, col. 201)
- 138. Budge (1904, I, p. 328); Mercer (1949, p. 125).
- 139. Rusch (1922), brankfort, de Buck and Gunn (1933, p. 27). For the contrary view, see Hollis (1987a, pp. 7-8)
- 140. Otto (1938, p.47). Bounghouts (1982, col. 201), Drawer (1940 pp. 157-9).
- 141. Bourghouts (1982, col. 202).
- 142. Book of Coming Forth by Day, CXI, 6 and CLXX See Budge (1904, II, p. 26).
- 143. Hestod, in Merkelbach and West 1983, fix 140-4. Odyssey, 1V 564, Diodoros, V.79; Nonnos, XIX 190-See also Matimatos (1949, p. 11) Victor Bérard (1902–3, pp. 68–9) links this to 'amenti', see above, n. 132. There may well be some punning on this in this aspect of Rhadamanthys' character.
- 144. Odysses, TV 564 and VII 323. Marinatos (1949, p. 11) interprets it as 'blond' and uses this to support his connection of REadamaisthys to Boiotia, which he sees as famous for the blondness of its inhabitants.
- 145. Had, XIV.322
- 146. Odyssey, VII.323.
- 147. Diodoros, V.79.1-2.
- 148. Ch. II, nn. 190-1.
- 149 See ch 11, n. 159.
- 150. Ranke (1935 52, I. pp. 54, 57). For further indications that Mntw was vocalized with an 'a', see Gardiner (1947, II, p. 22).
- 151. Diloton (1931, pp 260-1); Lanzone (1881-6, vol. 1, pp 203-9, pls 99.2 and 4).
- 152. Ward (1971, p. 138)
- 153. Contenau (1953, p. 17, plate 40). The treasure will be discussed in detail in ch. V, nn. 126-37.
- 154. Bourghouts (1982, col. 200).
- 155. For the parallel, see, for instance, Maspero (1884, p. 462, n. 1). If the

head is attributed to him, Min/Mêties features are, as Sheikh Anta D oppointed out, early African. The face of Minjw htp II is less obviously Negro, but the colouring of his lamous statue in the Cano Museum leaves no doubt whatsoever about his Blackness. See Diop (1974) plates 5 and 9).

156. Beckerath (1982a, col. 66; 1982b, cols 66-8)

157. Gardiner (1961a, p. 120).

158 Gauthier (1931, p. 205).

159. Inscription from Wadi Halfa cited by Otto (1938-p. 47).

160. Otto (1938, p. 47)

ttit. See above, nn 28–39.

162. Pendlebury (1963, pp. 120-1)

103, Ward (1971, pp. 119-20).

164 For a bibliography on this see Helck (1975a, cols 889 - 91),

165 Ward (1971, pp. 58~65). 166. Ward (1971, pp. 68~8).

167. See n. 23 above.

168 Diodoros, V 77-1, trans. C. H. Oldfather (III, p. 313)

169. Diodoros, V.84.1-4

170. Volume 1, p. 83.

171. Reisner and Reisner (1933, pp. 35-46).

172 Pendlebiny (1930a, p. 109), Burleigh and Hewson (1979)

173. See ch. L. n. 16.

17] See the cursous markings suggesting movement over the bulls back on the determinative %3 in the word *inter* (arena) (Erman and Grapow, 1982, 41, p. 175), which is attested from the Old Kingdom. See also nut 107—12 above.

Chapter V

SESSIRIS THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE GREEK ACCOUNTS OF HIS CONQUESTS

Farag (1980 p 75), Posener (1982, p 7), Petre and Walker (1909, pp. 6-7, 17-18)

2 Fariag and Posenci assume the asscription should be taken at face value and be dated to the 19th Dynasty, as does Giveon (1985, p. 16, n. 31). Witham Ward, who is equally expert in the Middle Kingdom, dismisses the 1 opinions and that of Petrie on the other fragment and maintains that it is 'Ramesside', that is to say dating from the 19th rather from the 19th centary 80 (1987, p. 528). He points out that the names given are not those of living kings but those on function in onuments. However, he admits that they could be 'early 12th Dynasty'.

Against Ward it can be argued that the foreign place names are unknown in New Kii gdom texts and seem plaiisible in terms of Middle Kingdom prolitinication. It is for this reason and the circumstantial evidence presented below that I prefer to follow Farag and Posener and accept the 12th-Dynasty date, which is want the text indicates. This view

is now generally accepted by Egyptologists; see O'Connot (1990). The most striking example of this is Helck (1989).

- Farag (1980, pp. 78 -9). Posener (1982, p. 8). For \$11, see Gardmet (1947, I, p. 177) and Gauthier (1925-31, I, p. 95).
- 4. Gardiner (1961a, p. 126).
- 5. Simpson (1984a, col. 891).
- 6. See Herodotos, II. (10), and Diodoros, L57-5. Lloyd (1988, pp. 36-7) not discussing the inscription admits that there are exth-Dynasty remains there but thisists, with some plausibility that the statues the Greeks believed were of Sesostris and his family were in fact of Ramesses II.
- 7 For scepticism on this, see Simpson (1984b, col. 950). For belief that the assassination was successful, see Posener (1956, pp. 66~73) and Blumenthal (1983, pp. 105~6)
- 8. For bibliographies on this stell and on Nsw Mntw himself, see Posener (1971, p. 538) and Simpson (1984a, col. 899).
- See Lichtheim (1975, I, pp. 222 35). For bibliographies of the many translations of this lamous story, see Lichtheim (pp. 222-3) and Simpson (1984b, col. 953)
- 10. For a long discussion on the location of Rinw, see Gardiner (1947, 1, pp. 148-9).
- 11. Posener (1971, p. 538)
- 12. Posenet (1971, p. 539)
- 13. Albright (1960, p. 85)
- Posener (1940, 1956, and 1971); Giveon, (1978a, pp 01-72; 1981, 1985) Weinstein, who is very much opposed to the idea of a Middle Kingdom Empire' in the Levant, has admitted that there are many starabs of Senwosre I in Palestine and that a statue of a woman who may be his daughter has been found at Tell Gezer (1974, p. 52). The archaeological grounds upon which he argued that this princess was a daughter of Amenenihe III have since disappeared.
- 15 Posener (1956, p. 109).
- 16 Posener (1971, p. 540) For the quote, see Lichtheim (1975, L. 188). She discusses the term Shibity, which she and Brunner translate as counter', but Helck as 'caravaneer'.
- 17 Giveon (1975, cols 362-63) See also the short bibliography on the name in Helm (1980, p. 229, n. 5).
- 18 Confusion between the two names is shown in the difficulties statiounding Homer's reference to a people called Fremboi in the passage from the Odyssey describing Menclaos' wanderings, 'Over Cyprus and Phoenicia I wandered, and Egypt, and I came to the Ethiopians and the Sidonians and the Eremboi and to Libya. (IV 82-5)

In Antiquity, this was seen as a reference to Arabs (Strabo, 1-41), but, as Helm (1980, p. 217), points out, this may have been contaminated by the name Aramaean so that Erimbor may simply have meant Near East ern nomads.

There is an even earlier Greek reference to Arabs in Hesiod's Cala-

logue of Women. The daughter of Arabos, whom worthy Hermaon begat with Thronia, daughter of the ford Belos, fig. 15 (137), trans. Evelyn. White (1914, p. 167). Frg. 137 in Merkelbach and West (1983).

Belos provides a clearly Senutic context for this II, as argued in Volume 1, pp. 86–8, we should date Besiod in the 10th century BC, this reference is earlier than any from the Near Fast, the first attestation being from an inscription of the Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser III of 85 f BC. The earliest biblical references to the name come in prophetic writings of the 6th century. For all the sources on this, see Eph'al (1982 pp. 6–9).

T ph'al (p. 7, n. 24) dismisses any connection between 'ārāb (Arab) and 'ārābāh (desert). Although he is right to deny arābāh as the etymon for ārābā, the two words must be connected. To my mind, the most plan sible etymology for Arab is from the Semitic root, ilb or grib center, sunset west. Thus the gentilic or name of a people—would be a Mesopotamain name for the people hving in the desert to their west.

- 19. Iliad, II.782-85.
- 20. Vian (1960, pp. 19-24).
 - 21 Fonteniose (1959, p. 71, n. 2) and against Vian (1963, pp. 64 82)
 - 22. Fontenrose (1959, pp. 82, 177-93). For Seth's association with Stt and Syro-Palestine, see Van Seters (1966, p. 99)
 - 23. Chantraine (1968-75, p. 371) wrote about this rien de clair and rightly dismissed. Pokorny's (1959-66, pp. 332-3) attempt to derive eremotrom an LE root er (loose).
 - 24 Posenei (1971, pp. 540~1) For a list of these statues, see Helck (1971, pp. 68-9).
 - Ward (1961, pp. 17-38); Stevenson Smith (1965, pp. 14-150). See Stevenson Smith (1965, p. 15, n. 48) for a full bibliography on these
 - 26. Posener (1971, pp 540 1) For the pictures see Davies and Gardiner (1936, plates X and XI).
 - 27. Helck (1971, p. 41).
 - 28. Ward (1971, p. 68)
 - 29. Posener (1982, p. 8)
 - 30. Helck (1989, p. 27).
 - 31. Maspero (1901, p. 593)
 - 32. Volume 1, pp. 252, 306
 - 33 Bunsen (1848-60, I. 304-24); Maspero (1901, p. 593).
 - 34 Sethe (1900, 1904) Burton (1972, p. 104) inisdates Sethes articles to 1902 and 1905 respectively.
- 35 Maspero (1901, pp. 596-7) accepted Sethes reading of the name Senwoscc, but matally claimed that Sesostris came from a biname of Ramesses, Rf s s t sw. Sethe demolished his case in 1904.
 - 36. Burton (1972, p. 166)
 - 37. Diodoros, L53.8.
 - 38. Gardiner (1957, p. 74).
 - 39. Manetho, fis 32-34-6, trans-Waddell (1940, pp-64-73)

- 40 For details, see Delia (1980, pp. 24-107).
- 41. Pace Haves (1971, p. 503), who sees Senworre III as the prototype
- 42. Manetho, Frs 32, 34-6.
- 43 Herodotos, II 100 110, trans de Schncourt (1954, pp. 16h 9)
- 44. Diodoros, I 53 5-58 2, trans. Oldfather (1993, pp. 187-95)
- 45. See Sethe (1900, 1904), Maspero (1901), Rattenbury (1933). Braun (1938, pp. 13-18), Lange (1954), Malaise (1906), West (1977), Hoyd (1982; 1988, pp. 16–18).
- 46. Posener (1956, p. 15).
- 47 The Soviet Egyptologist and Coptologist Petr Viktorovitch Ernslited Costablished the Egyptian etymology of mythos in 1953 (pp. 55-7). Chain traine gives the original meaning of mythos as 'succession of words which have a direction, proposal, discourse', 'the content of words'. There is also the fact that there is no Indo-European etymology for the word.
- 48. Megasthenes cited in Strabo, XV, 686, and Arrian, Indica, V 4
- 49. See Herodotos, II 110, and Diodoros, I 58 4. For a modern discussion of this, see Lloyd (1982, p. 37).
- 50 Georgacas (1966) pp 34-7) See also Helm (1980, p 23, n 23) For Egyptian etymologies of tenderings of Asia, see nn 164-72 below
- 51. See ch. V1, nn. 12-14.
- 52. For a hibhography of this, see Posener (1956, pp. 68-9).
- 53. Spiegelberg's explanation of Sesistris escaping from the fire over the bodies of two of his sons, as the result of 'a dragoman's tale based upon a frequently recurring representation of the triumphant Pharaoli. He is often depicted with his feet placed on two heads symbolizing the foreign enemies of Egypt, the Negroes and the Syrians (1927, p. 25) is fair fetched but possible.
- 54. The parallel was first pointed out by Iversen (196), p. 149, n. (6) See also Burton (1972, p. 171). For details, see Delia (1980, pp. 54–6). The sign in (well) was used for him (female organ) from Middle Kingdom times.
- 55. Sethe (1900, p. 3), Malaise (1966, p. 250), Buiton (1972, p. 178).
- 56. Emery, 1960, p. 6. Clutton-Brock (1974, pp. 92-9). For the 'characts' allustrated on cylinder seals from Kultepe II, see Drews (1988, pp. 93-6). Drews (n. 18) accepts a 'middle chronology' dating of 1910–1840 for Kultepe II.
- 57 For official involvement in the transport of gods, see, for instance, the Stela of Tkhernofret (Berlin Museum 1204), translated in Lichtheim (1975, pp. 123-9). For the newness of Senwosre Ps title of God-see Blumenthal (1985, pp. 108-9). See also Springborg (1990, pp. 46-7).
- 58. Volume 1, pp. 170, 185.
- 59. See Volume 1, p. 326.
- 60 For acceptance of the stories of Sesöstris conquests in Africa and Arabin, see, for instance, Sethe (1900, pp. 16–20), Malaise (1966, pp. 260–4) and Hoyd (1988, p. 36). Lloyd gives a full bibliography of the secondary literature on this point.

61 Foucart (1914, p. 4) cited by F. Meyer (1928, 36, I, p. 263). For more on Foucart, see Volume 1, pp. 264-5, 314, 380, 383.

62. Sec Lichtheim (1975, 1, pp. 211-15).

- 63 Naville (1894 1908, III, plates 69 71) Stevenson Smith (1958, pp. 136, 148; 1665, p. 7).
- 61 for Ramesses' fleets see Burton (1972, p. 169). For the 18th-Dynasty navies, see Haves (1973, pp. 367-4) and Save-Soderbergh (1946, pp. 33-50). See also ch. X, n. 86.

65 Herodotos, IL 100.

66 See the inscription from the 19th year of Senwoste III (c. 1864 Bc.) from Uronatti (Khartolain 2683) discussed in Delta (1980, pp. 77–9). For a literary explanation of Sesostris, having been checked by shoals, see Floyd (1988, p. 19). Floyd accepts that the text was referring to the sea not the Nile.

67. Diodoros, I.55.6.

- 68 Sec, for instance, Wildring (1984, plates 140, 150 17
- 66 Adams (1984, pp. 176-81). For a comparative view of these fortifications, see van Seters (1966, pp. 33-7).

70 Parker (1950, p. 69).

- 71 Parker (1976, pp. 178-84). Kitchen (1987, p. 43).
- 72, Krauss (1985, pp. 73-82). Kitchen (1987, p. 43).

73. Meyer (1904, pp. 45-51)

- 74. Modern convention since Farmas transcription of the hieratic text into hieroglyphic of col. Vir 18 in the Jurin Curon (1938, p. 35), backed by a somewhat hestant claim by Winlock (1940, p. 118, n. 2), has been that the dynasty lasted LTS years. Gardiner (1959, p. 16) copied it in the same way in his transcription. So the (1905), however, read it as 1603 and mis way accepted by Meyer (1907b) p. 211 and by Breasted (1906, I p (1) It is impossible to make a firm judgement on this issue, which is extremely obscure. The line appears made up of two or three unclear sections of different fragments (6): (6) and 3). As Mever put it, 'out of these miserable fragments (Sethe) had established with his usual acute. ness' the total of abothe found. There is no doubt that when Winlock wrote and Larma and Gardiner were working on the text, the trend in Egyptian chronology was sharply downwards (see below). Thus, it is impossible to say whether they and their contemporaries saw the number 143 in the text because it was there or because they believed it should be With the greater general credibility given to the chronology of the earlier scholars by new radio-carbon dates. Lam inclined to follow them rather than their successors in this too
- 75 (aadiner (1959, pp. 11-13)

76. Stock (1949, p. 103).

- 77. Breasted (1906, I, pp. 40-5).
- 78. Meyer (1907b, pp. 68, 178) 79. Gardiner (1961a, p. 67).
- 86 Hayes (1971), p. 996). For a bibliographical survey of the trend to diminish or annual the 1st Intermediate Period, see Kemp (1986), p. 27).

- 81. Mellaart (1979, pp. 7-11)
- 82. Mellaart (1979, p. 7)
- 8s. Kemp (1980) and Weinstein (1980).
- 84 Haas et al. (1987) Then results also appear to have been supported by work on a different sample processed with the latest methods at Hano ver, Haas et al. (1987, p. 597).
- 85. Haas et al. (1987, pp. 586-7)
- 86. Shaw (1985).
- 87 Shaw (1985, p. 304). This it il (1987, pp. 596-7).
- 88. Haas et al. (1987, pp. 588-9).
- 89. See Weinstein (1989b, p. 103). See also Harding and Tait (1980 pp. 151-2).
- go For a survey of the finds at I-bla and some of their suplications, see Pertinato (1981).
- 91. Matthiae (1981, p. 9).
- 92. Pettinato (1981, p. 107).
- 98. Matthiae (1988, p. 76).
- 94. Matthiae (1988, p. 77). Synchronisms in Byblos also indicate that Sargon reigned during the Fgyptian 1st Intermediate Period.
- 95. Huber (1987b, p. 9).
- 96 Pettinalo (1981, p. 107, personal communication, Cornell 1983
- 97. Steinkeller (1986, pp. 31-40).
- 98. See Gardiner (1901a, pp. 62-3), O'Mara (1979, addendum)
- 99. Mellaart (1979, p. 9).
- 100. Kemp (1980, p. 25).
- 101. See Mit Rahma, col. 5+x.
- 102 Gardiner (1961a, pp. 112-16)
- 103. Smith (1965, p. xxiv)
- 104. See Callender 1975, p. 1) He even suggests that Middle Egyptian was the spoken language of the late Old Kingdom and the 1st Intermediate Period. It is true that the differences between New and Middle Egyptian are far greater than those between Old and Middle Egyptian and the time gap of 240 years for the 2nd Intermediate Period is rather less than the 310 years postulated here for the 1st. However, even more important than any linguistic angast of the Hyksos invasions is the fact that while Old and Middle Egyptian both appear to have been based on the spoken language of Memphis in Lower Egypt, New Egyptian was the spoken language of Thebes in Upper Egypt (see Green edg. 1986, pp. 282–3). Thus there was a major regional as well as a temporal distance in the second case.
- 105 Huber (1987a, p. 17) See the Huber (1982). The long' chronology is not the higher chronology proposed by Landsberger and Nagel (see Strommenger, 1964, chart). This is some eighty verus carber stall fit should, however, be pointed out that Huber Las not checked his figures against higher chronologies as thoroughly as against the lower ones. For his dismembering of objections see Astron. (1987). 9-111, pp. 01-3)
- 106. Mellaart (1957, 1958, and 1967). 107. Personal communication from Peter Kuniholm, Cornell October 1990.

- 108. See Maps and Charts
- 109. Mellaart (1982, pp. 31-2)
- 110. Mellaart (1982, pp. 31-2)
- 111 Guines (1973, pp. 229-32); Watkins (1986, pp. 45-8).
- 112. Volume 1, pp. 13-14.
- 113 Lang (1966, pp. 43 4; 1977, p. 76), Burney and Lang (1971, 78 85), Bosch-Gimpera (1980, p. 171), Mellaart (1967, pp. 36-8)
- 114 For the old view, see Mellaart (1967, pp. 29-31)
- 115. Latsen (1976, pp. 80-105).
- 116 For a bibliography of the debate, see Gurney (1973, pp. 232-3). Macqueen (1975, p. 21) and Mellaart (1978, p. 57) plump for the later date.
- Balkan (1955, pp. 58-63). Dendrochronology seems to be on the brink of establishing a date for the destruction, but the free-ring sequences have not yet been anchored to an absolute chronology. See Kumholm and Newton (1989).
- 118. Balkan (1955, pp. 42-3, 58-63).
- 119 Cited by Mellaart (1957, p. 58).
- 120. Larsen (1976, pp. 81-4)
- 121 Mellaart (1958, p. 9) and (1967, p. 37) 1, 1900 BC; (1978, p. 49) 1, 1940 BC.
- 122. Mellaart (1958, p. 10).
- Muhly (1973b, p. 326). For Mellaart's repetitions of his thesis see (1967, pp. 44-5). However, he omits it in 1978
- 124. Bittel (1970, pp. 46-7) For the report of burning, see Mellink (1977, p. 293)
- 125. Kadish (1971, p. 123)
- 126 Mellaart (1958, p. 10).
- 127 Mellaart (1958, p. 14).
- 128. Mellaart (1978, map on pp. 46-7)
- 129 Bisson de la Roque et al. (1953, pp. 7-14), Helck (1971, p. 382). Lot a bibliography on this, see Kemp and Metrillees (1980, p. 290, n. 690). See also Vandier (1972, pp. 260-1).
- 130. Bisson de la Roque et al. (1953, p. 10).
- 131 Pace Kemp and Merrillees (1980, p. 296)
- 132. Davis (1977, pp. 69-78, esp. p. 72; 1974, pp. 46-81); Kemp and Mer rillees (1980, p. 290)
- 133. Porada (1950, pp. 155-62). It is significant that Kemp and Merrillees in ike no mention of the seals which put the cap of futility on their ingenous attempt to downdate the treasure, which mars their otherwise splendid work.
- 134 Bisson de la Roque et al. (1953, p. 9 and plates XLIII-XLIX), Kempand Merrillees (1980, p. 295).
- 135 Posener (1971, p. 540).
- 136 Unpublished but quoted by Posener (1971, p. 543).
- 137. See nn.36-7 above.
- 138. Kemp and Merrillees (1980, p. 295).

139 Erman and Grapow (1982, II, p. 92).

- 140. Farag (1980, p. 78, line q+x). Borghouts (1982, cols 200-4). See below. Helck (1989, p. 29) makes the general connection between the Mit. Rahma inscription and the Tôd Treasure.
- 141. Mellaart (1958, p. 11)
- 142. Dumitrescu (1982, pp. 37-43). Garašanin (1982a, pp. 142-52).
- 143 Dayton (1982a, p. 155)
- 144. Diodoros, L55 6-7.
- 145. See n.49 above.
- 146. Lang (1966, pp. 43-5, 1978, pp. 70-3). Mulily (1973b, pp. 202-6), Mellaart (1982, pp. 22-3).
- 147. Burney (1958, pp. 169-75); Lang (1978, p. 78); Burney and Lang (1971, p. 95).
- 148. Burney (1958, p. 178); Lang (1978, p. 78).
- 149. Burney and Lang (1971, p. 85).
- 150. Lang (1978, p. 76).
- 151. Schaeffer (1948, pp. 514-5).
- Mellaart (1978, p. 47, map). For the high development of metalwork in EBHI Anatolia see Yakar (1985).
- 153. Maxwell-Hyslop (1946).
- 154 Tylecote (1976 p. 21), Yadın (1963 I, pp. 60~2, 173~75); Maxwell Hyslop (1946) Sec also cli. IX, nn. 22—34 below
- 155. Lang (1978, p. 77). See, for instance, the two splendid 12th Dynasty gold-mounted omtinent jars made from Caucasian obsidian illustrated in Wildung (1984, p. 93, plate 82).
- 156 Helck (197) p (89) The main silver and lead mines are those near Sebinkaralism some lifty five miles south of Gresum on the Black Sea and Figain Madeii near Divarbakii on the Upper Euphrates in Central Turkey, See Dayton (1982a, p. 166).
- 157. Gardiner (1947, I, p. 177)
- 158 Farag (1980 p. 78, lines 9 * x and 10 * x). Not only the transcription but the style of these passages is obscure. See for instance the use of dy instead of the more usual idi, and e-idi. Id not do into for beer jugs' but offerings in general as in the determinative for line for (tribute). For this, see Gardiner (1957, p. 530). The reading I propose also involves using 0 myne for 'of' rather than n or neas was common in the Middle Kingdom. The reason for reading \$4 \text{as the foreign country rather than as a 'cake is the reference earlier in the line to \$4 (3). These (copper or bronze of \$0.1.1 am deeply indebted on this point, as for so much else, to Edward Meltzer. He of course bears no responsibility for my conclusions. For another discussion of the writing of \$1 and a reference to \$\frac{1}{2}\$ in the term sitya (Asiatics) in an 14th-Dynasiy inscription, see van Seters (1966, p. 107).
- 159. Farag (1980, p. 77 lines 8±x). I follow Posener (1982, p. 8) in reading the 'bird' before Stras b_b.
- 160. Helck (1971, pp. 295-7, 571).

161. Mulds (1979b, pp. 209 11) doubts even the reports of copper mining

in the region.

162. Genesis (4.22) For the iron-working see Tylecote (1976, p. 40). See also Yakar (1985). See also ch. XI, n. 76. For a discussion of the exchanges between m, p. and b with especial reference to Anatolia, see Bernal (1990, pp. 92–3). See also Helck (1989, p. 28).

163. Helck (1989, p. 28).

164 Cline (1987, p. 28). For further discussion see cli. III, nn. 122 - 4 above

165. See ch. III, n. 122 and Macqueen (1975, p. 18).

166. See above n. 121.

167. See Gardiner (1947, p. 131) and Helck (1971, pp. 282-3). Strange (1980, pp. 169-83) argues that Alashia is not Cyprus, but Wachsmann (1987, pp. 99-102) argues powerfully in favour of conventional wis done Wachsmann's main point—which had been made almost fifty years earlier by Power (1929, p. 156) - was that Alashia could not be a city to the north of Byblos because, in the Amarina Letter 114, Byblos king Rib-Addi saw Alashia as a way of reaching Egypt by avoiding his enemics. Merallices (1987, p. 50) claims, not altogether convincingly, that this argument resembles one put forward by Astour, when the latter mistakenly denied the identification of Tell Mardikh with Ebla on the grounds that the Tell was not on an itmerary described for Ebla-Merrillees is quite right to point out that the identification of Alashia. with Coprils is not as secure as those for rities like Fbla and Ugarit, where the name is attested by abundant local documents. On the other hand, he and his faction provide no alternative location for Alashia and there is no other and-millennium Egyptian. Levantine, Mesopotamian or Hattite toponym for Cyprus. Thus the identification remains extremely plausible. It is strange that Mervillees should refer so frequently to Astom's demand for certainty and his refusal to recognize the plansibility of the identification of Tell Mardikh with Fbla, when he himself makes the same kind of argument over the plausible linkage of Alasha. with Cyprus.

168. Melizer (personal communication, 22 October 1987) and Helck (1989, p. 28). Vercoutter (1956, p. 93, n. 4), noting that its appeared only after the reign of Akhenaten, argued that it must have been preceded by isylisy seems more probable, though isy may also have been used.

169 Farag (1980, p. 79, line 16+x), Posener (1982, p. 8)

170 Cathing (1971, pp. 818-22); Merrillees (1977, pp. 44-6)

- 171, Ward (1901, p. 30) Merrillees (1987, pp. 67-71) gives a thorough survey of the previous literature surrounding this ambiguity. See also Helck (1989, pp. 27-8)
- 172. Bossert (1946, pp. 5-40, 177).

173 Maspero (1886, pp. 361-8). 174 Wainwright (1915, pp. 1-36).

175 Georgacas (1969, pp. 39-41). Vercoulter (1956, p. 181) avoids this problem by simply denying any connection between by and Assuwa. As

Mertillees (1987, p. 36) points out, Vercoutter does this not on philo-

logical but on historical grounds'.

176 Foucart (1914, pp. 2 -3) For more on Foucatt, see Volume 1, pp. 70 264-5-314, 380, 383, 495. Foucatts ideas will be discussed in some detail in Volume 4.

Chapter VI Sesostris the Cultic, Mythical and Legendary Evidence

- Spiegelberg (1927, p. 20) While Spiegelberg was very much a scholar
 of his time his attitude was to my mind—far more open than that of
 Diels (1887, p. 423) or of Savce (1885) or, for that matter, of Armayor
 (1985).
- 2. Simpson (1984a, col. 891).
- 3. Posener (1956, pp. 141-4).

4 See ch. V, n. 45

- 5. Diodoros, Lao, trans. Oldfather, pp. 63 5
- 6. De Iside..., 356A, trans. V. p. 35.
- 7. Volume 1, pp. 115, 461, n. 193
- 8. Volume 1, pp. 142-5.

g. Dörrie (1979)

to Gardiner (1961a pp. 17. 8)

11 For discussions of this, see Posenci (1960 p. 13). Bell (1985a, p. 274): 1985b), Springborg (1990, pp. 200-14). For pharachs and fix ocs, see ch. II, nn. 208—10.

12. See Volume 1, pp. 115-16, and n. 16 below.

13. For the date of the first fragments of the Abxumlo Romanic, see Ratten bury (1933, pp. 220-1).

14 For the 22nd Dynasty, see Gardiner (1961) pp. 326–34). For Manetho's uncertainty on the names, see Fig. 34 and 35, trans. Waddell (1940, pp. 66–9).

15. Alexander Romanice Pseudo Kallisthenes 1342,1344 and III 24

For parallels between the two trachtions, see Rattenbury (1933-pp-219-29), Braun (1938, pp-13-18, 41-2) and West (1977, pp-47-8). The Sesonchosis and Alexander Romances were not the only ones of this type. There were many others notably that of King Ninos and Queen Senuramis, embroideries on the deeds of Assyr an inomarchs of the 9th century. See Rattenbury (1933, pp. 221-6), Braun (1938, pp. 6-18, and, most recently, Pettinnato (1985).

17 Simpson (1953, p. 86). For examples of these and miller num figures from Byblos and Ugarit, see Amer (1977, plates 73-7). For the horns, see the war helmet worn by Naram Sin in the famous stella now in the Louvre, Amiet (plate 49). This, however, is clearly a helmet rather than a crown its peak is much lower than that of the White Crown of Upper

Egypt. 18. See ch. II, n. 187. 19 Simpson (1960, p. 64).

20 Simpson (1960, p. 65); Grdseloff (1942).

21 For an Egyptian example, see Wildling (1984, p. 40, plate 33) For Levantine ones see Amiet (1977, pp. 390-3) For Hittite and Neo-Hittite ones, see Amiet (1977, p. 390). There is a discussion of these figures in the Aegean in ch. XI, nn. 217–24.

22. Porada (1984, p. 486).

23 Herodotos, II, 106.

24. Kadish (1971, p. 123).

25 See the models and relief in the Carro Museum in Wildung (1984,

pp. 175-6, plates 150-1).

- 26 Annet (1977, p. 395, plate 518), Spiegelberg (1927, p. 24) See also Volume 1, pp. 92. 5. For S-t n. Hp, see Gauthier (1925, 34, V, p. 83). The identification of Smope with Se n. H*pv was first proposed by Guignant (1828) but like Griffiths (1970, pp. 396~7), I have been unable to see this.
- 27 Nonnos, III 18 305 71, trans. Rouse (1940, L. p. 127)

28. See Volume, 1, pp. 94-5.

29 See ch. II, n. 123, ch. III, nn. 86. 92 and Apollomus, II 11,178. 533

30. Gauthier (1925-31, III, p. 75).

31 Parke (1967, p. 220).

32. Frazer (1914).

33. Herodotos, II.1-2.

 Herodotos, VII 107-109, trans. de Selmcourt (1954, pp. 478-9)
 Strabo, Geography, VIII 319 and frg. VII. Phys. Natural History, IV 18-11, 40. Paulinus cited in Harrison (1903, p. 371)

35 Cook (1914 40, Lpp 100-1), Parke (1967, p. 159)

36. Gook (1914 Jo. L. p. 371). Parke (1967, p. 280)

37 See Volume 3. This is not to deny that some of this influence may wellhave entered the region in the second half of the 2nd millennium.

38. Lang (1966, pp. 20-2). Just as the Albamans of the Caucasus have nothing to do with the Albanians in the Balkans, the Georgian Iberians have nothing to do with the Iberians of Spain. The local explanation for the name Iberian comes from an Armenian and Persian name Virke given to the Georgians (Lang. 1966, p. 18). However, I find it more plausible that both Iberians and the Hebrews derive their name from the name p bit, common in the Levant in the 2nd millennium Although Moshe Greenberg, in his incliculous study of the name, does not mention it and demonstrates that many 'p bit were settled in or near cities (1955, pp. 86~7). I find the traditional derivation of the trame from the verb abor (to cross over) and ober' (region across), and the general association of ap bri with outlaws, persuasive. It is interesting to note that in both Spain and the Caucasus. Iberians were the un issimilated inland people in contradistinction to the 'civilized' coastal population living in the maritime economy. The basis of the etymology of these place names had been established by Bochart in the 17th century. The name Albanian, like Albany, the old name for Scotland, and Albania from the white cliffs of Dover, and Lebanon, simply comes from the root common to Semitic and Indo-European (a)lbn (white) and hence limestone or snow-covered mountains.

- 39. Strabo, X1 2 16
- 40. Lang (1966, p. 18)
- 41. Herodotos, II. 104 5, trans. de Selincourt (1954, pp. 167-8).
- 42. Lloyd (1967, pp. 161-5, 282-3)
- 43. Herodotos, II.41, trans de Selmcourt (1954, p. 146), Janazbhov (1985, p. 60).
- 44. Lloyd (1976, pp. 192-5).
- 45. See Volume 3 and Borghouts (1980, pp. 33-46)
- 46. Strabo, X1.2.17-18.
- 47. Argonautika, II.402; Jairazbhoy (1985, pp. 59-60)
- 48. According to Eratosthenes, 1225 BC and 1263-1257 BC according to Eusebius: Bacon (1925, p. 143).
- Hesiod (Merkelbach and West, 1983, frgs 68 and 253) from the Catalogue of Women and the Great Low, Loeb, p. 177
- 50. Lang (1966, pp. 65-9).
- 51. Apollonios, IV.260-80.
- 52 See Santillana and von Derchend (1969, pp. 58-9). For the precession of the equinoxes, see Volume 1, p. 126.
- 53. Volume 1, pp. 92-3.
- 54. See Riew intro. to Apollonios, pp. 27 8.
- 55. Herodotos, Il.104-5.
- 56. See ch. II, n. 1.
- Pindar, Pythain Odes, 4+1 See Vradii (1914, pp. 116-17). Prokopios, Wars, VIII.3.10-12.
- 58. Lang (1966 pp. 19-20) English (1959, pp. 49~50)
- 59. Tynes (1973). Blakely (1986, pp. 10 11).
- 60. Blakely (1986, pp. 5-12, 75-80).
- 61. English (1959, p. 53). The references are cited by Bochart (1646, IVXXI, p. 286).
- 6a. See n. 51 above.
- 63. See ch. II, n. 53.
- 64. Apollonios, IV 270-93, trans. Riew, p. 154
- 65. Phaedo, 109B, trans. Fowler, p. 375
- 66 Huad, 8 14. Phaelo, 112 A. For a fascinating and exciting though ultimately not very illuminating discussion of these issues, see Santillana and von Derchend (1977), pp. 179–212).
- 67. See Nagy (1979, pp. 206-7)
- 68 Chantraine has no explanation for the root Pokorny sees an Indo-Furopean root *glolgh borrowed from a foreign culture. The stem *elek[t] *alek[t] (brilliant), the origin of which Chantraine calls 'obscure' would also seem to come from 'hlq in one of two ways. The first is that the root was common to Semitic and Proto-Indo-Luropean and that

* \tilde{a} leh[t] came as a result of the loss of the laryngal h. The second that it was a loan from the Canaanne \sqrt{h} tq after the merger of h with h in that language.

69. Sasson (1980, p. 212, n. 3); Speiser (1967, pp. 25. 6)

70. See Hinz (1973); Carter and Stolper (1984)

71. McAlpin (1974, pp. 89-101; 1975, pp. 105-15).

72. See Rashidi (1985, p. 20).

73. Hinz (1973, pp. 21-2) The 8th-century Flamite version of the Gilgamesh legend found recently in Urariu, the present Armenia, indicates that Elainites shared the general culture of Southwest Asia, including the 'theatrical' convention of actor and chorus. See Diakonoff and Jankspille (1998) 177, 177, 177.

kowska (1990, pp. 109-10).

74. Herodotos, VII.71, trans de Selincourt (1954 p. 168). He does not seem to l'ave been referring to Susan Flamines here, as he refers else where to a Kissian contingent. It is strange, however, that while Hinz points out that the Elamites in Darius army were dressed in Elamite costume, Herodotos describes the Kissians in Xerxes' army as being dressed like Persians, except that they wore turbans (VII 62). Still, uniforms and national costumes can and clo change suddenly.

75 Odyssey, 1.22-5.

76. Herodotes, V.50, trans. de Selmcourt (1954, p. 358).

77. Strabo, XV.3.2; Hinz (1973, p. 99).

78. For possible connections between Kassife and Flamite see Speiser (1930, pp. 122-3). For the vocabitation of Kassife Kossaioi see Speiser (1937, p. 25). For Galzu, etc., see Balkan (1953, pp. 131-2). Galsu is uncomfortably close to Kas in that they could all belong to the same cluster, while the Akkadian rendering of the 4d-of Galdu as -85-looks disturbingly like the later barbarian conquerors of Mesopotamia, the Chaldacans, Kasdim in Hebrew, but Kaldu in Assyrian and Kalday in Aramaic Steiner (1977, pp. 137-43) plansibly posas a fricative lateral Loi South Semiuc of for the original sound. In languages that lacked this consonant, this sound was sometimes rendered as vand sometimes as L. Were both Kassites and Chaldacans originally called kad sub The coincidence is remarkable. However, unlike the Kassites, the Chaldacans seem to have come from the south and were originally Semitic-speaking.

79 Gadd (1973, pp. 224-5).

80 Delitzsch (1884, pp 39-47).

81 Genesis X.8. g. Nimrod played a prominent if villamous role in Jewish folklore and Rabbinical writings. In these, he is credited, among other things, with having built the Tower of Babel. Ginzberg, in his Legends of the Jews (1)68), lists 195 citations to Nimrod in his index.

82. Speiser (1967, pp 41 2) For other Mesopotamian etymologies, see

Gesenius (1953, p. 650).

83 Gardiner (1957, p. 79, 100 1) It is interesting to note that the name is transcribed *Nebröd* in the Septuagint and *Nebrödës* in Josephus, Burton

(1972, p. 167) sees a survival of nb-t-dt in Diodoros, phrase pros ten ton holon dynasteran (acquire empire over the whole world)

84. Speiser (1967, pp. 47-52).

85. Ginzberg (1968, V, pp. 199-201).

Burton (1972, p. 170). Blakely (1986, p. 11) points out there were small 86 Negro communities in Yugoslavia and Iran

See Lloyd (1982, pp. 37-40).

88. Diodoros, Las 6.

89. Herodotos, II 106, trans. de Selincourt, 1954, p. 168.

Hesiod, 1 684, trans. Evelyn-White (1914, p. 153) QO

From Proklos, Krestomanthia, II, in Kinkel (1877, pp. (2-4) q L

92. Clark and Coulson (1978, p. 78).

Nagy (1979, p. 205, 12 n. 3). I believe that the two traditions are even closer than Clark and Coulson and Nagy imagine because, as I shall at gue in Volume 4. I see Apollo as deriving his name and some of his na ture from the Egyptian Hprr, the god of dawn, and thus strictly parallel to Eos. Menunon's mother. This would tend to strengthen Clark and Coulson's case.

94. Sec Lung (1912, pp. 19-27)

os. Lung (1912, pp. 10-12) admits that Memnon was Ethiopian and that he is always represented as being accompanied by Blacks. However, he claims that some early vases show the prince himself as a Greek though many others portray him as a Negro. I do not think that too much sigmheance should be put on this point as another 'barbarian' hero, Orphens, known as a Thracian, was portrayed as a Greek while surrounded by Thraciany See Guthrie (1966, pp. 15-6, plates 4, 6)

o6 Lung (1912, p. 10).

97. Herodotos, V.54; VII. 151

98. Strabo, XV.3.2; Goosens (1939, p. 337)

99 Goosens (1939, pp. 377-8); Snowden (1970, pp. 151-5)

100. Lung (1912 pp to 13), Snowden (1970, pp 15 9, plates 15, 16, 18 and 19).

101. See ch. IX. n. 130

102. Cited in Diodoros, II.22.1-9.

103. For an excellent bibliography of these, see Snowden (1970, pp. 151-3,

104. Ilud. XX.230; Diodoros, II.XXII.3.

105. Iliad, X1.1; Odyssey, V.1

106. For this tangle and the derivation of the name and cult of Dodona from Ddwn and his cult at the oracle of Siwa in the Libyan desert, see

Volume 3.

107. Iliad, I 423. The adjective used for the Ethiopians amymonas (blameless) would seem to be a paranomasia for Amun, with whom, as mentioned in Volume 1, p. 114 and as will be given in more detail in Volume 3, he was generally identified. This, of course, would strengthen the case that Homer was thinking principally of the African Ethiopia

The root mym (blame) in amymonas would appear to come from the West Semitic mim (blemish, disfigurement). The derivation is complicated by the Middle English 'main which has exactly the same meaning. However, 'main' has no known etymology and the whole problem remains unresolved.

- 108. See Rendsburg (1981, p. 198) He claims that the West Semites oriented themselves to the source of the sun in the east while the Egyptians looked to the source of the Nile to the south. Thus ymn, the right hand, was the south and west respectively.
- 109. Robertson-Smith (1894, p. 507). For the association of these gods with spring flowers, see the passages on Hyakinthos in Volume 3.
- 110 For an outline of this see, Volume 1, pp 1175-16. For more detail, see Volume 3.
- 111 For details on this, see Frazer (1914),
- 112 Strabo, XILL2; XVII 2; Aehan, Nat. Anm., VI; Servius on Aewid, 1751. For a general survey, see Frazer (1898, V, p. 387).
- Homer described 'the clamour of cranes ariseth before the face of heaven, when they flee from wintry storms and measureless rain, and with clamour fly toward the streams of Ocean, bearing slaughter and death to Pygmy men.' *Biad*, III.3-7.

The Greek word for 'dwarf', nanos, has no Indo-European cognates and probably comes from the Egyptian noice) (dwarf). There is no doubt that Egyptians had a considerable knowledge about Central AI rica. Not only are there the Den el Bahri reaets, but there is the fact that 12th-Dynasty eye paints have been shown to come from Busumbian Uganda-See Dayton (1982a, p. 164). Pygme (pygmy or boxer) has been derived from byx (fist), the origin of which is itself completely obscure The possible illustration of African boxers in the Thera murals and the certain later associations between Africans and the sport, together with the undoubted ancient location of the pygnues in Ethiopia, would make it likely that the Greek word came from Egyptian or a language from further south. It could be related to the name to the The The usu ally read gub(tu) (a Negro people from Pwnt [Africa reached by sea with light curly hair). This could be either by assuming a transposition *benttw, or with the definite article pr gnb(tu). In any event, the legend of the cranes slaughtering the pygniy men is likely to be related to a pun in (pi)gm 🥱, not actually a crane but a black ibis. The paranomasia involved in the legend would seem to be increased with gml " (find, control, destroy) and gmgm PRP (smash, tear up, etc.).

- 114. See Griffiths (1980a, pp. 49-50).
- 115. Plutarch, De Inde. 359b. Griffiths (1982a, col. 628) stresses the greenish tinge of the blackness in some of the portraits.
- 116. Odyssey, XI.522.
- 117. Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIII. Aelian, Nat Anima, V.
- 118 Huad, XXII 208-13 Murray trans , 1925, II, pp. 469-71. The toot area in awanos, which is present in Mycenaean and means 'pari accorded'

and by extension 'destiny', is supposed to have an Indo-European cognate in the Oscan *delts* (portion). The Greek root would seem equally or more likely to come from the Egypuan isw, Coptic 'asou and 'esou (reward, compensate). The Greek dialect forms *urseov* or *histo* would seem to indicate uncertainty but do not provide substantial objections to the derivation of *toto* or *etsi* (equal in share, number or right) from isw. The English learned prefix *iso* 'comes from this. The Indo-European etymologies proposed for *toto* in Chantraine are hopelessly obscure and cumbersome.

119. See also *Hud*, VIII.60-70, and Dietrich (1964, p. 108) cited in Clark

and Coulson (1978, p. 67).

120 Lung (1912, pp. 20-1) Tomb 3 (Schliemann, 1878, pp. 196-8)

121. Hud, XVI 658, Clark and Coulson (1978) While talant has a clear cut Indo European etyniology. Mhit, the standard Egyptian word for a balance and the beam across it, appears in the Greek mochlos (lever or beam), which occurs in Homer

122 Plutarch, De audiendis poetis, 2, and schol on Hud, VIII 70

183. Lung (1912, pp. 13 - (9), Clark and Coulson (1978, pp. 70 - 1)

124. Gruppe (1906, II, p. 681, n. 7).

125. Lung (1912, p. 20).

126. For this fusion, see Volume 1, p. 141.

187. Glark and Coulson (1978, p. 71).

128. See Lung (1912, p. 14)

129. Hud, XXIII 78. This sense of ker is emphasized by Malten (1924, col. 885). Parvulescii (1968) demonstrates clearly that ker cannot simply mean 'doom' or 'death', but he is less convincing when he argues that it means 'suffering'.

130. For the Anthesicia, see Parke (1977, pp. 116-17). See ch. IV, n. 123.

for the Egyptian origin of the stem auth. in Anthesteria

131. For a survey of this mimensely dense semantic field, which was further contaminated by the word ki (bull strength), see Kaplony (1980) cols 275–82). He provides a substantial bibliography in his notes. For a discussion of the political function of kcin Egypt and later Europe in political thought, see Springborg (1990) pp. 89–117).

132. See Erman and Grapow (1925 31, V, p 86)

133. Pokorny (1959-bo, I, pp 917, 957) He transcribes them as skin, ska-

194. Gardiner (1957, p. 417, 511.4).

135. Chantraine (1968–75, pp. 1295–6) admits this group has no known Indo European origin, but the resourceful Pokoriv (1959–60–1, p. 146) invented a root, *bless (breath, blow) upon it. It is of course possible that some or all of these etymologies came simply from 3a, without the article, as it seems clear that the letter Ψ was used to represent several indistinct sibilants and that the initial p-was added as a hypercorrection to words that sounded Egyptian. See Bernal (1990, pp. 118–19).

Coptic contains the word som (incense-perfume). Cerny (1976, p. 257).

derived it from hav (flowers). However, given some (dry) and sens (empty), both of which come from vie some must have been at least contaminated by them. In any event, this provides a neat analogy for the Greek word thumos (spirit or soul) which derives from an Indo-European toot for 'smoke', found in our fume'. For the Egyptian onto (to cense) and what I believe to be its Greek derivative santhos, see below.

- 136. Gardiner (1957, p. 173)
- 137. Volume 1, p. 93
- 138. Pausamas, H1 3 8. Levi (1971, H, p. 17).
- 139 Pausanias, X 31 3, Levi (1971, I, p. 487).
- Ljo. See above, n. 89
- 111 See Goosens (1939) and Gardiner (1961b).
- 142. For a bibliography on this, see Frazer (1898, H. pp. 530 1)
- 143. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, nos. 4731 and 4727.
- 141. Pausanias, 1.42.1; Levi (1971, J. pp. 116 17).
- 145. Goosens (1939, p. 339)
- 146 Gardiner (1961b, pp. 95-6)
- 147. Strabo, XVII (137) 42. Gardiner (1961b, p. 96) assumes that there was confusion between the Greek word labyrinth and Egyptian names. For the argument that the name labyrinth comes from another title, Ny-mg (-Rf, used for Amenembe III), see ch. IV, no. 117–10.
- 148 For the many different versions of Manetho on this, see Waddell (1940, pp. 62-73).
- 149 For the Egyptian origins of this myth, see Volume 1, p. 115
- 150. See above, 11 92
- 151. See ch. V, n.51, and above, nn. 12-16
- 152. Lane Fox (1980, pp. 38-46, bibliography for ch. 1)
- 153. See ch. V. nn. 121-5
- 154. See ch. V, nn. 163-6
- 155. Strabo, XVII 1 34. Diodoros, I 50 4 See Gardmer (1947/1I, pp. 126-7)
- 156 Hind, V 640- 5, Diodoros, IV.32, Apollodoros, II 6-4, For other anciensources, see Frazer (1921, I, pp. 244-5) and Graves (1955, II, p. 174).
- 157. See ch. II, nn. 172-83
- 158. Herodotos, II 12-5 For a demal that the Egyptians ever had a system of twelve gods and sceptical analysis of the passage, see Lloyd (1976, p. 202).
- 159. Diodoros, III. 713. (trans. Oldfather (1935. p. 331)
- 160 Servius on Aenerd, V.30 Tretzes on Lykophron 472, Hyginus Fabula 80 For an iconographic representation of him as an African Black see the portrait of him attacking King Busius on the famous Cacretan hydrin
- 161. See above, nn. 13-15.
- 162. See n. 51 above.
- 163, Aldred (1971, p 113).
- 164. See ch. V, nn. 142-3
- 165 Hybris is unexplained in terms of Indo-European, although Szemerens. (1974a, p. 154) sees it as coming from an unattested Hatito Lavian

form *Hu(wa)ppar It would seem to me altogether more plausible to derive it from the attested Egyptian wrib, literally great heart but with the meaning insolent. One is reminded of Aesop's lable of the frog and the bull. The initial aspiration in Greek is automatic with upsdim

166. Gibbon (1794, p. 137). See Volume 1, p. 185.

Chapter VII The Thera Exuption

 La Marche and Hirschbeck (1984, pp. 124-6). Kelly and Sear (1985, pp. 740-3) claim that the temperature drops were rather less.

McCoy (1980); Stanley and Sheng (1986).

3. See Marmatos (1930). For surveys of earlier theorizing along these lines, see Ramage (1978, pp. 39-41) and Vitaliano (1978, pp. 143-4).

4. See Doumas (1983, pp. 11-14, 29-42).

5. Pomerance (1970, 1978)

6. Pomerance (1970; 1978).

7. Personal communication. New York City, December 1983.

8. Stanley and Sheng (1986, p. 783). q. Stanley and Sheng (1986, p. 798).

- 10. Betancourt and Weinstein (1970), Betancourt, Michael and Weinstein (1978).
- 11. Åström (1978, p. 88).

12. Cadogan (1978).

13. Kemp and Merrillees (1980, p. 259).

14. Warren (1979a, pp. 106-7).

15. Marthari (1980).

16. Betancourt (1987, p. 45).

17. Michael (1977, p. 794).

- 18. Weinstein and Michael (1978, p. 208).
- 19. Lamarche and Hirschbeck (1984, pp. 124-5)

20. Matthews (1976, p. 610).

- 21 Lamarche and Hirschbeck (1984).
- 22. Baillie and Munto (1988), Baillie (1988a, 1988b-1989b).

23. Pang and Chou (1984).

24. Plutarch (Caesar, 53.1) reports very much the same phenomena after the death of Caesar in 44 86. There is a discrepancy in the years here, but there is very hitle doubt that they are describing the same phenomena.

25. Ban Gu (1959, IX, pp. 297-9, 1959, XXVII.2 2, p. 2377, 1959, XXVII. 3,2, p. 2452).

26. For a survey of this debate, see Shaughnessy (1985-7) See also Novison (1983), Pang (1987, pp. 142-3) and Hsu and Linduff 1988, pp. 387-90).

27. Chen Mengjai (1977, p. 53); Nivison (1983), Pankemer (1981 - 2).

- 28. Pankenier (1981-2, p. 25).
- 29. Pang (1987, pp. 147-8).

30. Paug (1987, pp. 147-8). He cites Chen Zongguer (1984, p. 1009).

31. Pankemer (1983, p. 5).

32. Pang, Espenak, Huang, Chou and Yau (1988, p. 9)

33. Pang, Espenak, Huang, Chou and Yau (1988, p. 10), Shaanx, Zhouynan Kaogu Dui (1979).

34 Pang, Yiu, Chou and Wolff (1988, pp. 6-8).

35 Pang, Espenak, Huang, Chou and Yau (1988, p. 19)

36 A date of r 1100 would also fit the chronology of the Japanese Instorian Shirakawa Shizuka, who puts the Zhou Conquest at 2087 BC, see Hsia and Linduff (1988, p. 300). But this does not have eather the astronomical backing or the traditional authority of that of Paug and his colleagues.

37. Baillie (1989a); Keys (1988).

38. Pang and Chou (1984).

39 See (Gio Zhushu Jinuan (Bamboo Annals), in Wang Guowei (194), XXVI.I, p. 7b)

40 See the Songshu, Furunda cited by Wang Guowei (1941, XXXVIII, p 27a).

41 'Taishi', 'Great Speech', and 'Wucheng', 'Successful Wat', in 'Zhoushu', 'The Book of Zhou in the Shuping (Book of History)

42 Shuping (Book of History) 'Tang shi', 'Speech of Tang' 1.3., 'Zhonghui zhi Gao', 'Announcement of Zhonghui', H 2 'Tang gao', 'Announcement of Tang' V. Pang and Chou (1985).

43. Pang (1985, p. 10; 1987, p. 145).

44 Keightley (1983, p. 525) See also the personal communication from the archaeologist Gao Ming to Kevin Pang in 1985, cited in Pang (1987, p. 146)

45 Mencius VII.2.38.

46 Pang (1987, pp. 144-6), Pang, Espenak, Huang, Chou and Yau (1988, p. 10)

47. Volume 1, pp. 42-3,

48. Betancourt (1987, pp. 45-6).

49. Betancourt (1987, p. 46).

50 See Palmer (1969), pp 64~4) and Pomerance (1984). Evans was defended by Hood and supported by Heick though the latter maintained that MMIII began in 1610 BC. Sec Helck (1979), pp. 48–9). For further bibliography on the hd and its context, see Cline (1987), p. 31).

51 Warren (1987, pp. 209-10).

52 Warren (1987, p. 210).

53. Hammer, Clausen and Dansgaard (1980, pp. 230-5).

54. Hammer, Clausen Friedrich and Tauber (1987)

55. Cadogan (1987).

56. Manning (1988).

57. Manning (1988).

58. Hammer, Clausen, briedrich and Tauber (1988) Manning has now

(1990) come round to their view on this. Nevertheless, he is more convinced than ever that the radio carbon dating points to the 17th century.

59. Aitken (1988), Michael and Betancourt (1988a b), Warren (1988)

60. Personal communication, Colin Rentrew, Cambridge, December 1988

61. Baillie (1989b).

63 See the discussion in Morgan (1988, pp. 166-7)

64. Herodotos, 1V.147.

65 Chantrame (1968–75, 1 p. 193) and Pokorny (1959–69, 1, p. 193). The labiovelar is deduced from the existence of the word pher, which in Homer occurs only in the plinal forms phersin (Iliad, 1 208) and pheros (Iliad, 11 713), meaning 'centaurs' but later seen as cognate with their. This suggests that both came from an earlier labiovelar. It would seem more plausible to me to derive a Greek *phers (centaur) from the Semitic pro (horseman) and to link thêr to an Indo European root, *dêr or, conventionally, *dher, cognate with the root *doores or *dheroes from which we would obtain our 'deer' and the German Tier (wild animal).

66. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 577).

67. Friedrich (1933, p. 67)

68. Albright (1912, pp. 151~3, 210), Filenbogen (1962, p. 84).

69. Diakonoff and Starostin (1986).

70. Dolgopolskii (1987, p. 5).

71. Egyptian also has kw (miner, dig a hole) the Demotic guerland Coptic kow (pivot, hole drilled in the door base) strengthen the idea that it was commonly vocalized with a win Egyptian.

72. Pomerance cites some of his predecessors (1970, p. 19). Since he wrote, the Egyptologist Goedicke has joined in Sec.n. 80 below.

73. Exodus 10. 20-3.

74 Exodus 13. 20-1.

75. Pomerance (1970, p. 19) does not address this problem

See, for instance, Exodus 3/2, 19/18 and 34/5. Deuteronomy 4/24 and
 g. 3 and many other instances.

77. Exodus 14. 21-8.

78. Exodus 15. 8-10.

79. See n. 8 above

80. Pomerance (1970, p. 19) and Khramalkov (1981, p. 52). Goedicke (1986, pp. 40-1) read into a note on the back of the Rhind Papyrus a reference to the 'Voice of Seth-Tollowed by the next day of Isis by a precipitation of the sky. These phenomena took place in the 11th year of an unnamed pharaoh, whom Goedicke takes to be Ahmose, the first ruler of the 18th Dynasty, whose reign he sets very low in the 2nd half of the 16th century. The 'Voice of Seth' and the precipitation associated with Isis do suggest volcanic events, the noise of the explosion followed a day later by the fall of tephra. He points out that this cannot refer to the normal epagonomenal or extra days dedicated to the gods. However,

the passage is extremely obscure and I shall argue in the next chapter (n=22) that the rith year is more likely to tally with the reign of the Hyk sos pharaoh Apopt, in whose reign it is generally accepted that the Rhind Papyrus was copied. In any event, Goedicke's specific hypothesis talls with the re-dating of the Thera eruption.

81. For a translation of the crucial passage in the text and a discussion, see Gardiner (1946, p. 46 and 1961a, p. 273). See also ch. VIII. n. (48

82 Albright (1957, pp. 255-6).

83 See Pomerance (1970, p. 20).

84. Volume 1, p. 107.

85. Herodotos, IV. (47. trans. de Selincourt (1954, p. 319)

86. Astour (1967a, p. 114).

87. Astour (1967a, p. 389).

88. See ch. VI, nn. 42-54

89. Argonautika, IV. 1694-98. Seaton, 1912, pp. 408-11.

90. Argonautika, IV. 1706-18. Scaton, 1912, pp. 411-13

91 See Farnett (1895-1909, IV, 365) and Strabo X 5 1

92. Genesis 9. 11-14

93 Genesis 1 2

94. Black Athena, Volume 1, p. 107.

95 This is told most fully in Ovid's Metamorphosis 1 755-80. For a rich survey of this myth, see Ahl (1985, p. 394). It recounts that Phaethon son of Helios (the sum) yoked his father's charlot but was unable to keep it on its proper course and drove it too high, causing the earth to freeze, and too low scorching it. Enraged, Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt and Phaethon fell to earth. As the Egyptian priest claimed, the substance of the myth was to explain mereocological abnormalities. The name Phaethon would seem to come from an intricate network of Egypto-Greek paranomasia or punning. Phaethon, presumably from the Greek root phare (shine) is used by Homer as an epithet for Helios (the sun). However, Phaethôn in the myth would also seem to derive from a number of Egyptian titles. The first of these is Peldnew), or the Demotic Pr ltnw (the deputy). The derivation of phash om pican also be seen in the month name Pharmuthi from Pernnwt. The second title, which also appears as an aspect of the story, is Pelin, with the probable vocalization *pa_attun (the solar disk), the fund is Politi (the rival or the enemy) Finally, there is the phrase found in Coptic e p itn, which was substan tivized into the word epith (space leading downward). Thus the whole of the Greek myth would seem to be contained in the interplay of these roots

- 96. Plato, Timarus, 22-3, trans. Bury pp. 33-5
- 97. Plato, Timdeus, 24-5, trans. Bury pp. 41-3

98. Steuerwald (1983, p. 11),

99. Ramage (1978, pp. 23, 32-3)

100 The tradition of complete belief can be seen as early as Plato's first commentator Krantor (335 275 Br) - see Ramage (1978, pp. 23-45) for

this and later credulity. In 1987 the American writer Mary Settegast set out the same position in a beautifully produced book.

- 101. Luce (1978) pp. 70-71, pace Fredericks (1978) who combines extreme scepticism towards any suggestion of a connection between Plato's story and the remarkably congruent reality of the Thera eruption with intercredulity towards Arvanist classical scholarship.
- 102. The first recorded identification of America as Plato's Atlantis was by Francesco Lopez de Gómara in 1553 (see Ramage 1978, p. 30), but the connection must have been made sooner.
- 103. Volume 1, p. 486, n. 168
- 104. Herodotos, 1V.42. See also Bartolini (1988, pp. 74-5).
- 105. Saint Martin (1863, p. 154) and Steinhauser (1937, pp. 229-36).
- 106. Steinhauser (1937, pp 233-5)
- 107. See Strabo, 17.825, and Plins, Nat. Hist., 5 5-16
- 108. Hanno, Periplous, 7.14.
- 109 Hesiod, Hangons, 509 746, and Odyses, 1-52
- 110. See, for instance, Evelyn-White (1914, p. 93)
- 111, Budge (1904, II, pp. 85–94). There will be a more detailed discussion of I min the section on Artemis in Volume 4, For Herakles and Shu, see th. II, nn. 185–90. For the cluster of words written & see th. VI, nn. 134–5.
- Herodotos, IV 184, trans de Selmcourt (1954, p. 333), is slightly misleading when he refers to the Atlantes being named after 'the mountains'; the word is in fact in the singular.
- 113. Hestod, Theogons, 746 50. For the relation between Shu and Herakles, see above ch. II, nn. 198–203.
- 114. Herodotos, IV.187-8.
- 115 Herodotos, IV 50 Georgiev (1966, p. 134) derives Athrys from the Germanic *attel
- 116 Sec ch. VI, n.66
- 117. Hesiod, Works and Days, 383 and The Astronomy, frg. 1, trans. Evelyn-White (1914, p. 66) See also Apollodoros, III 10.
- 118. For a survey of the scholiast literature on this, see Frazer (1921, II, pp. 2-3, n. 1).
- 110 Servius on Virgil, Georgics, L.138.
- 120. Odyssey, I 52
- 121. Theogony, 359-64.
- 122. Ch. II, nn 35 6 See also Roschet (1881 1937, III, col. 816) and Onians (1988, pp. 248-50, 315-17).
- 123. Ch. II, nn. 35-6
- 124 Astour has proposed this orally (personal communication, David Owen)
- 125. See Jacobsen (1976, pp. 168-71).
- 126, Walcot (1966, pp. 27-53); Omans (1988, pp. 247-9, 316-18).
- 127 There is clearly a great deal of confusion about this final \(\tau\) See Pokorny (1959-69, L. pp. 78-80). Bomhard's solution is to postulate two distinct stems in Indo European \(\tilde{\text{thyee}}\) (to rain, sprinkle) and \(\tilde{\text{wet}}\) (to be wet).

However, he admits that the two stems 'overlap semantically' (1984, p. 121). There would seem to be another example, apart from litik, of the root in Afroasiatic in the Arabic oued or undi (water course). See Partridge (1958, p. 798).

- 128 For an extended discussion of this, see Gardiner (1947, II, pp. 156-68)
- 129. Ellenbogen (1962, p. 80).
- 130. Diodoros, 1.96.7.
- 131 Horapollo, I 21 See Budge (1904, I, p. 284)
- 132 See Luce (1969, 1978). Ramage (1978) and Fredericks (1978),
- 133 See Sandars (1978, p. 119), Astour (1967a, p. 11) and Volume 1, p. 446,
- 134 Plato (Timaeus, 25, trans. Bury, pp. 41-3). Luce (1978, p. 62) points out the general parallel, though he is more inclined to see it as the influence of the well-known relief of the defeat of the Peoples of the Sea rather than as indicating any knowledge of the text.
- 135. See Gardiner (1947, I, pp. 197~9)
- 136. Plato, Timaeus, 25, trans. Bury, p 43
- 137 Helck (1979, pp. 140-7) puts the chief destructions of Mycenae, Triyns and Pylos in the early 12th century. While Snodgrass (1971, pp. 28-34) would accept these dates for the Southern Peloponnese he sees them as too early for Mycenae. The Greek tradition puts the final attack around 1120 BC. Sec Hammond (1975, pp. 682-706).
- 138. Kritias, 110B.
- 139. Parian Murble, II 1-18. See also Apollodoros, III.14. For a discussion, see Frazer (1921, pp. 88-96).
- 140. Parian Marble, IL4-7.
- 141 See Luce (1969, pp. 145-7, 1978, pp. 70-1) [I do not accept his chionology here] For China, see n-32 above, also Baillie (1989ln)
- 142 Plato, Timaeus, 25, trans. Bury, p. 43
- 143. Kritias, 113-21.
- 144. For the numerology, see McClain (1976, pp. 161-201).
- 115. See ch. VIII, nn. 111-26.
- 116. Keys (1988).
- 147. Keys (1988), Baillie (1989a).
- 148. Keys (1988).
- 149 Carpenter (1966, esp. pp. 14-21). Bryson Lamb and Donley (1974)
- 150. Bintliff (1977, I, p. 51); Shrimpton (1987, pp. 140-4).
- 151. See below, ch. XI, nn. 191-9
- 152. See below, ch. XII, nn. 135-7
- 153 Labat (1975, pp. 500-3)
- 154. Baillie (1989a).
- 155. See nn. 37~52 above.
- 156. Mencius, VII.II.iu i
- 157. Creel (1951, p. 111, n.7).
- 158. Jaspers (1949)
- 159. Schwartz (1975, pp. 4-5).

- 160. The priority and centrality of Greece to the concept of the Axial Age can be seen from the latest major volume on the subject. In this, the first 126 pages (out of 483) are devoted to Greece. See Eisenstadt (1986).
- 161. Volume 1, pp. 276-80.
- 162. Boyce (1979, pp. 18-19) places Zoroaster in the first half of the 2nd millennium. Sir Harold Badey puts him at around the 11th century (personal communication, Gambridge, December 1988). For a further bibliography of works in favour of a 2nd-nullennium date, see Kingsley (1990, p. 245, it. 4). Kingsley also argues convincingly that it was the Greek legend of Pythagoras' having studied with Zoroaster rather than any native Trantan traditions that led to the 6th-century dating of the Iranian prophet.
- 163 For a sceptical view of Confucius' rehance on the past, see Fung (1952, I, pp. 56-7). For a more open one, see Cicel (1951, pp. 153-9).
- 164. Moule and Yetts (1957, pp. xit-xvt)
- 165. Keightley (1983, p. 521)
- 166. Chang (1980, pp. 322 9)
- 167. See n. 44 above.
- 168. 'The Announcement of Lang', Shu-ching, IVIII 5-6, trans Legge (1972, p. 188).
- 169. Fung (1952, I, p. 30).
- 170. Guizlaff (1838 p. 306), cited in Legge (1972, 111, p. 190)
- 171. Schwartz (1985, pp. 23-55).
- 174. Hsu and Linduff (1988, p. 11).
- 173. Hsu and Linduff (1988, p. 26).
- 174 Needham (1954-, II, pp. 132-9).
- 175. Schwartz (1985, pp. 32-6)
- 176. Karlgren (1957, p. 104)
- 177. Shima (1958, p. 214), Hsu and Linduff (1988, p. 106)
- 178 Hsu and Linduff (1988, p. 106).
- 179. Karlgren (1957, p. 104)
- 180. For a bibliography of these arguments, see Hsn and Linduff (1988, p. 107, n. 90).
- 181. Hsu and Linduff (1988, p. 106).
- 5hiping. 111 (1,6-7) and 1V (3,1) Katlgren (1950, pp. 186-9; Odes 235-6) David Keightley points out that the term Tianning does not appear on bronze inscriptions dating to the beginning of the Dynasty and argues that they should be dated only to the reign of the Dynasty's third ruler. King Kang some thirty years later (personal communication Berkeley, April 1980). This is interesting but would seem to me to be a case of inisplaced precision to deny that the odes containing the term were written shortly after the Zhou conquest.
- 183. Shiping, III.1.I 3.
- 184. Quoted in Schwartz (1985, p. 46).
- 185. 'Speech of Tang', Shu choig, IV I 3, cited by Mencius, I II iv 4

186. Mencius, II.H.xii.g. See Shaughnessy (1985-7, p. 38).

187 Needham (1954 -, III, p. 408), Pang (1985, p. 21, 1987, pp. 151-2)
See also Pang, Espenak, Huang, Chou and Yau (1988, p. 17).

188, Mencius, II.II.xiii.3 See Shaughnessy (1985-7, p. 38).

180 Mencius, 11 va 6

190 Schiffrin (1968, pp. 99-100).

191. Ch. H. nn. 64-71.

Chapter VIII

1. See ch. V. nn. 70-2.

2. See ch. V. 11.70.

3. von Beckerath (1965, p. 165).

1. von Beckerath (1965, p. 70); Gardiner (1961a, p. 440).

5 See Gardiner (1959, p. 17 and plate H1). For an appreciation of Ibscher see Gardiner (n.d., pp. 47–50).

6 Van Seiers (1966, p. 155). Kempinsky (1985, pp. 132-3).

7. Albright (1945; 1965, pp. 54-7); Hayes (1973a, p. 49), von Beckerath (1965, p. 222), Helck (1971, pp. 95-6).

8. Kitchen (1967, pp. 50-3).

9 Helck (1971, pp. 64-6).

10. Kitchen (1987, p. 48).

Kitchen had already seen the necessity of distinguishing the two if one accepted a high Mesopotamian chronology (1967, p. 53)

13 Stock (1955, p. 62) was working from the base-line of the end of the 12th Dynasty in the 1780s. Thus, working with a final date of c. 1801, I have raised Stock's dates by approximately ten years.

14 Manetho, 11gs 43 1, trans Waldell (1940, pp. 90 5)

15. Manetho, figs 48-9, trans. Waddell (1940, pp. 95-9).

16. von Beckerath (1965, p. 223), Helck (1971, pp. 95-6), Bietak (1979, pp. 235-6, 1980, col. 101, 1984, p. 173), Kitchen (1987, p. 44)

17. Parker (1976, p. 186).

18. Krauss (1985, pp. 63-7; 109-10).

19. Kitchen demolishes Krauss's argument; see (1987) p. 12).

20 Hayes (1973, pp. 60-4).

21 For the rregularities of the dating and the uncertainties of the translation see Goedicke (1986, pp. 37-8). The second line in the note refers to one entering Heliopolis and seems to mention an attack on the frontier fortress of 5tle. Goedicke maintains that this refers to the expulsion of the Hyksos. Apart from the great uncertainty as to whether Hyksos are mentioned at all it is interesting that the references are to Heliopolis and 5tle rather than the Hyksos capital Avaris, the siege of which played a great role in the 18th Dynasty myths of reconquest. All in all, it seems

inlikely that the text refers to the expulsion of the Hyksos. However, Goedacke's Lypothesis that the third line is a meteorological report—based on earlier work by Erman—is given greater credibility by the strong possibility that the rith year of Apophis was approximately 1628 BC. See cli. VII, it 80. However, the whole scheme remains extremely uncertain.

- 22. von Beckerath (1965, pp. 193-4).
- 23. Winlock (1947, p. 96, n. 21).
- 24. von Beckerath (1605, pp. 130 1) calls him the 2nd. Gardiner (1901a, p. 158) and Hayes (1973, p. 60) place him as the 3rd, while Bietak (1980, col. 95) saw him as the 4th. Later, however, Bietak (1984, p. 174) accepted Kempinski's view that KLyan should be dentified with Apachnan and was therefore the 3rd Hyksos pharaoh.
- 25. Kempinski (1985, pp. 131-4).
- 26. See ch. VII, nn. 49 and 50
- 27 Stock (1955, p. 69), von Beckerath (1965, p. 134), Bietak (1984, p. 474), Kempinski (1985, p. 132)
- 28. For the matching of the strata of Kerma and Tell El Daba a, see Bietak (1984, p. 475). Bietak of course still holds to the low absolute chronology for both
- 29. Stock (1955, pp. 66-7), von Beckerath (1965, pp. 154-5), Kempuski (1985, pp. 132-3)
- 30. von Beckerath (1965, pp. 134-5), and Kempinski (1985, pp. 132-3)
- 31. Kempinski (1985)
- 32. Bietak (1984, pp. 476-7).
- 33. Kenyon (1973, p. 111), Cole (1984).
- 31. Personal communication, J. Weinstein, 30 January 89. In fact, Rdl Réscarabs have been found in late 12th Dynasty contexts at El Kubani veli Soiati see Kemp and Merrillecs (1980, p. 218).
- 35. Bietak (1984, p. 479)
- 36. See n. 13 above.
- 37. Bietak (1979, p. 235)
- 38. Bietak (1984, p. 479)
- 39. Ward (1987, pp. 531-2).
- 40. Bietak (1984, p. 472)
- 41 BM 1165 and BM 1225 See Shaw (1985, p. 312, and Bietak (1979, p. 255)
- 42 For a discussion of this debate up to the 1960s, see Van Seters (1966, pp. 98–103). Sec also von Beckerath (1965, pp. 101–2). Parker's (1957) low and Kitchen's still lower dates (1987, p. 52). for the 18th Dynasis would now seem to be intenable in the light of Casperson's work (1986) on the lunar dates of Tuthinosis III.
- 43 See you Beckerath (1965, pp. 262-3). Van Seters (1966, pp. 101-2) misprints Raht for what should be Raht For the possibility that Raht tentry into the fertile land) is the origin of the common Greek toponym Laris(s)a, see Volume 1, pp. 76 and 452.

- 14 For a survey of that conventional wisdom, see you Beckerath (1965, p. 82).
- 15. Van Seters (1966, pp. 101-2).
- 16. Van Seters (1966, p. 101, n. 22).
- 17 Exodus 6.25 and clsewhere. Another Pinhas, also a priest's son, appears. Trequently in I Samuel. See no. 140–7 below.
- 48 For Suncon as another name for African Black, see ch. X, nn. 155-9
- 19. Bietak (1979, p. 255).
- 50. Van Seters (1966, p. 101).
- 51. See above, nn.9-14.
 - 52. Gardiner (1961, p. 160).
 - 53. Josephus, Contra Apionem, 111, trans as Manetho fig. 42, Waddell (1940, pp. 79-85).
 - 54 See, for instance, Meyer (1928-36, Lz, p. 313)
 - 55 See for instance, Gardiner (196)(a, pp. 156-7) and Van Seters (1966, p. 3) See also the discussion of the name in Volume 1, p. 97
- 56 Stock (1955, p. 63). Haves (1973a, pp. 52 -3)
- 57 Gardiner and Gunn (1918, p. 38, n. 5)
- 58. For a survey of 19th century views on the Hyksos see Griffith (1911) See below for the discussion of the relation between the Hyksos and the Exodus.
 - 59. Meyer (1884, I, pp. 133-4).
- 60 For descriptions of this controversy, see Petrie and Walker (1909, I, pp. 237-30) and Hall and Ising (1906, p. 136)
- 61 For Muller's life and autudes see Chaudhuri (1974)
- 62 See Muller (1848, p. 7) For the text of this inscription at Speos Arteniadoros, see Sethe (1906—9, IV.s, p. 390).
- 13 There was a debate on this in the 1930s—on the possible link between the Halatian ware found in Northern Mesopotania and Syria from the 6th and 5th nullebriums and the Hurrians of the 2nd—the general conclusion of which was that the gaps were far too great to tolerate any connection. See, tor instance von Soden (1937 p. q.) and Albright (1930 p. 121). While it is virtually impossible that there was any continuity from the early Halatian ware to the painted pottery of the Hurrians in the 2nd inflemnum, the attestation from Ebla of the presence of Hurrian speakers in 3rd inflemnum Syria and the general association between Semitic speech and the Ubaid ware that replaced the Halafian, argued in Hiozny (1947 pp. 47–9), seem to me to open up the question again (see also Volume 1, p. 12). For Hurrian in the 3rd millennum, see Kammenhuber (1977, pp. 133–5) and Pettinato (1981 p. 27).
 - 6q. It is not just tacists like Wolfram Nagel (1987, pp. 169-70) who see it in this way. The respectable Indo-Europeanist Mallors (1989, pp. 37-8) agrees too.
 - 65 For the Kassites see ch. V. Labove, in 79-80. The Indic names of their gods is disputed. See Mallory (1989, p. 38).

66 For the Mitania, see Mever (1907a). For the quotation, see Mever (1909a. Liu, p. 291).

67. Sethe (1910b).

68 Breasted (1906, 11, p. 125) See also Gardiner (1936, pp. 37-8) Gardiner's translation runs. 'Even from the time when the Asiatics were in Avairs in the Northland (with) roving hordes in the midst of them overwhelming what had been made....'

69 Burchardt (1912a)

70 Cook (1924, pp. 232-3)

71. Hall (1924, p. 317).

72. Meyer (1925, p. 253).

73 Meyer (1928 36, lar, pp. 345 19). The association between the Hyksos and Central Asia was still reupting other scholars in the 1920s, see for instance, Peake and Fleure (1927, p. 202).

74. Wolf (1929)

75 Mironov (1933) especially pp. 150-701

76. Labib (1936, pp. 3-8).

77. Engberg (1939, pp. 47, 49)

78. Junker (1933, p. 105).

79. Stock (1955, p. 71).

86 Stock (1955, p. 74). The reference to Gotze's work was to his (1936, p. 99).

81. The Hittitologist Gotze was in fact a refugee from Nazism but he too was influenced by the same forces. See his (1930, pp. 99, 105-6) and you Soden (1937, pp. 14-17).

82 For a good example of this see Albright's splendid review of Der Aufstieg des Assierreichs—by then Nazi Assierlologist Wolfram von Soden (1930). Lam grateful to Peter Daniels for this reference.

89. Säve-Söderbergh (1951).

84. Mendenhall (1962).

85 Sec Gardiner (1947, L.p. 185, 1961a, pp. 156-7)

86. de Vaix (1967, pp. 18) (503). Alt (1954). For the Execution Texts' see Posenet (1940, 1975) and Helck (1971, pp. 44-67).

87 von Beckerath (1965) pp 114 19), van Seters (1966, pp 181 90), Hayes (1973, pp. 54-5).

88. Helck (1971, pp. 101-3).

8g. for references to this see Gardiner (1947, L.pp. (8) 7).

90 Examples of this can be seen in the name of the Mitamian king Tushiratta (chariot of terror), the name Bardashwa (many horses) in Indicused among Hurrians in Nuzi, and the name Zurata (one who owns a good chariot), used by a prince of Accho in Palestine, For a discussion of these, see Drews (1988, pp. 150–1).

91 For a list of Egyptian and other references to Mariannu in the 15th and 14th centuries, see Helck (1971, pp. 482-7).

92. Van Seters (1966, pp. 186-7).

93. Van Seters (1966, p. 185)

- 04. For Hattusili I, see Kammenhuber (1977, p. 193). A similar argument is made for the absence of Hurrian names during the reign of Hair murabi's successor at Babylon, Samsuduna. See Kammenhuber (1977). p 132) However, following the long chronology his reign would now be put as beginning in 1806, rather than at 1750 or 1686 BC as accordmg to the middle and low chronologies
- 95. Bietak (1983). For Bietak's latest ideas on this, see the interview with Netl Asher Silberman (1989, pp. 147-52).

96. Helck (1968, p. 148).

- 97. See Mallory 1989, pp. 40-4) and Yadin (1963, pp. 30-8, 74).
- 98. Littauer and Crouwel (1979, pp 51, 61) See also Drews (1988) pp. 96-7).

uq. Dakonoff (1972, pp. 91-120),

too. See ch. V. nn. 55-6.

101. Chirschman (1977, pp. 3-10, 25-32).

102. For a discussion of these arguments, see Mallory (1989, pp. 39-41).

103 Kammenhuber (1977, pp. 220-3).

104. Mallory (1989, p. 41),

105. Littauer and Crouwel (1979, pp. 51-68).

106. This is the position taken by Drews (1988, pp. 136-57)

107. Hermes (1936, pp. 393-4)

108. Mallory (1989, p. 42).

toq. Kupper (1973, p. 36).

110. Kenyon (1973, p. 115).

111 Bietak (1984, p. 476) See also Kemp and Metrillees (1980, pp. 96-8)

112 See the extended discussion on this in Van Seters (1966, pp. 27-37)

113. See ch. V, n.69, and Van Seters (1986, pp. 33-7).

Van Seters (1966, pp. 28-9).

115. Petrie (1952, p. 3).

116. Ch. V. nn. 55-7.

117. Gardiner (1916, p. 107).

118 For this inscription, see Sethe (1906 9, IV, pp. 1-3) and Pritchard (1955, pp. 233-6). See also Gardiner (1961a, pp. 168-9) and, for Van

Seters's argument, his (1966, p. 184, n. 25)

119. Ellenbogen (1962, p. 123) and Gordon (1966, p. 451). For objectors, sec Littauer and Crouwel (1979, p. 59, p. 52) and Drews (1988, p. 141). They have on their side the fact that the Assyrian word www or visit was in use in 19th century Anatolia before the likely arrival of Indo Ary in speakers. On the other hand, the connection is strengthened by Segert's reading of the Ugaratic vas 5" (1983, pp. 202, 215)

120. Gardiner (1957 p. 459 (F5)) and Gordon (1966, p. 350). It is interesting to note here that like the Egyptian ith, the West Semitic ibi also origi nally had bovine connotations, meaning 'bull (humped) buffalo'

Speiser (1933, pp. 49-52). I have, however, been unable to find ward tašhu in Laroche (1977).

122. Hermes (1936, pp. 379-81).

- 123. Drews (1988, pp. 102-3).
- 124. Van den Brink (1982, pp. 46-7).
- 125. See, for instance, Bietak (1968, pp. 91, 98).
- 126. Bietak (1968, pp. 90-2).
- 127. Boessneck (1976, p. 25); Bietak (1979, p. 247).
- 128. Van den Brink (1982, pp. 74-83).
- 129. For the burials, see Van den Brink (1982, pp. 74–83); for the Tell el Yehudiyeh ware, see Kemp and Merrillees (1980, p. 97, n. 252)
- 130. Bietak (1968, pp. 106-9).
- 131. Van Seters (1966, pp. 56-7).
- 132. Kantor (1956, p. 153).
- 133. Bietak (1979, pp. 242-3).
- 134. In the Jerusalem Museum, illustrated in many places, including Amiet (1977, plate 77).
- 135. Bisi (1965, p. 167); Frankfort (1970, pp. 263-4).
- 136. Kantoi (1947, pp. 92-5), Helck (1979, pp. 80-1). For further discussion of Cretan or Hyksos priority for this and other motifs, see the next chapter.
- 137. Van Seters (1966, pp. 67-70); Porada (1984)
- 138 Van Seters (1966, pp. 61-7), Ward (1987, pp. 517-32)
- 139. Van Seters (1966, p. 71).
- 140. Van Seters (1966, pp. 71-2) See also Hayes (1975, p. 64).
- 141. Van Seters (1966, p. 72).
- 142. Volume 1, pp. 94-8 143. Genesis 37-50.
- 143. Genesis 37-5
- 144. Exodus. 145. I Kings 6.1.
- 146. See the computation in Rowley (1950, pp. 87–8)
- 147. Exodus 1.11.
- 148. See ch. VII, nn. 81-3.
- 149 For a good survey of these up to the Second World War, see Rowley (1950, pp. 10-19).
- 150. See Rowley (1950, pp. 10-11).
- 151. For their latest views on this, see Binison and Livingston (1987, pp. 40-58, 66-7).
- 152. Halpern (1987, pp. 56-71).
- 153. See n 31 above. Astom (1967a, pp. 193, 303) points out that the name Ykb^et is probably not a misreading of Yqbir but comes from a form Yakke Ba'al (Let Ba'al strike)
- 154. Weinstein, 1981, pp. 8-10
- 155. Diodoros Sikeliotes, XL.3.2.
- 156. Frg. 50 from Josephus, Contra Apionem, I 15, and frg. 51 from Theophilus, Ad Autolycum III, 19, as well as frg. 52, Syncellus
- 157. Contra Apionem, 1.14-16.
- 158, Manetho, fig. 53 See Waddell (1940, pp. 114-15).
- 159. See, for instance, the attitude of Schwartz (1950)

- 160. Astour (1967a, pp. 98-9), Breasted (1912a, p. 220), Dussaud (1946-8, pp. 45-7), Gardiner (1951a, p. 156). Luria (1926, p. 97), Weill (1923, pp. 185-91).
- 161. See, for instance, Baron (1952, I, pp. 35-9).
- 162. See Ashton and Grav (1935, pp. 246-8) and Grousset (1959-pp. 287-8).

Chapter IX

CREEF, THERA AND THE BIRTH OF MYCENAFAN CUTTI REIN THE 18TH AND 17TH CENTURIES BC.

1. Woodside (1971).

2. See Volume 1, pp. 84-101.

- 3. For the former view, see Platon (1956), For the latter, see Matz (1973), pp. 141-3). There is also dispute about the nature of the 'post-palatial period', See ch. X, nn. 89-95
- 4. Pendlebury (1963, p. 173), Higgins (1979, p. 60).
- 5. Graham (1962, pp. 125-8); 1975; 1977).

6. See ch. IV, n. 34.

7. See Schachermeyr (1967, pp. 47-8).

8. See Morgan, who generally is a strong advocate of Aegean isolation (1988, pp. 20-4).

g. See Davies and Gardiner (1936, plates 54 and 65)

- Morgan (1988, pp. 146–50) For other Egyptian artistic motifs adopted and adapted in Crete in MMIII, see Higgins (1979, pp. 22-9).
- 11. Morgan (1488, pp. 39 -40) and see, for instance, Davies and Gardinet (1936, plates 16 and 33).
- 12. Pendlebury (1963, p. 158). Betancourt (1985, pp. 103-4)

13. Pendlebury (1963, pp. 159, 165)

14. Pollinger-Foster (1979, pp. 153-5).

- 15. See Pendlebury (1963, pp. 166-7) and Sakellerakis (1981, p. 39)
- 16. Diodoros, IV.79 3. Evans (1921 35, IV, pp. 960, 965).
- 17. Pendlebury (1963, pp. 193-4).
- 18. See Graham (1962, p. 160).
- 19. See Pini (1968, p. 45).
- 20 Montet (1928-9, pp. 143-238).
- 21. See ch. IV, n. 39.
- 22 Pendlebury (1963, p. 164). See also Hiller (1984).
- 23 Maxwell-Hyslop (1946, esp. p. 15)
- 24 Helck (1979, p. 55).
- 25. Ch V. nn 153-4. See also ch. VI, n. 163.
- 26 Pendlebury (1903, p. 164). See also Shaw (1978, p. 444, 1980, p. 240).
- 26. Sandars (1961).
- 28 See ch. IV, n. 12.
- 29. Branigan (1968b, p. 201).

30. Lacan (1904 -6 1, plate 43, nos 255, 257, 259, 261), cited in Gardnier (1957, p. 514, item 8, n.2).

g1. Ch. V, n. 151.

38. Maxwell-Hyslop (1946, pp. 33-41). Although this author wrote over forty years ago, the chronology she used is more compatible with the one followed in this book than those found in most later works.

33. See ch. VIII, nn. 140-1.

34 Maxwell-Hyslop (1946, pp. 38-41).

- 35 See Heubeck (1968). Pierce (1971, p. 106) expresses some scepticism about this.
- 36. Szemerényi (1966b, p. 36) He tries to explain the discrepancy as the result of a dissimilation of the labial element in k° caused by the following labid. This is possible, although the example he cries to justify this is kapnov (smoke) from *k*ap. Apart from the completely hypothetical nature of this etymon, there is, as will be argued below, a good case for deriving the Greek kapn. (smoke, fungate) from an Egyptian alternative.
- 37. The rather complicated proposed derivations of xen from the Semitic sh' (hate) and xyn (with) from a Semitic stem found in the Fblatte stim (movement to, up to) and the Gunnan Gurage preposition sa'n (up to, until, as far as) will be discussed in Volume 3.

38 Birch (1853, p. 62); Brugsch (1855, p. 40).

39 For a bibliography on this, see Pierce (1971, p. 106). Since Pierce wrote, the etymology was accepted in Cerny (1976, p. 171).

40. Burchardt (1912b, pp. 61-3).

41 Apart from the finds at Tell el Daba a, Bietak (1968, p. 106-1979, p. 261), there are the well-known daggers described in the last chapter, see nn. 139-41.

42. The exception to this is Hemmerdinger (1969, p. 239).

- 43. For a dismissal of Benveniste's derivation from a root *kitpra, allegedly found in the Ossetic aexist (see the), see Szemerensi (1966b), p. 36, n. 3)
- 44. Fractikel (1910-12, II, p. 174, n. 1). A Semitic etymology for sepanar will be proposed in Volume 3.
- 45. The etymology of kepos will be discussed further in the next chapter. See also n. 146 below.
- 46. Pierce (1971, p. 106).

47. Gardiner (1957, p. 428).

48 This will be considered further in Volume 3

49. Frman and Grapow (1982, VI pp 241 2)

- 50 Cerny (1976) does not provide an etymology for sôt not does he list it among those for which no etymologies are given
- 51. Another remote possibility is that the Greek word vylam derives from the Egyptian simt, found in the Coptic sorm, sarm, sarem. As xylum, which has no Indo-European etymology, is attested only in Egypt and is clearly connected to agriculture, there have been unsuccessful attempts.

to find an Egyptian origin. The difficulty in attempting to connect sylum to vinit or soom is that the meanings of both words are extremely uncertain. Vilum is a process carried out before the planting to prepare the soil. If this was some soil of fertilizing, it could be connected to vinit soim, which later had the meaning dregs of fees but carlier was some soil of processed granule that could be cateri (Gardiner 1947, 11, pp. 231–5). Whether it could also be used as fertilizer is as uncertain as the rest of this messy problem.

For the dismissal of the tentative Indo Turopean etymologies for these,

see Chantraine (1968-75, pp. 763-8).

33 Rendsburg (1989b, p. 70) sees the derivation of xiphos from 4t as 'perfectly reasonable'

51 Ior the dismissal of the tentative Indo European etymologies for this see Chantraine (1968–75, p. 1186). Another (sword found in the infiliary know of the 20th and 19th centuries be was that known to the Egyptials as his written with the determinative see. This was an extended sickle. Brown (1968a, pp. 178–82) has suggested that the Greek word hirpe (sickle) derives from the West Semine, his found in the Hebrew hireb which derived from the earlier vocalization harb seen in the Aramaic harba (sword). This seems attractive. However, as Burkert (1984–p. 41, n. 32) points out, there is a satisfactory Indo-European etymology for harpa (There is a typographical error in Burkerts text which reads harab instead of harab which is also etymologically, hib not, hib.) I see no reason to give priority to Indo-European roots and I have no doubt that there was some containmation involved. Nevertheless, Browns case for a Semitic etymology does seem to be weakened.

55 For the suffix (am. see Gordon (1965) p. 63 [8 58]) and Moscati et al. (1969, p. 82 [12,21])

56. For the alternation between cand l-sec Stemer (1977). One of the most common uses of plg is as a dividing stream or canal-sec the Akkadam palga and the Hebrew p'lugah and p'lugah. Despite the meaning of the Greek pelagos as the 'open sea-rather than a strait or channel', Lair, not convinced by Miss Arnolts (1892 p-to) rejection of a Semitic origin from plg as proposed by 19th century scholars. This would seem a good deal closer than its current European compensor plak (stretch, flat) (Chantraine 1968-75 p-872). Furthermore the image of the sea as a division would also seem to be strengtlacted by what I see as the most plausible ctyma for the Greek thalussa (sea) and 18thmus (isthmus or neck) in the Egyptian 18 (boundary) and sind (attach). Neither has an Indo European etymology and both will be discussed further in Volume 3.

Mass Arnoli did however, accept the Greek pullake (concubine) came from the Semitic p lagale in the sense of cut off from the family. However, he saw the Hebrew pulges (concubine) as a borrowing from pulluke. These two words are clearly related but the precise mainter of the relationship is very ellusive. For an exhaustive rolli-century bibliogra-

phy on this, see Muss-Arnolt (1892, pp. 65-6). For more up-to-date discussions, see Ellenbogen (1962, p. 134), Rabin (1974) and, above all, the elegant work of Brown (1968a, pp. 164-9).

57 See Szemerenyi (1966b) and Lejeune (1972, p. 46 [33]) See also ch

XII, n.g.i.

58. See also Bernal (1989b, pp. 35-7).

59. See ch. X, nn. 14-23.

60. Lorimer (1950, pp. 276-80).

61 Wolf (1926, pp. 14-26); Lotimei (1950, pp. 278-80).

62. Pendlebury (1963, p. 172); Crouwel (1981, p. 122).

63. Herakleion Museum Case 75A; see Sakellerakis (1981, p. 60).

64 Helck (1979, pp. 80-1) See also ch. VIII, n. 136

- 65. Matz (1973a, p. 157), Stock (1955, pp. 31-2). See also, above, ch. VIII, nn. 195-6
- 66. Matz (1973a, p. 157).

67. Dessenne (1957, p. 76).

68. Dessenne (1957, pp. 27, 175-6).

69. Dessenne (1957, p. 178)

70. Dessenne (1957, pp 35-43, 178-9).

71. Dessenne (1957, p. 124).

72 Dessenne (1957, pp. 112, 149) See also Helck (1979, p. 75)

73. Dessenne (1957, p. 187). 74. Bist (1965, pp. 21–42).

75 Schachermeyr (1967, p. 32, plate 76).

76. Bisi (1965, p. 167).

77. Evans (1921-35, I, pp. 709-13); Frankfort (1930-7). See also Morgan (1988, pp. 50 - 1) and Herodotos, VI 53 - 4

78. Frankfort (1936).

79 Bisi (1965, pp. 72-3).

80. See the short essay in Gesenius (1953, pp. 500-1).

81. For the 19th-century scholars, see Muss-Arnolt (1892, p. 100), who accepts it For the 20th-century, see Brown (1968a, p. 185, n. 3). See also Grimme (1925, p. 17) and Chantraine (1968, 75, p. 75)

82. Brown (1968a, pp. 184-8).

83. Bisi (1965, pp. 197-246).

84. The possibility that a griffin at Pylos was called *po in he* is considered unlikely by Ventris and Chadwick (1979, p. 136). It may be an alternative name. The enormously complicated subject of *phainx* and similar words will be considered in Volume 3.

85 Bisi (1965, pp. 167-95). For the pairs of griffins in both the megana at Pylos and a comparison between them and the pair at Knossos, see

Lang (1969, pp. 99-103, 194-211).

86 Bisi (1965, pp. 167-77), Morgan (1988, pp. 49 51).

87. Woolley (1953, pp. 80-5)

88. Kupper (1973, p. 31). See also ch. VIII, n. 93.

89. Hood (1967, p. 80).

- 90. Evans (1921-35, I, p. 316).
- 91. Warren (1973, p. 43).
- 92. Stubbings (1973). This issue will be considered below.
- 93 See Courtois (1955).
- 94. See ch. VIII, n. 95.
- 95 See, for examples, Schachermeyr (1967, p. 43) and Helck (1979, p. 49). For the lid, see also cli. VII, nn. 51 - 2 and 61, and ch. VIII, n. 26.
- 96 Meyer (1928 36 H, pt 1, pp 10 58 162 75).
- 97 Schachermeyr (1967, p. 43) and Helck (1979, p. 49)
- 98, Stevenson Smith (1965, p. 28).
- 99 See Wicher (1984), Hiller (1984), Stox Gale and Gale (1984a), Korres (1984) and others,
- 100. Ch. V. nn. 8-30.
- 101. Matz (1973a, p. 157).
- tox. Ch. VIII, nn 132-9, 162.
- 103. See ch. VIII, n. 134.
- 104. Dessenne (1957, p. 178).
- 105 Åström (1971).
- 106 Thorpe-Scholes (1978, p. 40), See also ch. VIII, nn. 139-41
- 107. Doumas (1983, pp. 11-14-29-42). For more on ancient Akrotiri, see Barber (1987, pp. 201-16)
- 108 Bather (1987, pp. 191-6). For more on the weights, see ch. X, nn, 145-6.
- 109. Niemeier (1980); Morgan (1988, p. 171).
- 110 Morgan (1988, p. 171) While she puzzlingly sticks to a low date for the eruption, she honestly admits that these parallels to Theran pottery are of, as Marthari puts it, the 'Middle Helfadic tradition' (1988, p. 214, n. 17).
- 111. Barber (1987, pp. 156, 196). Barber also claims that these stopped at the end of the period and suggests that this represented a Cretan political takeover of the islands. I think it is hard to make so much of an argument from silence.
- 112. Stox-Gale and Gale (1984b). Hiller (1984), Barber (1987, p. 197).
- 113. Vermeule (1964, p. 116).
- 114 Immerwahi (1977) p. 1891. Buchholz (1980) p. 228). Morgan (1988) p. 171). The systematic isolationist Peter Warren claims that the mortals are local Theran (1979a, p. 198).
- 115. S. Marinatos (1976) p. 30-plate 496) For a survey of Canaanite jars, see ch. XI, nn. 285–8.
- 116. Morgan (1988, p. 171).
- 117. N. Marinatos (1984, pp. 31-3).
- 118 N. Marinatos (1984, p. 32)
- 119 Pollinger-Foster (1987, p. 13).
- 120 Pollinger-Foster (1987, p. 16).
- 121 Morgan (Brown) (1978 pp 631 41), Morgan (1988, pp 416-17), N

- Marinatos (1984, pp. 52–60). For a hibliography on the friezes, see N Marinatos (1983, p. 2, n. 2).
- 122 Raban (1981, p. 19) Morgan (1988, pp. 116 12) comes to very much the same conclusion.
- 123 For a bibliographs on this, see Raban (1981) p. 19-10-1036. Sec also Cas son (1975, p. 7) and Morgan (1988) p. 127.
- 124 For different interpretations of the scene-see Doumas (1983) pp. 84-104) and N. Marmatos (1984, p. 38).
- 125 Morgan (1988, p. 119).
- 12b The most striking example of this comes from the legends around the toval. Thesens whose possession of a sword is of great significance, but whose encomes employed their arms, feet, rocks, pine trees and even beds! Anything, in short, except for swords. See Graves (1955, 1, pp. 327—32).
- 127. Morgan (1988, pp. 107-9)
- 128 Morgan (1988, pp. 118-20),
- 129 Pollinger-Foster (1987, p. 16).
- 130. Morgan (1988, p. 93)
- 131. From the tomb of Mn hpi Rf snb (reproduced in Davies and Gardaier (1930) I, plates 21 and 24). For more details on their clothing, see Vercoutter (1950, pp. 287–8). See also Helck (1971, pp. 154–5).
- 132 For more on this, see ch. X, nn. 15-19.
- 133 Morgan (1988, p. 94).
- 134 Warren (1079b, pp. 11b. 29). For another example of Warren's preference for indigenous development in the most unbkely situations, see Volume 1, p. 16. For the others, see Domnas (1983, pp. 83... p. and fin merwahr (1983, p. 147).
- 135 Natinatos (1981 p. 41) Morgan (1988 pp. 14. 5) agrees
- 136. Masson (1907, pp. 85-7) tries to explain these striking parallels by postulating a common Mediterranean origin for these two words: thus avoiding the possibility of Greek borrowings from Semilic or Egyptian. Lagree with her and Asiour (1967a, p. 338) that it is difficult—though not impossible—to derive ir rations the Egainic that or the Hybrew tabilitie Egyptian etymology, however, would seem much more plausible, especially as we know that the Egyptian a frequently broke to form rase. Minight (1923, p. 66). The attestation of the Egyptian rasince the Old Kingdom and the probability—in view of the Semilic Jorius—that is derives from a Proto Afroasiate. *that makes it has more likely that Greek and hence other Indo European Linguages borrowed from the Egyptian. Misson's denial of the etymology of its from layis proposed by Moss-Arnolt (1892, p. 96). Lewy (1895, p. 9) and Boisaco (1950) in layour of the notion of a mot vorageur shows only the strength of Aryanism in goth-century scholarship.
- 137. Doumas (1983, p. 105), N. Marmatos (1984, p. 41), Page (1976), Streethi (1967)

138 Morgan (1988, pp. 89-91).

139 S. Marinatos (1969, pp. 374-5, 1974, pp. 199-200). There are also representations of negroid Blacks from Late Bronze. Age Cyprus. See Karageorghis 1988, esp. p. 10, n.2.

140 Morgan (1988, pp. 89-91).

141 Morgan (1988, pp. 144 5) and Pollinger-Foster (1986, 1987)

142 Doumas (1983, p. 105).

143 Stevenson Smith (1965, p. 155).

144 See nn 9 10 above and Higgins (1979, p. 25) Morgan (1988, p. 41) seems to concede this, though she misists that the Theran representation has significantly different features.

145 N. Marmatos (1984, pp. 94-6), Morgan (1988, pp. 23-4)

Lewy (1895, p. 6) Masson (1907, p. 87, n. 5) follows Mayrhoter (1953, L. 146 p. 156) in being uncertain of the point of origin. There is no doubt this the Egyptim form is attested much earlier than the rest, but the case as not clear-car, it may be a proto Afroasiatic root. The alternation kepod kibox makes it almost certain that the Greek forms are loans. Another Greek word for monkey pithikos, also has a plansible Egyptian etymology. The root for this is the drink been or been jugab with the derivatives tha (drunkard) and the drunkenness). With the debute article, fa the would seem a plausible origin for the Greek pithos (large iar, usually for wine), which has no clear Indo European ctymology. In Demote there is the term in the chouse of drunkenness) which would seem cognate to the Greek futhing (cellar). Pulnis has many derivatives, some of which have the suffix ak. It would seem probable that fathekovis one of these The best Indo-European etymology found for this is to relate it to the Latin foedus (ingly), but Chamfraine sees it as a loan. The association of monkeys and apes with drunkenness is proverbial in most caltures, for instance 'as guldy as an ape. The common name for islands in the West Mediterraneau, Pithekusa, should not be seen as monkey island, but as 'wineland'.

147. Marinatos (1973b, p. 200).

148. See nn. 109-14 above

149. For a good short survey of this, see Ceram (1952, pp. 44-55). For a sceptical if not hostile view see Calder (1986).

150. See Vermeule (1964, p. 84).

151 Vermeule (1964) pp/86~90), Stubbings (1973) pp/630/3), Dickinson (1977) pp. 42~50).

152. See below, nn. 196-7.

153 Chantraine (1968-75, p. 720).

154. Muss-Arnolt (1892, p. 48).

155 Fick (1905, pp. 128, 131) One possible origin for Mykale and Mykalessos is from the West Semitic miklidi (enclosure, fold)

156 Vermeule (1964, pp. 116-20), Dickinson (1977, pp. 87-100), Barber (1987, pp. 58-64, 203-16).

157. Vermeule (1964, pp. 100-4)

158 For these and the literature on them, see Drews (1988, pp. 187-90)

159. See nn. 19-20 above.

160. Mellink (1956); Hooker (1976, p. 45).

161. Kenyon (1973, pp. 93-5) Van Seters (1966, p. 47)

162. Dickinson (1977, p. 51).

163. Hammond (1973)

164. Dickinson (1977, p. 51).

165 Mylonas (1973 L. 117), Dickinson (1977 p. 51) Pelon (1987 p. 115)

166 Stubbings (1973, p. 691). Mellink (1950, pp. 55-6), Vermeule (1964, p. 108, 1975). Mahay (1979a, p. 317), Drews (1988, p. 185) and others take the same view.

167. Vermeule (1964, p. 81).

168 Mellank (1950, pp. 55-6); Muhly (1979a, p. 317); Drews (1988, p. 185).

169. S. Marinatos (1973a), Stubbings (1973).

170. Van Seters (1966, p. 47).

171. Montet (1928-9).

172 See Wace (1964, pp. 21-2) For a bibliography of the recent debate on this issue, see Wilkie (1987, p. 127, n. 1).

173 See ch. I, n. 17, and Branigan (1970b)

174 See Dickinson (1977, p. 61)

175. Vermeule (1964, pp. 120-6).

176 Pelon (1976). He maintains that they should be linked to the Kurgan tradition of the 3rd nullennum. See also Drews (1988, p. 184).

177. Angel (1957) and Dickinson (1977, p. 52)

178. See ch. VIII, n. 134, and n. 101 above.

179. For ancient traces of Indo-Arvan cremation sec Mallory (1989) pp. 47–8).

180. Dicknison (1977) pp. 19757 - 87. Taylom (1964) p. 76). Stubbings (1973) p. 633).

181 See ch. VIII, no. 123-36. For the weapon types, see above no. 21-34. 182. Vermeule (1964, pp. 89-90), Dayton (1982a, pp. 164~6).

183. Stubbings (1973, p. 633), Pendlebury (1930a, p. 55, 89),

184. Boufides (1970).

185. Lorimer (1950, p. 278)

186, Hooker (1976, p. 46)

187. Hooker (1976, p. 48)

188. Evans (1929); Dickinson (1977, p. 53).

189. Cadogan (1971), Hooker (1976, pp. 38-9), Dicknison (1977) pp. 107-9). The re-dating of the Thera eruption and the lowering of carbon through for the Wessex culture in Southern Britain invasidates the work in this area of such scholars as Butler (1963), and McKerrell (1972) and confirms the commonsense view held by Bouzek (1973) that Mycenaean culture spread to Northern Europe rather than the other way around See also Trump (1981, pp. 195-7).

190 See Van Roven and Isaac (1979, pp 26-8), and Dor et al. (1960)

pp 32-3).

- 191. S. Marinatos (1973a, p. 109).
- 192. Grumach (1968/9, pp. 85-6)
- 193 These etymologies will be considered further in Volume 3
- 194. For a survey of this influence, see Evans (1929) See also Vermeide (1964, pp. 96-7) and Dickinson (1977, p. 52)
- 195 See ch. VIII, nn. 139 41 and above nn. 67 75
- 196 See Vermeule (1975, pp. 23-6). For examples of this Steppe art and a survey of what can be reconstructed of the society that produced them, see Phillips (1965).
- 197. Muhly (1979a, pp 317-19).
- 198. See ch. VIII, nn. 139-40.
- 199 For illustrations of these, see, for instance. Vermeule (1964, plates xii and xiii) and Hood (1967, plates 54-6). For the earlier discussion, see above, nn. 133-9.
- 200 See Vermeule (1964, p. 98) and Dickinson (1977, p. 52). See also above nn. 25-33.
- 201. Pace Cadogan (1971) and Dickinson (1977, pp. 108-9).
- 202 S. Marinatos (1973a, p. 108).
- 203. See n. 188 above.
- 201 See Persson (1942, pp. 178-96) and Marmatos (1960, pp. 81-2)
- 205. See ch. X, nn.67-8.
- 200. Mallory (1989, p. 51).
- 207. Mallory (1989, pp. 35-41).
- 208. See ch. VIII, nn. 102-4.
- 209. See nn. 219-20 below.
- 210. Wyatt (1970, p. 107).
- 211. Buck (1926); Nilsson (1933, pp. 71-82).
- 212. Wyatt (1970), Best and Yadin (1973), Muhly (1979), Van Royen and Isaac (1979); Drews (1988).
- 213. Nilsson (1933, pp. 71-82).
- 214. Drews (1988, p. 23).
- 215 Herodotos, Vl.55. See Volume 1, p. 75.
- 216. Ch. VIII, nn. 102-29.
- 217. Muhly (1979a, pp. 319-20). The Greek archaeologist George Mylonas (1962) took the more moderate position that, although Greece had been Greek since about 2100 BC, a Luvian invasion was responsible for the changes around 1600.
- 218 Muhly (1979a, p. 319)
- 219 For special connections between Greek and Indo-Arvan, see Porzig (1954b pp 61 83) and Sakellariou (1986, p. 128). For a survey of recent linguistic schemes, see Malfors (1986, pp. 20-1).
- 220 For arguments that Indo-Iranian had already split by the first half of the 2nd inflennium, see Szemerenyi (1964, pp. 90-6) and Mallory (1989, pp. 38-9).
- Muhly (1979a, pp. 320-3). The absence of evidence for any invasion at

this time was used by Mylonas to deny any possibility of there having been one then (1962, p. 301).

222. Drews (1988, pp. 181-3).

223. See ch. II, nn. 112-29.

224. Best and Yadın (1973, pp. 29-31).

225. See ch. VIII, nn. 108-41.

226. Volume 1, pp. 410-11.

227. Stubbings (1973, pp. 636-7).

228 See Volume 1, pp. 88-97 and 109-10

229 Stubbings (1973, p. 637). This passage is quoted in Volume 1, p. 411

230. See ch. VIII, nn. 31-40.

231. See Volume 1, pp. 95-8 and 109-110.

232. See Hooker (1976, p. 47).

233. For the Kassites, see ch. VI, nn. 78-85.

234. See Vermeule (1964, p. 89).

235. Bernal (1987, pp. 9-10, 1990).

236. See ch. II, nn. 228-30.

237. See Risch (1949, pp. 1928; 1955, pp. 61-75), Porzig (1954a, pp. 147-61), Wyatt (1972), Chadwick (1973b, pp. 817-19). These questions will be discussed further in Volume 3.

Chapter X

EGYPTIAN, MESOPOLAMIAN AND LEVANTINE CONTACTS WITH THE AFGEAN. THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

t. Albright (1944), Helck (1962, pp. 567-8),

2 Posenei (1940 pp 83, 93) See also Vercoutter (1956, p. 161)

3. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 159-82).

4. Albright (1934, p. 9).

5. See Volume 1, p. 385, n. 47

6. See ch. IV, nn.60-1 and 80-114.

7. Bérard (1902-3, I, pp. 215-24).

8. See Volume 1, p. 449

- 9. For the identification with Libya, see Gauthier (1925–31, HI, p. 7) For Minw's religious significance, see Kurth (1980–cols 1185–6). Crete's height would be reflected in a possible etymology for its name from the common Egyptian toponym Ka(y)t (height). There is, however, no attestation of Ka(y)t as a name for the island. Thus this etymology must remain tentative, despite the absence of any alternative. See also ch. IV, n. 52. For the name Minw for the mountain in the west and entrance to the underworld, which could well be the origin of the Greek root melan-(black), see ch. II, nn. 85–7.
- 10. Vercoutter (1956, doc. 3, pp. 13-5); Strange (1980, text 21, pp. 71-3)
- 11. Stevenson Smith (1965, p. 92). For the archaeological evidence, see ch. III, nn. 115-27.

- 12 British Museum 5547, Vercoutter (1956, doc. 4, pp. 45-51). Helck (1979, p. 100), Strange (1980, text 39, pp. 94-6).
- 13 Vercoutter (1956, p. 136) Here, I tollow the dates of Wente and Van Sielen (1976, p. 218) and the Cambridge Ancient History, 3rd ed., II 2, p. 1038.
- 14. Vercoutter (1956, pp 33-124). Helck (1979, pp 27-8) Gardiner (1947, I, p. 203) is clear that the absence of the final 1 in the Egyptian form 'need not be a serious obstacle—since there are many analogies for the intrusion of this letter'.
- 15 Strange (1980), Merrillees (1982, 1987, p. 51), Vercoutter (1956, pp. 45-6), Helck (1979, pp. 100-2), Astom (1964a, pp. 240-54). For the debate on the identification of Alashia, the ancient place name that is widely accepted as designating Cyprus, see ch. V, n. 164.
- 16. Furumark (1950, p. 240).
- 17. Vercoutter (1950, p. 220)
- 18 For the ancient view, see Volume 1, p. 385.
- 10 Evans (1921 35, I, p. 316), pace Warren (1973, p. 44).
- 20. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 100-1).
- 21 See below, nn. 91 105
- 22 For Gordon's work on this, see Volume 1, pp. 416-19
- 23 Pace Warren (1973, p. 42). Weinberg (1954, pp. 94~6, 1965a, pp. 302-7). Branigau (1970a, pp. 198–200) equivocates on the issue but he too sees major influences from Palestine at the beginning of the EMI. See next chapter.
- 24. Nibbi (1975).
- 25. Sandars (1978).
- 2tı. Nibbi (1975, pp. 35-44).
- 27. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 152-3).
- 28 Vercoutter (1956, pp. 57-8, 144-7). For the invasions, see Volume 1, pp. 445-50
- 29 Gardiner (1947, I, 208).
- 30 Utterances 366, 454 and 593, Text 629, 847 and 1631 Sethe (1937, III. pp. 168-9); Gardiner (1947, I, p. 206).
- 31 Gardiner (1947, I. p. 206), Nibbi (1975, pp. 53-4). For the Dorak Treasure, see ch. III, n. 122.
- 32. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 16-17).
- 33, Vercoutter (1954, p. 40)
- 34 Smith (1971, pp. 180 -1). Part of this is also quoted in ch. III, see n. 129
- 35 Gardiner (1950, p. 573), Vercoutter (1956, pp. 20-32)
- 36. Vercoutter (1956, p. 32).
- 37. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 20-31).
- 38. Vercoutter (1950, p. 26). Nibbi (1975, p. 52).
- 39 Gardiner (1947, I, p. 126) See also Volume 1, p. 96. For Inl as the origin of the Greek thnê (die) and thanatos (death), see Volume 1, pp. 457-8. Here it should be noted that in epic poetry the negative athanatos is frequently paralleled with agéros (unageing). See Faraone (1987, p. 258.

n 4). The parallel would be tighter if athunatos originally had the same meaning.

40. Gardmer (1947, I, 184–5). The letter, Knudzon (5). See Moran. 1987. p. 486). It is quoted in Akkadian and English in Astom (1967a, pp. 4–5).

41. Astour (1967a, pp. 1-2).

42. Albright's hypothesis to this effect (1950, pp. 171-2) seems more plausible than that of Astour (1967a, pp. 48-9).

43. Astour (1967a, pp. 22 3, 30, 387)

44. Laroche (1958, pp. 252-83). Arbeuman and Rendsburg (1981-pp. 152-3). Rendsburg dissociates himself from this particular conclusion.

45. Albright (1950, p. 172); Astour (1967a, p. 12)

46. Astour (1967a, p. 12); Helck (1979, p. 138)

47. Albright (1950, pp. 171-2; 1975, p. 508).

48 Knudzen 151 See Moran (1987, p. 386). Trans. Astour (1967a. p. 5).

49. Gardiner (1947, 1, 124).

50. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 129-30).

51 Puci Astoni (1967a, pp. 53-67). Astoni (1967), pp. 67-9) conscientionally adds a further argument against his case, when he points out that Herodotos (VII 91) refers to a people called Hypachaiorin Cilicia. He disinsses the hypothesis that this is a mistake for Hylachaior from Bilakku (Cilicia) and admits that the Hypachaior were Achaior or Greeks from Cyprus who had settled in Cilicia in the 8th century Stately it would be simpler to admit that Greeks had arrived here in the 19th century, when they settled in Pamphylia to the west and Cyprus.

52. For more on this, see Volume 1, pp. 445-8

53. Gordon (1963b, p. 21); Yadın (1968, 1973); Jones (1975).

54. Judges 5: 17: Genesis 19-16. Judges 18-1, offed in Arbeitman and Reindsburg (1981, pp. 151-2). For the Philistines and Tjeker, see Voltime 1, pp. 445–8

55. Herodotos, II 15

56. Ch. II, nn. 172-215.

57. Gordon (1966, p. 38).

58. Arbeitman and Rendsburg (1981, pp. 150-2)

59. Ezekiel 28 3; Astour (1967a, pp. 69-80)

60 See above, it 38 thit clearly comes from direct off) from the cutting and sharing of the portions of a killed or sacrificed animal. This suggestion would be strengthened if the obscure determinative for direction (share out) is 8 (limb, flesh).

61. Volume 1, pp 96-8

62. See Cook (1914-40, 111, pp. 3h2 70). For a recent survey of the literature on this, see Sakellanou (1986, pp. 130-2).

63 See Sakellar.ou (1986, pp. 130 2) and Arbeitman and Rendsburg (1981,

pp. 149-50).

64 Petinato (1978, p. 69, n. 188) personal communication, Corneli, December 1986. The suffix has the sign for land.

- 65 For a discussion of the name Aminissos and its confections to the Egyptian word bin (west) and the name Amon, see Volume 3
 - 66 Vercoutter (1956, pp. 96 -7, docs 21-2) Helck (1979, p. 103)
 - 67. James (1973, p. 303).
 - 68. See ch. IX, n. 204.
 - 69. Helck (1979, p. 81).
 - 70. Wachsmann (1987, pp. 11-86).
 - 71 The Amarna Letters are full of references to the Pharaoh's Egyptian and Nubian soldiers in the Levant and the presence of Egyptian civil iaus there is also attested. See, for example, L.A. 67
 - 72 Vercoutter (1956, p. 97, doc. 221), Helck (1971, pp. 342-59, 1979, p. 103)
 - 73 Vercoutter (1956, pp. 256-7), Wachsmann (1987, pp. 11-6).
 - 74 Davis (1979, pp. 120-7). For a discussion of the point at which My cenaeans came to dominate Crete, see below im 90-105.
 - 75. Wachsmann (1987, pp. 4-5).
 - 76. Smith (1968, p. 241).
 - 77. Gardiner (1961a, pp. 181-9).
 - 78. Hayes (1973, pp. 319-22).
 - 79. For the date, see Casperson (1986, pp. 147-8). For the campaign, see Cardiner (1964a, pp. 188-93) and Drower (1973, pp. 444-59).
 - 86 Gardiner (1947, I, pp. 127, 191, II, p. 200), Gardiner (1961a, p. 193) Drower (1973, pp. 456-7).
- 81 Vercoutter (1956, p. 57, doc. 9b) Merrillees (1972, p. 288) tries to de tach this inscription from the paintings that accompany it. Of coinse, retouching or changing is possible, but why should it have been so? The reason for Merrilleess objection to the inscriptions referring to the painting is easier to fathom. While he has no objection to Aegean peoples trading with Egypt, he clearly has a great distaste for the idea that they were in any way subordinate to them. He writes 'it should be noted that there is not one Aegean foreigner in the Theban tomb paintings who is depicted in any but a normal upright position' (1972, p. 287). This is not surprising as they are nearly all portrayed as carrying what the Egyptians saw as tribute.
- 8g. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 132-3, doc. 34).
- 81 Vercoutter (1956, pp. 132-3), Pendlebury (1930b, pp. 75-92).
- 85 See ch. XI, nn. 18-28.
- 86 Hayes (1973, p. 368, see also pp. 307-9). Save-Soderbergli (1936, pp. 33-50). See also ch. III, nn. 125-6.
- 87 See n.68 above
- 88. See Vercoutter (1956, pp. 134-5, doc. 36)
- 89. See ch. VII, n. 5.

- go Evans (1929) p. 491. For a survey of this see Niemeier (1982a) pp. 220—1).
- 91, Wace and Blegen (1939, pp. 158-9).
- 92, Palmer (1956; 1965; 1984b)
- 93. Had, IL645-54 and elsewhere.
- 94. Blegen (1958)
- 95. Palmer (1958, p. 75), Huxley (1961). For criticisms, see Schachermeyr (1962b, p. 27) and Vermeule (1964, pp. 62–3).
- 96. Cathing, Cherry, Jones and Killen (1980), Siemeier (1982a, p. 260)
- 97. Kanta (1980).
- 98 Niemcici (1982a pp 224 57) Palmer (1984b) For cyldenic on this from Ugarit, see Helizer (1988).
- 99. Betancourt (1985, pp. 149-55)
- 100. See ch. IX, nn. 22-63.
- 101. Niemeier (1982a, p. 271).
- 102 See ch. XI, nn 63 5
- 103, See nn. 73-4 above
- 104, See Volume 1, p. 465.
- 105. See ch. Xl, nn. 56-68
- 10b Verconffer (1956) p. 55, doc. 8). The words in brackets represent a reconstruction by Sethe.
- 107 Wegner (1943 pp. 36, 82, 100, 1 pr), Vercoutter (1956, p. 21)
- 108, Strom (1984, p. 193).
- tog For a discussion of the datings of this reign, varying from 1420-1385, BC to 1386-1339 BC see Cline (1987, p. 13, ii to). As Cline points out, the low dates are very difficult to reconcile with the chronology of the Aegean. Here again: Efollow the dates of Wente and Van Sielen (1976, p. 218) and the Cambridge Ancient History, 31d ed., \$1/2, p. 1938, which would not seem to be far off.
- 110. See Kitchen (1905) p. 5. 1900a, pp. 23 (1), Astoni (1906) pp. 313 (10), Edcl (1906), pp. 32 (10), Emire (1908) pp. 130 (48). Gocdarke (1909), p. 7), James (1971) pp. 134 (5). Sergent (1977), pp. 128 (67), Helek (1979), pp. 26, 30 (2) and Strange (1980), p. 21).
- 111. Ch. V, nn. 163-4.
- Faure (1968, p. 143) proposed a hypothetical Flata in Northwest Cirle, Goedicke (1969) p. 101 advocated Aulis in Boiotia, Astoni (1966) p. 3133 hypothesized a Waero in the kingdom of Pylos, while Sergent (1977, pp. 152–61) saw it as Helos in Lakoma. Edel (1966, p. 52). Kitchen (1966, p. 24) and Strange (1980, p. 24) all believed it to be Blos.
- 113. Cline (1987, p. 5) attributes this view to Merrillees, but the latter (1972, p. 290) insists that the list suggests purely symbolic power over the whole world.
- 114. Merrillees (1972, p. 290). For the criticism, see Cline (1987, p. 5). The same objection can be made to the two other inscriptions from this reign inclinding Ktriw as a subject nation. See Vercoutter (1956, pp. 78–9).
- 115. Hankey (1981, pp. 15. 6), Cline (1987, p. 23)

- 116. Merrillees (1972, pp. 291-2).
- 117. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 134-5).
- 118. Vercoutter (1956, pp. 86-97).
- 119 Vercoutter (1956, p. 97, doc. 221) See also his discussion of the complications of this fragment.
- 120 Vercoutter (1956, p. 139, doc. 40, p. 137, doc. 38)
- 121, See Volume 1, pp. 445-50.
- 122. See n.65 above.
- 123. Gauthier (1925-31, I, pp. 73-6). See nn 64-5 above.
- 124. Strange (1980, text 8, pp. 32-5; texts 33-6, pp. 90-2). See also Sasson (1971, p. 172) and Helm (1980, p. 45, n. 23).
- 125. Astour (1967a, p. 110, n. 3); Smith (1965, p. 91); Gordon (1966, pp. 424-5).
- 126, Wiseman (1953, p. 12); Yannai (1983, p. 80).
- 127. Astour (1972b, p. 26)
- 128. Yannai (1983, p. 78). The inner quotation is from Rus (1969, p. 435)
- 129. Astour (1967a, p. 48)
- 130. Astour (1967a, p. 107). Heftzer (1078, p. 134; 1988). Yannai (1983, p. 79). For a discussion of the meaning of *tamharum*, see Yannai (1984, pp. 15–18)
- 131. For the rapid shifts of political and military power in North Syria in the 1360s BC, see Astour (1981, pp. 19-28).
 - 132. Yannai (1983, p. 112); Cline (forthcoming a).
- 133. See ch. XI, nn. 28, 93-7.
- 134, See Gray (1957), Gordon (1962b, 1963b), Astour (1967a) and Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner (1974).
- 135. Edwards (1979, pp. 139-46). These myths will be discussed in more detail in Volume 4.
- 136 Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 388), Astour (1967b, p. 291), Duhoux (1978, pp. 65-129), Gordon (1966, p. 26), Peruzzi (1959-60, p. 34). For leon two, see Billigmeter (1975, pp. 1-6) and Burkert (1984, p. 41). For its from layes, see Masson (1967, p. 86).
- For the language of Linear A being Semitic, see Gordon (1966, pp. 26-32, 1981, pp. 761-72) and Astoni (1967b, p. 291). For an a pitori argument against, see Ruigh (1968, pp. 198-9) and, for an apparently pragmatic one, see Duhnia (1978, pp. 223-3). It should be noted, however, that his very critical discussion of Gordon's proposal of Semitic is placed after six far less substantial claims for different origins of Eteo-Cretan. For a discussion of Gordon's proposal and its reception as well as the Ancient belief that the earliest language on the island was Semitic, see Volume 1, pp. 417–18. For more on vanetyayin and the root *woino/*weino (wine), see nn. 45–9 to ch. I.
- 138 Helck (1979, p. 124).
- 139 See ch. XI, nn. 94-8.
- 140 Astour (1967a, pp. 337-8) Chantraine, like Masson, accepts the Semitte origins of chrysos and chitôn. However, he tollows the Indo-Euro-

peanist interpretation of hin as deriving from an Indo-European root hoof indeterminate meaning. The many derivations of Greek words from the Semitic It will be discussed in Volume 3. The discovery of these words in Linear B was a key factor in convincing Astom of the importance of West Semitic influence on the Late Bronze Age Aegean (Astom 1987).

141 Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 134).

142 For the family, see Pokorny (1959-69, I, pp. 429-30).

143. For a Marxist view on this, see Suret Canale (1974, pp. 178-82). See also Bernal (1989a, pp. 20-1).

144 Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 106). For similarities in the organization of textile manufacture, see Killen (1964, pp. 1-15).

145 Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 60).

146 Stieglitz (1978; 1982, p. 260).

147. For a history of this research, see Yannai (1989, pp. 51-7).

148. Vermeule (1961, p. 257)

149 Guterbock (1989, p. 136) and ch. VIII, n. 73.

150. See ch. XI, nn. 198-207, ch. XII, nn. 135-7 and Bernal (1989a, pp. 23-4).

151. Had, VI 290-1 and XXIII 742-5. Odvies, IV 618, XIII 272-85, XIV.288-901, XV.117-19 and 415-80.

152. Pace Muhly (1970a).

153. See nn 53 65 above and Volume 1, p 95

154 Asioui (1967a, pp. 340-4), Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 588)

155. This is likely – see Yannai (1983, p. 86) – but Godari (1968) believes it to be an occupation.

156. Xenophanes 16.

157. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, pp 537, 582); Chantraine (1968~75,

р. 1005).

There is no problem with the derivation of a Greek initial s from an Egyptian (which has been attested frequently in transcriptions such as Sos for the god Sw. Chantraine has no explanation for the Greek word. He does not seem persuaded by Pokorny's derivation of smos from a root *sue (bend, twist, swing), an interesting indication of the phonetic and semantic lengths. Indo-Europeanists are sometimes prepared to go. Note the asm in both the Egyptian word and the Hebrew name. Sim'on has no known etymology. The idea that Jacob could have a son with the name 'snub nose or 'black' is not so shocking when one tealizes that it is generally accepted that Pinhas, the name of a grandson of Aaron, comes from the Egyptian Pr. Nhsy (The Nubian or Black), ch. VIII, nn. 48–9.

159. Pace Snowden (1970, 1983), but see the fascinating work of Thompson

(1989)

Chapter XI

I GAPTIAN AND I EVANTINE CONTACTS WITH THE AFGEAN
1550-1250 BC, THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXIDENCE

t. Hankey and Warren (1974) and Betancourt (1987, p. 47)

2. Thucydides, L5 See also Stubbings (1973, pp 638-40) and Tayloui (1964, pp. 170-2)

3. See ch. X, an. 59-60.

1. See ch. VII, nn. 148-53.

5. For this process, see Bernal (1989a, pp. 21-8)

6 Graham (1977, pp. 114-15).

7. Higgins (1981, pp. 82-6). Stubbings (1975, pp. 172-3). For the Anatohan origins of Cyclopean forthcation, see Scoulopoulos (1971, pp. to) -6) and Sandais (1978, pp. 62-8).

8. Higgins (1981, pp. 87-90).

9 Higgins (1981, pp. 129-36), Taylour (1961, pp. 126-34)

Higgins (1981, pp. 179-88).
 Higgins (1981, pp. 98-101).

12 Vermeule and Karageorghis (1982 pp 1-9)

13. Vermeule and Karageorghis (1982).

14. Smith (1958, p. 126).

15. See ch. IV, nn. 134-5 and ch. V, nn. 9. 40. Schachermeyr (1967, p. 33-and plate 77); Helck (1979, pp. 57-8).

16. Helck (1979, p. 81).

17. Helck (1979, p. 111), Kemp and Merrillees (1980, pp. 226-45)

18. Helck (1979, p. 111); Kemp and Merrillees (1980, p. 245).

19. Pendlebury (1930a, p. 44), object 74.

20 Pendlebury (1930a, p. 59), objects 103 and 104 Pendlebury pointed out that the closest Egyptian parallel to the faience bowl comes from the reign of Hashepsowe. However, he cautiously claimed only that it was 18th Dynasty. However the Helladic ceramic period could equally well be wrong and the bowl could date from r. 1490 Either than r. 1540 BC. A still greater number of the Lgyptian beads at Prosymna date to LHIII see Brown (1974) pp. 65–9).

21 Pendlebury (1930a, pp. 23-5), objects 31 - 15

- 22. Cline (1989) See also Warren (1969, p. 105) and Kemp and Merrillees (1980, p. 283).
- 23 Some of these are now on display in the Herakleion Museum. See Case 72, no. 611, and Case 75, nos. 600, 601 and 3050. Sakellerakis (1981, p. 52).

24 Case 82, no 2409. For a bibliography, see Cline (1987, p. 32, chiu).

25. Ch. X, nn. 77-8.

26 Ch. X, nn. 16-17 and 81-5.

27. Cline (1987, p. 32).

- 28. Stubbings (1975, pp. 181-5) For the western contacts see Pälsson-Halagger (1983).
- 29 Gurney (1974, p. 677), Guterbock (1986, p. 40)
- 30. Güterbock (1986, pp. 39~40)
- 31. See ch. V, nn. 167-75.
- 32 Helck (1971, pp 283 -4), Gurney (1973 p 677, n. 31
- 33 Thucydides, Lg.
- 34. Strabo, XII.8.21. Pausamas, II.22.3 and V.13.7.
- 35. Stubbings (1973, p. 639).
- 36. Ridgeway (1911).
- 37. Iliad, II.104-40.
- 38. Pindar, Olympian Odes, 111.23.
- 39. For a good short survey of this, see Thomson (1949, pp. 385-7).
- 40 The fragment attributed to Hesiod or Kerkops of Miletos cited in Evelyn-White (1914, p. 274) is not included in Merkelbach and West (1983, pp. 210–12). However, then frg. 204 does imply the same. See also Odyssey, XIX.175.
- 41. Evelyn-White (1914, p. xxii), Ridgeway (1911). For Xouthos see Volume 1, pp. 83-4.
- 42 Forrer (1924a, 1924b).
- 43. For this parallel, see Helck (1979, p. 300, n. 19) For the Mycenaean attestation, see Knossos Cu14. For up-to-date bibliographies on the 'Ahliyawa question', see Bryce (1989, pp. 3-4) and Cline (forthcoming b, n. 36).
- 44. For a survey of the debate, see Guterbock (1983, p. 133).
- 45 Guterbock (1983, pp. 134, 1986, pp. 30-40)
- 46 Pindar Olympian Odes, L24, Apoltonios Rhodios II 358 and 790, Pausanias II 224
- 47 See Guterbock (1983, p. 136),
- 48 Strabo, X 17, Sophokles, Fliktra, 508 15, Apollodoros Epitume, II.7 9; Pausanias, VIII.14.7.
- 49. Helck (1979, p. 300, n. 19).
- 50. Güterbock (1989, p. 136).
- 51. See Cline (forthcoming b, p. 25).
- 52 See Gardiner (1947, I, pp. 14-19). Another derivation of the extended form liv pt. Orpheas, is mentioned in Volume 1, pp. 71-2 and will be discussed further in Volume 4.
- 53 Pindar, Olympian Odes, L26, Hyginus, Fahida, 82-3, Servius on Aeneid, VI.603.
- 54. Volume 1, pp 358~9. The 2nd edition of this volume will contain much more on this crucial and frightening theme.
- 55. Nilsson (1972, p. 189).
- 56. See Yannai (1983, p. 113) and Bryce (1989, p. 5). Bryce maintains that the name was (1088ed out because of what he believes to have been the conquest of Millawanda from Abhiyawa by the Hittites at that time. I

disagree with this, following the argument proposed by Singer that the so called 'Millawata Letter' comes from this period and indicates the Hittite loss of control of Western Anatolia in the mid-13th century. See ch. XII, nn. 97–8.

57 See Volume 1, p. 446, and ch. X, nn 39 and 64

58 Helck (1979, p. 133).

59. This part of the story is fold twice in almost identical words. Odyssey XIV.278 and XVII.441.

60. Odyssey, XIV.275-86.

61 Torune: (1950, p. 93). For the identification of 1rk with Tyrsenor and Etruscan, see Gardiner (1947, I, pp. 197-8).

62. See ch. X, nn.51-3.

- 63 Mee (1982, pp. 89-7). He doubts that there was a Cretan settlement at Miletos, Mellink (1983, p. 139) believes that there was one.
- 64 See it 40 above. For a discussion of the meaning of Pelasgian and why it could be used for Danaan, see Volume 1, pp. 75–83.

65. Stubbings (1975, p. 173).

- 66 For the destruction, see Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 47-50) See also Stubbings (1975, p. 171).
- 67. See Burkert (1984, pp. 97-104) and ch. XII, n. 87, below.

68. See Pausanias, VII.1.

69 See Cline (forthcoming b). This is interpreting the six fragmentary vessels as LMIIIB, not LMIIIA2-B

70. Lang (1966, pp. 46-8).

71. Cline (forthcoming a and b).

72. Cline (forthcoming b, n.40).

73 References for this are given by Zaccagnini (1987, pp. 58, 64)

74. Cline (forthcoming b, n. 50).
75. Cline (forthcoming b, nn. 53-4)

- 76 For a detailed survey of iron objects found in Mycenaean sites before 1950, see Lorimer (1950, pp. 111–17). For an update see Variotakis (1982). This is not to accept the conventional wisdom that the Hittites had a monopoly of the manufacture of iron during the Late Bronze Age. There is considerable evidence that non-meteoric iron was in use in Egypt at that time—see, for instance, the magnificent iron dagger found in the tomb of Tutankhainen. The fact that we name the period the 'Bronze' Age does not preclude the use of iron in it. If we are to believe Mellaart's testimony, there was an iron dagger in the Dorak Treasure which we should date to the 28th century and there is little doubt that in Egypt the use of iron dated back to the Old Kingdom—see Dows and Dunham (1942) and Diop (1973).
- 77. Cline (forthcoming b, n.61).

78. Guterbock (1983, p. 136).

79. Yannai (1983, pp. 112-13), Cline (forthcoming b, n 63)

80. Dayton (1982a, p. 164).

81. Stubbings (1951, p. 110) and Mellink (1983, pp. 140-1)

82. Sherratt and Crouwel (1987, p. 341).

83. See Volume 1, p. 446.

84. Sherratt and Crouwel (1987, p. 345).

85. Cline (forthconing b, n 67), Stubbings (1959, p 104). Cline answers Liverant's (1987, p 407) objections to this argument. For the Hittite dominance in North Syria after 1370 8c, see also ch. X, n 131.

86. Drower (1975, pp. 133-4).

87 For a survey of this theory see Yannai (1983, pp. 52-6). The only archaeological evidence to suggest the presence of Greeks at Ugain are the Mycenaean clay animal figurines, which seem to have been used as votive offerings. I have been unable to discover whether these are LHIIIA or LHIIIB. See Yannai (1983, pp. 81-3). Schaeffer does not give a ceramic date for the pottery but places them absolutely as late 1 pth or early 13th century. This would seem to be LHIIIA according to the low chronology current in the 1930s. Against this, however, is Schaeffer's belief that the 'Mycenaean' tomb was cut in the library indicating a Greek incursion (1933, pp. 103–19).

88. Yannai (1983, p. 111).

89 Ch. X, nn. 131 2

90. Cathing (1964, p. 38).

91. Åström (1973, p. 122).

92. See Åstrom (1964 p 38), Catling, Richards and Blin-Stovle (1963, p 111), Catling and Millet (1965, p 219). Asaro and Perlman (1973). For the debate as a whole, see Yannai (1983, pp. 73 4).

93. Yannai (1983, p. 75).

- 94. Hankey (1970-1, p. 146).
- 95. Cathng (1975, pp. 199-201).

96. See ch. X, nn. 92-8.

97 For Tanaya, see ch. X. nn 39 fi5; for Ugarit, see Drowet (1975, pp. 133-4), for isy see Catling (1975, pp. 203-4), for a discussion of the complications of this name, see ch. V. nn 165-71. For Arzawa see the Amarna Letter in Hittite to Amenophis III, F.A. 31, 32. See also Yannai (1983, p. 127, n. 137).

98. Courtois (1973, p. 137).

- 90 For the Mycenaean explanation, see Taylour (1958, pp. 81-137, 1964, pp. 148-65) For a more Levantine view, see Culican (1966, pp. 42-50). For the Egyptian fleets, see ch. X, n.86
- 100 See, for instance, the Syrians painted in the tomb of Sbkhtp from the reign of Tuthmösis IV. Tomb 162. For a bibliographs on this, see Bass (1967, p. 135, n. 1), See also Culican (1966, plate 42).

101. Grace (1956) and Sasson (1966a).

102. Bass (1967, pp. 163-7).

103 Bass (forthcoming)

104. Albright (1950, p. 327).

105. Barnett (1956, p. 214).

106 I do not accept Bass's claim that the metal trade was all one way. See below for more on Greek exports of metal.

toy. For more on Canaanite jars, see below. The finding of Semitic names

for some spices in Linear A (see ch. X, n. 137) means that the naming and hence the trade must have existed well before the 14th century

108. Bass (1967, pp. 165-6).

109 See, for instance, Cadogan (1969b) and McCann (1970)

(10) Wace and Stubbings (1962, p. 543). Bass gives a substantial but incomplete hibliography of contrary views on this question (1967, p. 167, n. 41).

111. Muhly (1970b); Volume 1, p. 422.

112. Muhly (1970b, pp. 43-4).

113 See ch. X, n. 129.

- 114. See Volume 1, p. 427.
- 115. Yannai (1983, pp. 51-4).

116. See ch. X, n. 147.

117 Cading (1964 pp. 53~4). Yannai (1983, p. 55).

118 Yannai (1983, p. 61).

119 Yannai (1983, p. 60), Merrillees (1972, pp. 281 - 94)

120 Vinnai (1983, pp. 60-70).

- 121. See nn. 89 qu above.
- 122. Hankey (1967, pp. 20-2; 1970-1, p. 146).

123. Yannai (1983, p. 103).

124. Schaeffer (1971, p. 521), Courtois (1973, p. 137), Vannai (1983, p. 102)

125, Weinstein (1989a, p. 27).

126. Bass (1987, p. 732). Weinstein (1989a, p. 24).

127. Pulak (1988, pp 33 - 1)

128. E.A. 33 and E.A. 34 and 35. The 500 'talents' mentioned in F.A. 35 mas well not be ingots. See Bass (1986a, pp. 293 - 4, 1987, p. 709) and Pulak (1988, p. 34). For Bass's demal that Alasia is Cyprus. see (1990b, pp. 19–20).

129. Pulak (1988, p. 37).

130. Bass (1990b, pp. 17-18).

131 See nn. 78 and 58-60 above.

132 For Marsa Matruh, see White (1986, pp. 76-8) For the Aeoban Islands and Sicily, see Bass (1990b, p. 17).

133. Purpura, (1981, pp. 15-35)

134. See ch. X, n. 151 and above nn. 101-10.

135 Gardiner (1947, II, p. 25).

136 Volume (p. 5). I have altered Thébai to Thebà as Thebé is the common Homeric form. The relationship between Theba and the West Semitic Tebáh has been known for a long time. Hesychios, the lexicographer of the 5th or 6th century AD, wrote that Théba was a city of Boiotia, and 'a chest' (kibotos). Kibotos is used to translate the febáh (ai k) in the Noah story in the Septuagint. See Astoni (1967a, p. 158, n. 2).

137 Itual 1X, 380 4 For the attack on these lines, which are disturbing to the Arvan Model, by Heyne at Gottingen, see Volume 1, p. 478, n. 119

138 See above, n. 25 and ch. X, nn 77-8.

139. See ch. X, nn. 110-16.

140 See ch. X, nn 87-8 and n. 207 below.

- 141. Hankey (1981).
- 142. Helck (1979, p. 97).
- 143. Strange (1980, p. 25), Cline (1987, p. 6).
- 144. See ch. X, nn. 109-16.
- 145. Cline (1987, pp. 24-6 and 30-2).
- 146. Cline (1987, p. 7).
- 147. Cline (1987, p. 1; 1990, p. 209, nn. 39-40).
- 148, Cline (1987, pp. 13-16).
- 149. Weinstein (1973, pp. 430-2).
- 150. Hankey (1981, p. 46)
- 151. Cline (1987, pp. 10-11).
- 152. Giveon (1978a, nos. 3. 4, plates 54, and 2-4).
- 153. Cline (1990, pp. 208-9, nn 35-40).
- 154. Diodoros, I 29, 1-5. The scholast Austeides, XIII.95, also calls Erechtheus Egyptian but seems to be confusing him with Kekrops. See Tzetzes, Lykophron 111. The Greek scholar Alexandra Lambropoulou (1988, pp. 77-8) derives the name from the Egyptian History of Historic of the Horizon). These issues will be discussed further in Volumes 3 and 4.
- 155. Apollodoros, H1 14.7 For a thorough but thoroughly Arvanist discussion of these sources, see Burton (1972, pp. 124-5). Astout (1967a, p. 343) identifies the name Pandion with the Linear B Padijo and hence with the L'garitic mames Pdv, Padiya or Pdyn from the common Semitic root padå (ransom, redeem).
- 156. See ch. III, n. 128
- 157. See letter quoted in Cline (1990, p. 209, n. 42).
- 158 Gale (1980, pp. 178, 180-1). He also cites Buchholz (1972) and Stos-Gale and Gale (1982).
- 159 Gale (1980, p. 178).
- 160. Dayton (1982a, pp. 159, 164).
- 161. Dayton (1982a, p. 166).
- 162. Vercoutter (1956, p. 139, doc. 41, pp. 89-90, doc. 19)
- 163. See ch. IV, n. 23
- 164. Pulak (1988, p. 8).
- 165 Cathing (1964 p. 271); Bass (1986a, pp. 294-5); Maddin, Wheeser and Muhly (1977, p. 46)
- 166 Pulak (1988, p. 9).
- 167. Muhly (1979b, p. 95).
- 168 Pulak (1988, p. 36)
- 169. See n. 161 above
- 170. See Harding (1984, pp. 261-6).
- 171. See Bernal (1990, pp. 35-40).
- 172 For a map of this, see Bass (1987, pp 607-8). See also Bass (1986a, 1986b), Pulak (1988) and Knapp and Stech (1985). Bass does not mention the wheat from Egypt or the lead and silver from Greece.
- 173 McGready (1968, pp 452-9), see also Hemmerdinger (1968). Hbnl

may be a loan into Egyptian from some other African language. *Kitisos* a false ebony probably found in the Linear B. *kitisso*, is also generally acknowledged to be a loan into Greek from an African language. See Lucas and Harris (1962, p. 434) and Brown (1975, p. 143). However, no Egyptian etymon has been found.

74 Chantraine (1968-75, p. 338) Nineteentli-century scholars were di-

yided on this See Muss-Arnoli (1892, p. 93).

- 175 See Laroche (1965) Chantraine (1968-75, p. 338) points out that the Hittite form lubpus is also a loan. See also the discussion in Masson (1967, pp. 80-3). In deriving rlephus from the Semine alpu Laroche was following a long tradition that goes back as far as Bochart. See Hemmerdinger (1970, p. 52). The possibility that the Hittite aminating sulfix int and several Greek finals. inthis come from the Egyptian introduvine or living) will be discussed in Volume 3.
- 176. Chantraine (1968-75, p. 338).

177. Muss-Arnolt (1892, p. 93).

178. Muss-Arnolt (1892, p. 92, n. 3).

179. Lewy (1895, p. 81).

180. Maccarrone (1939, p. 102).

181. Maccarrone (1939, p. 102)

182. Chantraine does not put artos and artuo in the same family

183. Pisani, p. 141. Georgacas (1957, p. 115).

184 Hubschmid Sardische Studien, see Georgacas (1957, p. 115)

185. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 535).

186. Gardiner (1957, p. 198, § 266.1).

- 187 Szemerényi (1960) does not mention it in his comprehensive studies of Indo-European numbers.
- 188 See Brown (1975, p. 143) For the possibility of cotton production in Egypt this early, see Volume 3.
- 189. Bass (1987, p. 728) points out that this was not the wood we now call ebony but *Dalbergia melanoxylon* (African blackwood), which is what the Fgyptians called *libri*. See also n. 179 above.
- 190 For a brief discussion and bibliography on the ancient slave trade with a special reference to the Phoenician role in it, see Bernal (1989a, pp. 18–26)

191 Genesis 41 57

- 198. Nougayrol (1957, p. 165)
- 193. Astour (1967a, p. 348).
- 194. Heltzer (1978, p. 119).
- 195 Heltzer (1978, p. 100).
- 196 See Singer (1983b).

197. Singer (1983b, pp. 4-5).

tg8. Diodoros I 29. For a bibliography of arguments as to whether this story dated from the 6th or the 4th century, see Brown (1975, p. 149, n. 23). I see no reason to doubt that the overall tradition, if not the specifics, dated back to the Bronze Age. Erechtheus, whom a significant tradition

considered to be Egyptian was supposed – according to the Patian Mathle – to have reigned around 1400 BC, which was in fact a high point of Egyptian contact with the Aegean. See Schol. Aristides, XIII 45, and Burton (1972, pp. 124–5)

199. Bintliff (1977, pt 1, p. 51).

200. See Bernal (1989a, p. 23).

201. For the glass ingots found on the Ulu Burun ship and then plausible 1 evantine origin, see Bass (1987, pp. 716-17) and Pulak (1988, p. 14). Dayton (1982b) argues that the cobalt blue colouring of much of the glass came from Schneeberg in Bohenna and that it was first manufactured in Mycenacan Greece. Linear B tablets record the presence of kmennokoi (glass paste workers) in Mycenae (see Pollinger Foster, 1979, pp 10-11). Nevertheless, the Greek tradition clearly associated lapis lazult and its manufactured initiation, faience, as coming from Egypt or possibly Phoenicia. Theophrastos, De Lapubbus, 55, The Greek word for blue glass, kyano - kuwano in Linear B is clearly cognate to the Hittite hutwahum, the Akkadian ugua and the Ugaritic ignu. However, this is simply a general word for lapis lazuh and its imitation, which is interest ingly not present in Egyptian. Thus, while there is no doubt that blue glass was widely used in Egypt and this may well have led to its having been associated with it, it is much more likely that it was first manufactured in Phoenicia or possibly in Greece.

Austin (1970, pp. 35-7). The speeches of Demosthenes refer only to grain coming to Athens from the Black Sea and not that coming from Egypt. This absence can be explained by the second Persian occupation of Egypt 343-332 ac.

203. Biown (1975, p. 143).

204. Renfrew (1972, pp. 232-3).

205. For a survey of this, see Ventus and Chadwick (1973, pp. 236-8)

206. For references on Egyptian exports of wheat to Greece in Classical times, see Austin (1970, pp. 35-7) and Brown (1975, pp. 149-50).

207 For the relationships between the and told and between life and victuals in other cultures, see Ember (1917, p. 80).

208. Bass (1990b, p. 16)

209. Cline (forthcoming a). See also n. 72 above.

210. See n. 146 above.

211 Yannai (1983, p. 59)

212 See Hankey (1967) and the chart at the end of Cline (forthcoming b)

213 Ch. X, n. 120.

214. See Blegen (1937, pp. 255-9); Mylonas (1956, pp. 119-25); French (1971, p. 142) and Yannai (1983, p. 82). Fragments of a Levantine flask with legs and a Canaanite jar have been found at Pseira, off the coast of Northeast Crete from LMIB, but Canaanite pottery is found far more frequently in LMII and LMIII contexts. See Lambrou-Phillipson (1990, p. 6).

215 French (1971, p. 131) quoted in Yannai (1983, p. 83)

- 216. Yannai (1983, pp. 82-3).
- 217. Yannai (1983, p. 68)
- 218. Ch. II, nn. 185-93 and ch. VI, nn. 17-21.
- 219. Ch. VI, n. 21.
- 220. Ch. II, nn. 185-93; ch. VI, nn. 19-21.
- 221 For a bibliography on these, see Yannai (1989, p. 129, n. 89a).
- 222 Renfrew (1978, plates 4a and b).
- 223. See Neghi (1976) and Seeden (1980). Pare Canhy (1969)
- 224 Webster (1958, p. 11) argues for the phrase being taken literally. Astour (1967a, p. 359, n. 2) denies this.
- 225. Buchholz (1967, pp. 148-50, 157, n. 55).
- 226. For the jars, see Grace (1956), Sasson (1966a), Åkerstrom (1975) and Yannai (1983, pp. 66~7). For the Thera Canaanite jar, see ch. 1X, n. 115.
- 227. Vermeule (1964, p. 255).
- 228 Yannai (1983, pp. 66-7).
- 229. For a bibliography on the recent Cretan finds see Lambrou-Phillipson (1990, p. 6). For other recent discoveries of Canaanite jars in the Aegean see Shaw (1981, p. 246). For Kaş see Bass (1987, pp. 708-9), Pulak (1988, pp. 10-11).
- 230. Bass (1987, pp. 726-7).
- 231. For the Zakro tusk, see the Herakleion Museum Case 113
- 232 Vermeule (1964, p. 218).
- 233. Yannai (1983, pp. 63-4)
- 234. Yannai (1983, p. 64).
- 235. Poursat (1977, pp. 244-6). Poursat follows Furumark to take LHIHB as beginning in 1300 BC. Thus what he sees as 13th-century developments I see as developments of the 14th and 13th centuries.

Chapter XII

THE HEROIC END TO THE HEROIC AGE

- 1. See ch. VII, nn. 151-2.
- 2. See Volume 1, pp. 445-50.
- 3. See ch. XI, iii 59-62.
- 4. Ch. VII, n.42 and nn. 148-56.
- 5. Hallo (1977, p. 58).
- 6. Buchholz (1967, pp. 151, 159).
- 7. Yannai (1983, p. 63).
- 8. Buchholz (1967, pp. 152-8); Yannai (1983, p. 120).
- 9. See ch. III, nn 13-21.
- The etymology from kekasmai (excel) proposed by Vian (1963, pp. 154-7), though not as good as that from qdm, is possible semantically but far weaker phonetically. Astour (1967a, pp. 147-52) gives a fascinating portrait of the confortions of Arvanist scholars to avoid the obvious but unwelcome evidence for Kadmos' Semitic connections. For these, see ch. II, nn. 6 and 143.

- 11 Furope the western continent, as well as its eponym Europa, comes from rb but this time, in contrast to the etymology of crebos discussed in ch. II, n. 87, from the Canaanite infinitive construct form. arôb. Astout (1967a, p. 130). There will be further discussion of the Boiotian cult of Europa in Volume 4.
- 12 This comes from Ovid, Metamorphuses, II 830-52 For a detailed discussion of the various variants of this legendary cycle and its treatment by 19th- and 20th-century scholars, see Edwards (1979, pp. 17–86).
- 13. Volume 1, pp. 85-6.
- 14 For the gates, see Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 32-8). For the sphinx, see the larnax in the Thebes Museum no. 14.
- 15 Edwards (1979, p. 173, n. 185). I believe that this holds true even at one begins LHIIIB in 1370 rather than 1275 BC.
- 16 Edwards (1979, p. 105, n. 105).
- 17. See ch. II, n. 228.
- 18 Bochart (1646, II 17) Philo, History, 804 14 (Baumgarten, 1481 pp. 184-6) See also Astom (1467a, p. 216) Astom also suggests the alternative that the name simply comes from 'ely, an epithet of Ba al. See also Genesis 14, 18.
- 19. See Pausamas, IX 8 5 See, further, Symeonoglou (1985) p. 125)
- 20. Philo, History, 800-14 (Baumgarten, 1981, pp. 184-6), Astour (1967a, p. 155). This cult and its Egyptain and Phoenician roots will be discussed in more detail in Volume 1. The Semitic etymology of Kabiror has been known at least since the time of Scaliger (1565, p. 146). George Fliot's Mr. Casaubon knew of the "Cabiri (Middlemarch, ch. 20). She learnt about the Semitic etymology from her triend Mark Patuson from whom she took the name Casaubon itself. Patuson had written biographies of both Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon. See Hertz (1985, pp. 75-96) and La Capia (1987, pp. 56–82). This is also discussed in Volume Lip. 483, n. 113. For Arvanist attempts to disconnect the Kabiror from Phoenicia, see Edwards (1979, p. 81, n. 75).
- 21. Bérard (1902-3, II, pp. 411-16) See also Astour (1967a, p. 214). I do not find Astour's etymologies for Zethos, Dirké, Asopos, Tanagra or Gephyror semantically tight enough to be convincing.
- 22 See ch. III, nn. 77-04.
- 23. See ch. X, n. 96.
- 24. For the Theban Linear B, see Chadwick (1969), Olivier (1971) and Godart and Saccom (1978). For the alphabetic inscriptions, see Herodotos, V.59. 61. For arguments in favour of the widespread ase of the alphabet in Greece in the Late Bronze. Age, see Bernal (1990, pp. 53–70).
- 25. Parian Marble L1.12-15.
- 26. Jacoby (1923-9, IIB, p. 250, frg. 4.8).
- 27 Berard (1952, pp. 7-8) See also Edwards (1979, p. 167).
- 28. See Ullman (1927, p. 320) and Dringer (1968, p. 358). Edwards and Edwards (1974) have shown that this date does not go back to Fratos thenes but merely to the 19th century.
- 29 See n. 45 below.

30. See ch. IX, nn. 148-84.

For the establishment and maintenance of this ultra low dating, see Bernal (1990, pp. 7-15).

32. Jacoby (1923 9, IA, p. 1, frg. 20) See also Edwards (1979, p. 66). For the relationships among the different traditions, see Edwards (1979, p. 268) and Dörpfeld (1935, II, pp. 401-4).

33. See Bernal (1990, pp. 38-52).

34 Apollodoros, II.14 48 and III.4.1 55-8 For a clear survey of this confused situation, see Edwards (1979, p. 166)

35 Herodotos, I.2, H. 49, IV 45; Euripides, The Phaemitan Women, 639, etc. For other references, see Edwards (1979, p. 47, p. 50)

36. See Katzenstein (1973, pp. 18-20).

37. Herodotos, IL44. For Lloyd's reasons for accepting Herodotos' statement, see (1976, pp. 206-7).

38 Friedrich (1923, p. j., Albright (1950, p. 165); Harris (1939, p. j0). Moran (1961, p. 59)

Moran (1961, p. 59)

Hual, VI.290, XXIII 743; Odyory, IV.84, 618, XIII 326, XV 118, 425, Joshua 13, 4, 6; Judges 3, 3; I Kings 5.6.

40. See Euripides Bacchae, 171 and 1025, Phiros, fig. 819 and Isokiates, X 68. See Edwards (1979, p. 47, n. 50) for other references. See also Garbini (1979, p. 84).

11. See Herodotos, H.44, for Thasos. For a sceptical view of Phoenician influence there, see I loyd (1976, pp. 207-11). Neither he not Brighta Berquist, whose monograph on Thasos was published in 1973, refer to the article by Denis Van Berchem, who sets the cult of Herakles at Thasos firmly in a Phoenician context. See Van Berchem (1967, pp. 88-104). For Membharos, see ch. VII. nn. 85-93.

2. For a general study of the whole mythological tangle, see Edwards

(1979, pp. 23-32).

- 43 See Diodoros, I 23; Konon, in Jacoby (1923-9, IA, p. 26, frg. 1). Kharax of Pergamon, in Jacoby (1923-9, IIA, p. 103, frg. 14). Nonnos Duonysiaka, IN. 205-70. Tretres Scholia to Lykophron, 1206, Scholia to Encripides Phoenissae, 638, Hyginus, Fabulae, 277-8ee also Edwards (1979-p. 48, n. 51).
 - 44 Jacoby (1923~9, IIIB, p. 532, frg. 1B-C). See also Diodoros, V 58.

45 Volume 1, pp. 88-98; ch. IX, this volume, nn 227 and 228

46. Volume 1, p. 109.

47. Ch. III, nn. 73-100 and 138

48 Vermeule (1964, p. 239); Stubbings (1973, pp. 637-8), Huxley (1961, p. 37). Astour (1967a, pp. 220-4). For a full hibliography on this, see Edwards (1979, pp. 167-9).

19. See ch. XI, n. 136.

50 For the labiovelars and their breakdown, see Volume 1, pp 56 8, and Bernal (1989b, pp 35-6). This problem will be discussed in more detail in Volume 3.

51. Szemerényi (1966b, p. 29).

- 52. See ch. X, nn. 92-8.
- 53. Lejeune (1972, pp. 46-7).
- 54. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 389)
- 55 Lejeune (1958, p. 302) and pair Szemerenyi (1966b, p. 35).
- 56. Ventris and Chadwick (1973, p. 386).
- 57 Pace Szemerenyi (1966b, p. 29).
- 58. Lejeune (1972, p. 51)
- 59. See Bernal (1987, 1990)
- 60 Bernal (1987, p. 14, 1990, pp. 115-6). The preference for tet and quph over two and kaph is also influenced by the fact that, according to the rule of begudkephat, the latter are spirantized in many contexts and therefore not such accurate representations of the stops.
- 61. See Bernal (1987, pp. 13-14, 1990, pp. 115-16)
- 62. Odyssey, XI.262-4. See ch. II, n. 212,
- 63. Pausanias, IX.5.1.
- 64. The Phoemeian Women, 231-46, trans. Vellacott (1972, pp. 243-4)
- 65. The Phoenician Women, 638-82, trans. Vellacott (1972, pp. 259-66). For a bibliography of this, see Symeonoglou (1985, p. 289, site 191).
- 67 See Fontenrose (1966b, p. 189). Sasson (1966a, p. 135, n. 53), Hammond (1967, p. 654) and Hemmerdinger (1966, p. 698; 1967)
- 68 Lambrou Philipson (1987, p. b) See also Potada (1981, p. a).
- 69 Lambron-Phillipson (1987, pp. 7-8)
- 70 Lambrou-Phillipson (1987, p. 8) For the Levantine craft, see Winter (1976).
- 71 Lambrou Phillipson (1987, p.8) See also Symeonoglou (1985) pp. 231-2, site (). For the iron, see ch. M. n.76
- 72. Porada (1981, pp. 9-29)
- 73. Porada (1981, pp. 46-9).
- 74. Porada (1981, pp. 36-46).
- 75 Porada (1981, pp. 49-66).
- For the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, see ch. VIII. nn.64 and 94. For unsatisfactory speculations about their name and origins, see ch. VI, nn.69 and 78-9.
- 77 E.A. 2. Knudtzon (1915), pp. 88-9-1-43). Porada actually accepted low datings for both of these rulers. Given the general fate of 2nd-millennium low dating in the face of evidence from carbon 14 and dendro-chronology—and what this reveals about Middle European scholarly tendencies—as well as difficulties it would make for the dating of the Trojan Wat, I think it is better to stick with the conventional dating of the Cambridge Ancient History here.
- 78. Porada (1981, p. 68, n. 175).
- 79. Porada (1981, p. 70)
- 80. Porada (1981, p. 69, n. 180).
- 81. See ch. XI, n. 78.
- 82. See ch XI, n. 80.
- 83. See ch. XI, n. 56.

- 84. Symeonoglou (1985, pp. 67 and 227).
- 85. Symeonoglou (1973, p. 21).
- 86. Buck (1979, p. 40).
- 87 See Aischylos, Seven Against Thibes, Sophokles, Electra, Antigone and Oulipos at Colonos, and Euripides. The Phoenician Women. Burkett (1984). pp 100-2), tollowing a number of German sceptics, doubts that Late Bronze Age. Thebes had seven gates. However, the existence of the Homeric epithet of heptapylio (Seven-Gated Thebes) in Homer, Ihad, 4, 406 and Odywey, 11 263, strengthens the position of the Greek archaeologists, who see seven gates in the remains of Late Bronze Age. Thebes (See the bibliography in Burkett [1984, p. 100, n.6] and Symeonoglou [1985, pp. 34-8]) Burkert's doubts seem reasonable, however, when he questions the historicity of the seven heroes who were supposed to have attacked the city, one for each gate, and shows the parallels of these stories with Mesopotainian legends of the seven 'heroic plagues' led by Fira For Fira, see ch. II, n. 170. Indeed, I would go further and link the seven plagues heroes to the seven underground Kabuor - see n 20 above. On the other hand, I see no reason to doubt that there were two sieges of Thebes in the 13th century ac and that some of the seven were historical figures.
- 88. See ch. V, nn. 164 6, and ch. VI, nn. 102 and 138-40.
- 89 See ch. X, nn. 111-12.
- 90. Korlmann (1986, pp. 27-8), Vermeule (1986, pp. 87-8)
- 91 Guterbock (1986, p. 36), Mellink (1986a, p. 96)
- 92 For a recent discussion of the identification of these names, see Guter bock (1986, pp. 35, 41-3).
- 93. Güterbock (1986, p. 35) puts it about 1280 BC. I follow the chronology of the Cambridge Ancient History here against the enthusiasts for low dating. This is what Mellink (1986a, p. 93) does in this case.
- 94. Güterbock (1986, p. 36).
- 95. See ch. XI, nn. 30, 44, and 51.
- 96 Helck (1971, pp. 195-8), Mellink (1986a, pp. 90-7).
- 97. Güterbock (1986, p. 38)
- 98. Singer (1983a, p. 215).
- 99 For Arzawa, see ch. XI, n. 97, and, for Wilwry, see ch. X, nn. 111-12
- 100 Vermeule (1986, p. 88). The difficulty with this scheme is that it is in this period that we have the Egyptian documentary evidence.
- 101. See Güterbock (1986, p. 36).
- 102. See ch. XI, n. 50. For a bibliography of the scholars preferring the earlier dating, see Singer (1983a, p. 210, n.3).
- 103 For the references to war and peace, see Guterbock (1986, p. 37)
- 104 Laroche (1966, p. 26), Watkins (1986, p. 57)
- 105 Laroche (1966, pp. 325, 364); Watkins (1986, p. 57)
- 106. Watkins (1986, p. 57)
- 107. Laroche (1966, p. 325), Georgies (1972, p. 7).
- 108. See ch. XI, n. 192.

- 109. Iliad, II.820-78.
- 110, Furumark (1941).
- 111. Blegen et al. (1950-8, III, pp. 386-8).
- 112 See Korfmann (1986, p. 27) Korlmann deals with the ultra low dating of Podzuweit (1982).
- 113. Wood (1987, pp. 224-31).
- 114. Finley et al. (1964).
- 115. See ch. XI, n.61.
- 116. Gordon (1955; 1962b, pp. 132-55).
- 117. Vermeule (1986, pp. 85-91).
- 118. Watkins (1986, p. 58).
- 119. Kirk (1985, pp. 168-70).
- 120. Ihad, II.504.
- 121. See ch. II, n. 22.
- 122. Thucydides, 1.12.
- 123. See, for instance, Snodgrass (1971, p. 300)
- 124. Fossey (1989b).
- 125 This will be discussed in more detail in Volume 3
- 126. Ibad, IV.370-410.
- 127 Hesiod, Works and Days, 156-66, trans-Evelvii-White (1914, p. 15)
- 128. Volume 1, p. 446.
- 129 It is possible that the Hittite monarchy lingered on for two more decades but there is no doubt that its power was broken
- 130. Bass (1967, pp. 163-7).
- 131. Charles (1965); Yannai (1983, p. 58).
- 132. Vermeule (1964, pp. 302-3).
- 133 Hesiod, Works and Days, 156 66, and Thucydides, I 12
- 134. See Shrimpton (1987, pp. 149-50).
- 135. Bintliff (1977, I p. 115), Cherry (1985, pp. 20-8)
- 136. Desborough (1964, esp. p. 226, 1975, pp. 058-71), Kilian (1985), See also the bibliography in Shrimpton (1987, pp. 151-55, n. 1)
- 137 See ch. XI, nn. 191-9.
- 138. See ch. VII, nn. 151-4.

GLOSSARY

Abkhaz

casian linguistic family and ethnic group living along the Black Sea coast to the west of Georgia Afroasiatic Otherwise known as Hamito-Semitic, a linguistic superfamily consisting of a number of language families including Berber, Chadic, Egyptian, Semitic and East South and Central Cushitic. Akkadian The Semitic language of ancient Mesopotamia heavily influenced by and influencing Sumerian. It was replaced by Aramaic around the middle of the 1st millennium BC. Ancient region, more or less coextensive with Anatolia modern Turkey. Anatohan The Indo-Hittite but non-Indo-European languages of Anatolia They include Hittite. Palate Luvian Lycian, Lydian and probably Carran and Etruscan. Araman A West Semitic language, originally spoken in

placed by Greek and Arabic.

A language belonging to the Northwest Cau-

parts of what is now Syria, that became the lingua franca of the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and much of the Persian empires. It replaced the Canaanite dialects of Phoenician and Hebrew in the East Mediterranean in the middle of the 1st millennium BC. It was in its turn re-

Archaic Greece

Greek historical period from the first Olympic Games in 776 BC to the beginning of the Classical Age around 500 BC.

Armenian

Indo-European language of an ancient people of Eastern Anatoha. It is sometimes supposed to be especially close to Greek. However, as the earbest surviving texts go back to only the 4th century AD, the similarities may be the result of Greek influence or common contacts with Semitic

Aryan

Ferm used to describe the speakers of the Indo Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. They appear to have invaded Iran and India in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. In the late 19th century AD the term came to be used for the Indo-European 'race' as a whole.

Assyria

An ancient kingdom in Northern Mesopotamia dating back to the middle of the 3rd millennium. Its greatest periods were at the endof the 2nd millennium and between 900 and 600 BC. Its language was originally a dialect of Akkadian.

autochthonous

Native or aboriginal.

Axial Age

The period between 700 and 500 BC in which it is believed, by some, that Greeks, Israelites, Iranians, Indians and Chinese made the religious, philosophical and scientific breakthroughs that led to the modern age.

Babylon

Ancient city in South-Central Mesopotainia Seat of several important kingdoms and finally of the Neo-Babyloman Empire between 600 and 538 BC.

Berhei

The languages spoken by the original inhabitants of Northwest Africa. They are still spoken from the Western Descri in Egypt to Morocco

Besserwissen

The German for 'knowing better', a scholarly approach based on the belief that the 'science' and alleged 'historical method' of 19th- and 20th-century historians make their conclusions categorically superior to those of Ancient

writers

Boharne

Coptic dialect originally spoken in the Western Delta, later standard throughout Christian Egypt.

Book of Coming Forth by Day Commonly known as Book of the Dead. Compilation of prayers, spells and instructions to guide the soul of the dead person through the journey of the afterlife.

Byblos Ancient port city in what is now Southern Lebanon. In close touch with Egypt since the 4th millennium, it was the most important Levantine city until it was eclipsed by the rise of Sidon at the end of the and millennium.

byname A subsidiary name.

calque The literal borrowing of an expression of id-

iom from another language.

Canaanite A Semitic language, heavily influenced by Egyptian, spoken in Southern Syro-Palestine between 1500 and 500 BC, when it was displaced by Aramaic. Phoenician and Hebrew are the best-known later Canaanite dialects. 'Canaanite' is also used to describe the material culture of Southern Syro-Palestine in the Late

Bronze Age c. 1500-1100 BC.

Region in Southwest Anatolia. Its language was probably Anatolian but may have been non-Indo-Hittite. Alphabetic inscriptions in Carian date from the 6th century BC.

A period of time reconstructed by archaeologists on the basis of pottery styles.

> A name used in the 8th century BC to describe a people from the South of Mesopotamia. It was later used for the whole of Mesopotamia and its language between 500 BC and 500 AD was usually known as Aramaic.

Greece in the 5th and 4th centuries 80, the period which is generally held to have seen the greatest and 'purest' products of Greek gemus-

Ancient country at the eastern end of the Black Sea in the present Georgia and Abkhazia.

Ferm used by non-Christians in general, and Jews in particular, to avoid the sectarianism of the term AD, Anno Domini.

The language and culture of Christian Egypt Spoken until the 15th or 16th centuries AD, it remains the liturgical language of Egyptian Christians. Written in the Greek alphabet, with some additional letters derived from Demotic. it is the latest form of the Egyptian language.

A script system developed in Mesopotamia in which nail-shaped wedges were pressed into wet clay.

Name conventionally given to the period after

Carra

ceramic period

Chaldagan

Classical Greece

Colchis

Common Era

Coptic

cuneiform

Dark Ages (Christian)

the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century AD and before the Middle Ages which are generally scen as beginning in the oth or 10th.

Dark Ages (Greek) Name given to the period of Greek history after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces in the 12th century BC and before the 11se of Archaic Greece in the 8th

Demotic Strictly speaking, Demotic is the script derived from Hieroglyphic and Hieratic, used in Egypt after the 7th century BC. The word is also used to describe the language of this period.

The method of determining the age of wood and its archaeological context by counting tree CITHUS.

known for his Library of History

Consonants formed with the tongue against the teeth, as, for example, d and t. Flement in the hieroglyphic representation

signifying the meaning of a word as opposed to its sound The belief that cultural characteristics can be

transmitted from one culture to another. Greek historian from Sicily, c. 80-20 BC.

V Greek tribe originating from Northwestern Greece who overran much of Southern Greece in the 12th century BC. The most famous Dorian state was Sparta.

Independent language family which extended in ancient times from Southern India to Eastern Mesopotanna. It was probably the language of the civilization of Harappa. The best-known members of the family are Tanal and Telugu, which still flourish in Southern India, and Elamite, the language of the ancient Elamite civilization.

Ceramic period applied to Mainland Greece in the Early Bronze Age c. 3300-2000 BC.

Ceramic period in Crete in the Early Bronze Age, c. 9300-2000 BC.

An ancient Syrian city first excavated in the 1970s. It had a massive trading network and empire throughout Syro-Palestine, around 2500 BC.

The language of Ebla, an independent Semitic

dendrochronology

dentals

determinative

diffusionism

Diodotos Sikehotes

Dorians

Dravidian

Early Heliadic

Early Minoan

Ebla

Eblaite

language that can usefully be seen as a predecessor of Canaanite.

Egyptian

This is is often used to refer, not to the Arabic dialect spoken in Egypt today but to the language of Ancient Egypt, which was an independent Afroasiatic language. It is subdivided into Old Egyptian, spoken during the Old Kingdom from (3400 to 2400 BC, and Middle Egyptian, spoken during the Middle Kingdom from \$200 to 1750 BC, which remained the official language for the next fifteen hundred years. When 'Fgyptian' is used without epithet it usually refers to this. Late Egyptian was spoken by the 16th century, but it was not commonly used in writing until the end of the millenmum. It was, Largue, Late Egyptian that had the greatest influence on Greek. For the later stages, Demotic and Coptic, see above:

Elam Ancient civilization in the East of Mesopotamia from the 4th millennium to c. 300 BC

The language of Elam belonging to the Dravidian language family.

Surname or additional name

c. 275-195 BC. Greek scholar and librarian of the great library at Alexandria. The first Greek to calculate the circumference and tilt of the

Farth

Name given by the Ancient Greeks to two regions inhabited by Black people. One approximated to Elam, and the other, much better known, was the African territory south of

Egypt

Name of a number of branches of the Semuc language family spoken in Ethiopia. These include Ge'ez, the ancient church ranguage, Ambaric, the national language of Ethiopia to day; and the Gurage languages, some of which appear to exhibit the most archaic forms of

any Semitic language.

Civilization of ancient Italy. The predominant view in Antiquity was that the Etruscans came. from Lydia in Northwest Anatolia. The language - which is not well understood - could well be Anatolian. A very closely related language has been found on inscriptions from the

Llamite

epiclesis Eratosthenes

Ethiopia

Ethiopic

Etruscan

nearby island of Lemnos. Etruscan seems to have been heavily influenced by Phoenician civilization from the 9th to the 6th centuries BC. It was itself a central influence in the formation of Latin culture.

Eudoxos Greek astronomer and mathematician from Knidos on the Anatolian coast. Studied in

Egypt. Born e. 400, died e. 350 BC

euhemerism Doctrine of Euhemeros according to which what were commonly worshipped as gods were actually deflied heroes. By extension the word has been used in modern times to mean the explanation or reduction of religious beliefs in

Luhemeros Philosopher of around 300 BC.

genetic

Harappa

A 'genetic' relationship between languages is one in which they are supposed to come from a single ancestor. For example, brench and Romanian have a 'genetic' relationship because, for all their differences, both derive from the Vulgar Latin spoken in the Roman army.

Georgian People who have inhabited the Central Caucasus since earliest times. The Georgian language belongs to the **Kartvelian** language family

Han Chinese dynasty that succeeded the Qin in 206 BC and lasted until 220 AD.

The names of this site or another, Mohenjo Daro, are used for the ancient civilization that flourished in Northwest India from \$\epsilon\$, 2500 to 1700 BC, when it was destroyed, probably by the invading Aryans from the north. The winting of this civilization has not been deciphered but it is likely that its language belonged to the **Dravidian** language family dominant today in South India and still spoken in pockets in Western Pakistan.

Hatti Ancient name for a territory in Central Anatolia. The homeland of the **Hittites**.

Hebrew Canaanite diatect spoken in the kingdoms of Israel, Judah and Moab between 1500 and 500 BC. For religious reasons it is often treated as a distinct language.

Helladic Name given to three ceramic periods on Mainland Greece, roughly approximating to the Minoan ceramic periods in Crete

Hellenic Greek or Greek-speaking, but particularly as-

sociated with Thessaly in Northern Greece Since the late 18th century, the word has gained many connotations of nobility and of northern and Aryan 'blood'.

Hellenistic - The name given to Greek culture throughout

the East Mediterranean from the conquests of Alexander the Great in the late 4th century ac until the incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire in the 1st century BC.

Hellespont Strait linking the Mediterranean and Black Seas and dividing Asia from Europe.

Herodotos - Farhest Greek historian from Halikarnassos in Asia Minor, born c. 485 BC, died c. 425 BC

Hesiod Greek poet from Boiotia of the 10th century BC, most famous for his Theogony.

Hieratic Egyptian script gradually developed from Hieroglyphic about 2700 BC. It changed the formal pictorial Hieroglyphic into a cursive script that was still based on the same

principles.

Hyksos

Indo-European

Hieroglyphic Egyptian script first attested in the late 4th millennium. It is made up of phonetic signs for letters, double letters, triple letters and 'deter-

minatives' which indicate the category of the word's meaning.

Hittite Empire in Central Anatolia during the 2nd millenmum BC. Its language was an Anatolian one and was written earlier in a form of cuneiform and later in its own hieroglyphic system

Hurrian Name of a people who lived in Syria and Eastern Anatolia in the 3rd and 2nd millenniums by Their extinct language, like that of Urartu, belongs to the linguistic family now represented by the Northeast Caucasian languages. It was neither Afroasiatic nor Indo-Hittite. The most important Hurrian-speaking state was that of Mitaniu, which flourished in West-

second half of the 2nd millennium 80. These were invaders from the northeast, who dominated Egypt between \$\epsilon\$ 1725 and \$\epsilon\$ 1575 80. The bulk of the Hyksos spoke a West Se-

ern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria in the

mutic language, but they seem also to have contained **Hurrian** and possibly Indo Aryan speakers

Language family including all European lan-

guages – except for Basque, Finnish and Hungarian – the Iranian and North Indian languages and **Tokharian**. Although **Phrygian** and **Armenian** were situated in **Anatolia**, they are Indo-European languages not **Anatolian** ones

Indo-Hittite

A language superfamily including both the Anatolian and Indo-European lamilies

inflected languages

Languages like Greek, Latin and German that rely to a great extent on the inflection or changing word shapes or morphology to convey meaning.

interdentals

Consonants formed by putting the tongue between the teeth, as in th.

Ionians -

Central and Southern Greek people who survived the **Dorian** conquest, some of whom migrated to the western coast of **Anatolia**.

isolating languages

Languages like Chinese and English that have relatively little inflection but rely heavily on syntax or the positioning of words in a sentence.

isolationism

The belief that cultures cannot be fundamentally affected from elsewhere

Kartvelian

A Gaucasian language family of which the best known member is **Georgian**.

Kassites

A people from the mountains to the east of Mesopotamia, who conquered the whole region in the late 18th century BC and held it until the second half of the 18th.

Kekrops

Legendary founder and king of Athens. He was generally portrayed as autochthonous, although a minority tradition saw him as coming from Egypt. Some evidence supporting the latter will be given in Volume 3.

labials

Consonants formed with the lips: b, p, m, and so on

50.0

labiovelars

Velars completed with a rounding of the lips, as for instance in our qu-

laryngeals

Sounds made in the larynx or throat as a whole; more precisely they can be divided into velar fricatives -h and g-h aryngeals -h and s-h and the laryngeals in the narrow sense -h and h. All of these, except for g, exist throughout Semitic and Egyptian, but all except h have disappeared from Indo-European.

Late Helladic or Mycenaean Ceramic period in Mainland Greece from

c. 1675-1100 BC.

Late Minoan Ceramic period in Crete from 7, 1675, 1450 BC when the island became dominated by Greeks. lead isotope analysis The measurement of the proportion of radioactive isotopes in lead, from which it is possible. to determine the geological age of a lead deposit and hence the origin of lead objects. Lemnos Island in the Northwest Aggean where a non-Indo-European language related to Etruscan was spoken in Classical times. Syllabary used in Crete and elsewhere before Linear A the establishment of Greek on the island Linear B Syllabary derived from a prototype of Linear A, attested from about 1400 BC but probably written long before that date. Consonants like Land r which flow liquids Region in Southern Anatolia. The Lycian lan-Lycia guage was Anatolian and was an inducer de scendant of Hittite. Alphabetic inserty tions in it date from the 5th century BC. Region of Northwest Anatolia. The Lydian lan-Lvdia guage belonged to the Anatolian family. Fradition maintained that the Etruscans came from Lydia. Alphabetic inscriptions and date. from the 5th century BC. Mandate of Heaven Lunning in Chinese. An ancient political theory according to which a dynasty ruled only so long as it held the Mandate of Heaven, which would eventually be removed and handed to new challengers. metathesis Alternation or switching of consonantal or vocalic position in language. Geramic period for Maniland Greece for the Middle Helladic period c. 2000-1675 BC. Middle Kingdom Period containing the 11th, 12th and 18th Dynasties from c. 2150 to 1750 BC, during which Egypt was united and powerful, and upon which the Middle Minoan and Helladic ceramic periods were loosely based. Middle Minoan Ceramic period for Crete for the period c 2000-1675 BC. Minoan Name - derived by Arthur Evans from Minos, the legendary king of Crete – applied to the cultures of Crete before the arrival there of Greek speakers, and to three ceramic periods, also established by Evans. modified diffusionism The belief that cultures can be altered or

transformed by outside forces, but that in most

cases the changes take place only after considerable interaction with the local culture.

monism In this book 'monism' is used to indicate the notion that all things have single fundamental

causes.

monogenesis The belief in single origins, largely restricted

m this book to humanity and language. The opposite of polygenesis.

Mycenae City near Argos in the Northeastern Peloponnese, famous as the leading city in the Late Bronze Age.

Mycenaean Name of Bronze Age material culture first discovered at Mycenae and, by extension, Greek

culture of the Late Bronze Age.

Consonants like *m* and *n* formed in the nasal passage. Nasalization is the common phenomenon of the introduction of nasals before stops *m* before *b*, *p* or *f*; *n* before *d*, *t*, or *th*; and *ng*

before g, k or ch

Old Kingdom Period of Egyptian strength and prosperity from the 3rd to the 6th Dynasties c. 3000-

2500 BC.

masals

Olympic Games Religious festival and games held at Olympia in the Northwest Peloponnese every four years

from 776 BC until they were discontinued by the emperor Theodosius at the end of the 4th century AD. They were revived in a spirit of European ethnicity and élitism from which the Aryan Model emerged at the end of the

19th century.

Orphics Followers of the divine Orpheus Very much

like the Pythagoreans, the Orphics promoted Egyptian religious beliefs and were especially concerned with personal immortality.

pantheism Belief that God is in all things and all things are God. This world-view, which closely re-

sembled that of Egyptian and Greek religion, became significant in the 17th century, especially after the publication of the works of

Spinoza,

Pausanias Writer of an extensive Guide to Greece, who lived in the 2nd century AD.

Pelasgians According to Classical tradition, the earliest inhabitants of Greece

Persian Empire Founded by Cyrus the Great in the mid-6th century BC, it dominated the Middle East, Asia

Minor and the Aegean until pushed back by the Greeks. It was finally destroyed by Alexander the Great in the second half of the 4th century BC

Philistines Invaders of Egypt and the Levant from the Aegean and Anatolia in the late 13th and 12th

centuries BC.

Phoenicia Cities along a strip of coast stretching from the

present-day Lebanon to Northern Israel, the most lamous of which were Byblos, Tyre and Sidon. The name Phoenicia refers to this region throughout Antiquity. However, it generally indicates the greatest period in the cities history, between 1100 and 750 BC. The Phoenician 'language was, like Hebrew, a dialect of Cananite. The alphabet is often referred to as a Phoenician invention. It may well have originated in the region, but it was developed long before the Phoenician period.

phoneme The minimal significant unit of sound within a language.

phonetic correspondences Sounds that are actually or etymologically

Phrygia

Ptolemy

Region in Northern Anatolia. It was a power ful state in the first half of the 1st millennium is. Its language, which was written alphabetically, was not Anatolian but Indo-European, and closely related to Greek.

pictogram Writing in which the object signified is pictured or directly represented.

polygenesis The belief in multiple origins, in particular of humanity or language. The opposite of monogenesis.

prothetic or prosthetic

Vowels placed at the beginnings of words to avoid initial consonants. The placing of prothetic vowels is particularly common before double consonants.

Proto-Greek The unattested language or people reconstructed as having been the origin of Greek or the Greeks

Ptoleman Name given to Egyptian culture under the rule of the Ptolemies

Name of a succession of descendants of Ptolemy I, a general of Alexander the Great who seized power in Egypt alter Alexander's death. The last ruler of this dynasty was Kleopatra VII, loved by both Caesar and Anthony, who died dramatically in 30 8c.

Pythagoras Greek philosopher and mathematician c 582 500 BC. He studied in Egypt and brought back Egyptian mathematical and religious prin-

ciples, and founded the Pythagorean brotherhood.

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Pythagoreans Followers of Pythagoras organized into a 'brotherhood' along what were generally seento be Egyptian lines. The Pythagoreans played an important political, religious and scientific role in the Greek society of Sicily and South-

ern Italy in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

Qin (Ch'in) Chinese dynasty, 256-207 BC, from which we probably acquired the name China. As a 'national' dynasty, it was founded by the unifier of China, Qinshihuangdi, but survived only a few years after his death, to be followed by the Han Dynasty.

> Essential part of a word which remains after all the others have been removed.

Selencid the name of a dynasty established in Syria. and Mesopotamia by Alexander's general Seleukos.

Relating to signification or meaning. semantic

Shang Chinese dynasty, c. 1600-1100 BC. Prince lang, the first emperor of the dynasty overthrew the Xin and the Shang were in turn overthrown by the Zhou.

Consonants with hissing sounds like 3, 3, 3 and 2 sibilants Sidon Ancient Phoenician city dedicated to the sea god Sid. Its apogee was in the very early Iron Age. Therefore 'Sidonian' is used for Phoem-

cian in general in the early historical books of the Bible and Homer. Its dominance was replaced by that of its rival Tyre in about the gth century BC.

stele Upright slab with sculptured designs or inscriptions

Verbal form derived from the root by special stem vocalization or the addition of various prefixes or suffixes.

stop A complete consonantal explosion of breath, as in the sounds represented by our letters b, p, d, t, g and k.

Strabo Greek geographer of the 1st century BC and 181 century Ab.

theogony Ancestry or birth of the gods, it was the name and subject of a number of poems, the most famous being that of Hesiod.

Thera Volcanic island seventy miles north of Caete. It suffered a major eruption during the 2nd nnl lennium BC, which is now dated to 1628 BC.

Thucydides Greek historian of the Peloponnesian War, born c. 46 BC, died c. 400 BC,

Indo-European language spoken in the 1st millennium AD in the now Turkic speaking. Western Chinese autonomous region of Sin kiang. Tokharian shares several features with Western Indo-European languages which are not present in the Indo-Arvan languages. It therefore provides critical information on the nature of early Indo-European.

toponym Place name.

Tyre Ancient Phoenician city. Its period of greatest glory was from the 6th to the 40th centuries is. But it remained an important political and cultural centre until its destruction by Alexander the Great in 322 is.

Ugarit Major port on the Synan coast, which flour ished in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC.

Ugaritic The West Seinitic language spoken at Ugarit and recorded man alphabetic form of cuneiform on many of the tablets found in the city

Urartu Kingdom in the Southern Caucasus in the first half of the 1st millenmon be. Its language was related to **Hurrian** and the present Northeast Caucasian languages.

velars Stops formed with the tongue at the back of the mouth, as, for example, k and g.

Vocalization Infusing a consonantal structure with vowels

Xia (Hsia) Chinese dynasty, c. 1900–1600 BC, overthrown
by the Shang.

Zhou (Chou) Chinese dynasty that succeeded the Shang.

2. 1100 BC. It lost political power in the 8th century BC but survived with the title of emperor until finally overthrown by Qinshihuangdi in 221 BC.

Zoroaster Iranian religious reformer who lived in the 2nd millennium BC.

Zoroastrianism Religion founded by Zoroaster, which became the state religion of the Persian Empire. It maintained that the universe was the scene of

a perpetual and finely balanced struggle between good and evil. It was largely destroyed in Iran after the Islamic conquest, but is still flourishing elsewhere in the world among the Parsee community.

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